YAMAN

ITS EARLY MEDIÆVAL HISTORY

BY

NAJM AD-DIN 'OMĀRAH AL-ḤAKAMI

ALSO THE ABRIDGED HISTORY OF ITS DYNASTIES

BY

IBN KHALDŪN

AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE KARMATHIANS OF YAMAN

BY

ABU 'ABD ALLAH BAHA AD-DIN AL-JANADI

THE ORIGINAL TEXTS, WITH TRANSLATION AND NOTES

BY

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INTRODUCTION.

The history of the Arabs of Yaman under Islām has, as it seems to me, hitherto received less attention from Western scholars than it may fairly be said to deserve; and hence it no doubt arises that readers desirous of information on the subject, find their endeavours to obtain it attended with almost insuperable difficulty. Lists of the dynasties have been included by Mr. S. Lane-Poole in his Catalogue of Coins at the British Museum, and he has added such brief explanations as the special purpose of his work would permit; but, with that exception, the subject is in English literature simply a blank. And the labours of continental scholars, it must be added, are in this particular case, of less assistance than might be expected.

The only book that treats, in a European language, of the Muhammadan history of Yaman, is a small volume by C. T. Johannsen, written in Latin and published at Bonn in 1828. It is an abstract of the history of Zabīd by the Arab author Dayba', itself an abridgment, but one that supplies a historical sketch of the dynasties into whose possession the city successively passed, from the date of its foundation down to the tenth century of the Hijrah. Johannsen's work affords, therefore, a brief account of the leading families that ruled over Yaman previous to the sixteenth century of the Christian era. But some, to whom Zabīd never belonged, such for instance as the Zuray'ite Princes of Aden, are necessarily excluded. Johannsen's book is, moreover, at the present day somewhat rare.

A certain lack of interest in the fortunes of the petty states and dynasties of a country so slightly connected with the great streams of Muhammadan history, can without much difficulty be accounted for. It is no more than natural also, that the attention of scholars should be mainly attracted to the country as the ancient seat of an extinct and as yet little known civilization. But its history under Muhammadan influences is nevertheless

neither destitute of interest, nor altogether uninstructive. Yaman, moreover, borders at the present day upon one of the great highways of the world. Its principal seaport has for more than half a century been in the possession of England, whose influence over the adjoining districts is willingly acknowledged by the inhabitants. A contribution to its past history may therefore, not unreasonably be expected to prove acceptable to English readers.

Of the not inconsiderable number of native writers by whom the history of Muhammadan Yaman has been treated, the earliest in date, and in certain respects the most important, is 'Omārah "the Yamanite." His reputation among his countrymen rests perhaps somewhat too exclusively upon his merits as a poet, but he is held in remembrance also as the leading historian of his native country, and as the writer to whom almost all is due that can be learnt of its history over a period of at least two centuries and a half. 'Omārah's successors have freely acknowledged the debt they owe him, and indeed, for the period in question, they have done little or nothing more than reproduce what he has written, in a more or less abridged form, whilst very generally retaining his actual words.

Whatever, therefore, the deficiencies in 'Omārah's work, it was to be expected that it would be carefully preserved. But so far is this from being the case, that until quite recently, no copy was known to exist. None has been included in the important collections of MSS. that have come of late years from Yaman, and, so far as I am aware, a general belief has prevailed that the recovery of 'Omārah's History was all but hopeless. The event has happily turned out otherwise, and a copy of the book is actually in the possession of the British Museum library, acquired in 1886, according to a note on the fly-leaf of the volume.

It is somewhat remarkable to find that the book has evidently been owned by a European. Not only is the binding of Western fashion, but other signs, pencil marks and the label on the back of the volume—*Documents relatifs au Yemen*—put the matter beyond all doubt. Another and indeed more singular circumstance is that the portion of the volume consisting of 'Omārah's History, is to all appearance a modern transcript, dating, so far as I can judge from the description of paper and from the style of writing, no further back than last century, or perhaps the early part of the present.

The volume (Or. 3265) is a small quarto. It comprises three separate parts. The first, of 85 folios, is Dayba'’s History of Zabīd. The third, 102 pages (52 folios), contains an account of events in Yaman from A.H. 1215 to A.H. 1258 (A.D. 1800 to 1842). The second part, consisting of 84 folios or 166 pages, is ‘Omārah’s history. Neither the name of the transcriber nor the date of the copy is given. The handwriting is not that of an accomplished penman, and the copyist, it may readily be perceived, could make no claim to scholarship. Errors, both of commission and of omission, are indeed numerous.

Even for the sole purpose of translation, the book, it was evident, would offer difficulty. But I had reason to believe that many deficiencies in the MS. would be supplied by the works of the author’s successors. My expectations, it will be seen, have been amply fulfilled, and I have fonnd it possible to print the original text, as well as to translate it, a task which without that assistance, I could hardly have ventured to undertake.

A life of ‘Omārah is included in the Biographies of Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, vol. ii. p. 367). For his account of our author’s earlier years, down, that is to say, to the time of his final departure for Egypt, the biographer seems to have drawn most of his material from the History of Yaman, in which ‘Omārah touches upon sundry events in his own life. He was born, he tells us, at az-Zarā'ib, a town on or near the coast of northern Yaman, in the district of the Banu Ḥakam, the tribe of which he was a member, as shown by his denomination, the Ḥakamite.* His name and designations seem to have been Najm ad-dīn ‘Omārah ibn Abi ’l-Ḥasan ‘Aly ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Zaydān. On the title-page of the British Museum copy of his History, he is styled the Ḳāḍi; but there is nothing to show that he ever exercised the office of Judge, and we find him invariably spoken of under the title of *Faḳīh,* the Jurist. He became a student at the College of Zabīd, as he himself tells us, in A.H. 530, and he was probably born not earlier than A.H. 515, the year mentioned by Suyūṭi (i. 238).

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* Ibn Khallikān says, according to de Slane, that ‘Omārah was born in the city of Marṭān, in the valley of Wasā‘, a place I am not able to identify. It will be seen that we have mention of *Maṭrān* (p. 68 etc.), but it is evidently not the place here in question.

His final departure from Yaman occurred in A.H. 552, when he proceeded to Mecca, and thence to Egypt. The spiritual head of the Fatimite Empire and Sect was at that time the Khalīfah al-Fā'iz, who at the age of five years, had been raised to the throne on the assassination of his father az-Ẓāfir in A.H. 549. The Khalīfahs were still the nominal rulers of the Empire, but it was and had long been governed in reality by the Wazīrs, as they continued to be styled, although not only possessed of the fullest political power, but actually invested with the title of *Malik* or King, first bestowed upon one of their predecessors in A.H. 530, by the Khalīfah al-Ḥāfiẓ.* The office, at the time of 'Omārah's arrival at Cairo, was held by Ṭalā'i' ibn Ruzayk, under the title of *al-Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ*, the Virtuous King. Our author was already personally known to the Wazīr, by whom, on the occasion of an earlier visit to Cairo, he had been treated with distinguished favour, and who now again heartily welcomed him to his court. Ṭalā'i', a zealous Ismailite, endeavoured to prevail upon 'Omārah to join the sect. He failed in his purpose, but continued nevertheless, throughout the remainder of his life, to extend his friendship and patronage to the Yamanite poet.

The Khalīfah al-Fā'iz died in A.H. 555, and was succeeded by al-'Aḍid, the last of the dynasty. Ṭalā'i' perished the following year.† His son was raised to his place under the title of *al-Malik al-'Ādil an-Nāṣir*, but was assassinated in the first month of A.H. 558. The dissensions that followed supplied the Atabek Nūr ad-dīn Mahmūd, Sulṭān of Aleppo, with a pretext for intervention in the affairs of the country. He despatched an army to Egypt under the command of the Kurdish General Asad ad-dīn Shīrkūh. The re-instatement of Shāwar, one of the rival claimants to the wazīrate was speedily effected. But the restored wazīr soon had occasion to direct his efforts to the object of ridding himself of his Turkish protectors. He solicited and obtained the aid of the Christian King of Jerusalem. During the next five years Egypt was the scene of a series of struggles, which soon resolved themselves into a conflict between the troops of Nūr ad-dīn and the Christian Crusaders for the

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* Maḳrīzi, vol. i. p. 440, I. Athīr, xi. 31. See also Suyūṭi, ii. 155 and 162–63.

† An interesting mosque, built by Ṭalā'i' at Cairo close to Bāb Zuwaylah, is still in existence.

possession of Egypt. Asad ad-dīn, the Atabek's general, eventually triumphed. The Crusaders were compelled to abandon the country, in which their rapacity and cruelty had caused them to be thoroughly detested. Shāwar was slain in A.H. 564, and Shīrkūh, though still acknowledging the authority of Nūr ad-dīn, was formally installed as Wazīr by the helpless Khalīfah al-'Ādid, under the title of al-Malik al-Manṣūr (the Victorious King). He died before the end of the year, and his nephew Ṣalāḥ ad-dīn Yūsuf (Saladin) was appointed his successor and invested by al-'Ādid with the office of wazīr, and with the title of *Malik an-Nāṣir* (the Succouring King), which he bore throughout his subsequent career and which he contentedly retained until his death.

In the first month of the year 567, Saladin, yielding to his own inclinations, as well as to the solicitations of his followers, and to the commands of his master Nūr ad-dīn, proclaimed the deposition of the Fatimite Khalīfah and the re-establishment of the supremacy of the Abbasides. Al-'Ādid was at the point of death, and it is doubtful whether he ever knew that his dynasty had come to an end. The country was ripe for the change. It was accepted, out of Cairo, with scarcely a murmur on the part of the people. To them, indeed, hardly a sign of the great revolution that had occurred was perceptible, apart from an alteration in the form of the Khutbah, thenceforward recited in the name of the Khalīfah of Baghdad. But, ere long, a conspiracy was found to be in existence at the capital, for the restoration of the Fatimites, with the aid of the Christian King of Jerusalem. It was speedily suppressed, and the leaders arrested. Among those accused of being concerned in the plot was 'Omārah. He was found guilty and condemned to death. The sentence was carried into execution on the 2nd Ramaḍān, of the year 569, and his body was gibbeted and exposed to public view for three days. It has been said that it was by 'Omārah's advice that the conquest of Yaman was undertaken and the army of invasion placed under the command of Turān Shah, whose absence, in the event of the death of his brother Saladin, would, it was thought, afford greater assurance of success to the objects of the conspirators.

Among other noteworthy personages of that period, was the Ḳāḍi Abu 'Aly 'Abd ar-Raḥīm al-Baysāni, more commonly known as the Ḳāḍi al-Fāḍil. He had formerly held

an important office as chief secretary under the Fatimite Government, and enjoyed a high reputation for general ability and for familiarity with the details of Egyptian administration. He was, moreover, widely noted for his talent as an elegant and ingenious letter-writer. The British Museum possesses two volumes (Add. 7307 and 7465) containing a collection of the Ḳāḍi's sayings and of his writings, which are still regarded by his countrymen as models of epistolary style, of a kind, it must however be said, generally too florid to commend itself to the taste of Western readers.* In personal appearance the Ḳāḍi al-Fāḍil was ill-favoured, indeed deformed. He was nevertheless exceedingly popular. Few names are oftener met with than his in the pages of Maḳrīzi's *Khiṭaṭ*. He was held in the highest estimation by Saladin, of whose cause the Ḳāḍi became a warm adherent, and who was in the habit of listening to his opinions, and of consulting him on the most important affairs of the State. He became possessed of great wealth, and among his charitable foundations was one, the revenues of which were applied to the ransom of Muslim captives from the hands of the Christians. He built also a college, which he endowed with a library composed of more than 100,000 volumes.† The Ḳāḍi, it remains to be added, was one of those who most strenuously urged upon Saladin the deposition of the Fatimite Khalīfah.

'Omārah enjoyed for a time the favour of the Ḳāḍi al-Fāḍil, and it was at the latter's request, as will be seen, that the History of Yaman was composed. But between two men of such opposite character, friendship, if indeed it ever existed, could not long endure. Political events parted them, and 'Omārah, ere long, knew the Ḳāḍi only as an enemy. It is related, that when sentence of death was pronounced upon him, the Ḳāḍi approached Saladin and spoke to him in private. "My lord," cried 'Omārah, "listen not unto what he says concerning me!" The Ḳāḍi departed in anger, and Saladin, turning to the unhappy man, answered with the words; "He was interceding for

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* I had occasion in a paper, printed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (vol. xxiii.), to insert a short passage, quoted by Maḳrīzi, which may be taken as a favourable specimen of the Ḳāḍi's literary performances.

† Maḳrīzi, vol. ii. pp. 79 and 366.

thy life." 'Omārah drooped his head in silence. To himself, and to all present, the incident was a manifest sign that his fate was ordained by divine and irrevocable decree.

Whether or not 'Omārah was guilty of the crime with which he was charged, this much is certain, that he excited the mistrust and finally the hatred of Saladin's adherents, by his bold not to say reckless advocacy of the fallen dynasty, and by the impassioned words with which he was ever ready to defend it. On one occasion he was along with another poet in the presence of Najm ad-dīn Ayyūb, the father of Saladin, then inhabiting a palace or pavilion known by the name of *the Pearl*, formerly a place of resort for the Fatimite Princes, and still bearing the decoration with which it had been enriched for the use of its original masters. 'Omārah's companion recited to Najm ad-dīn four lines of verse, in which he spoke of the palace as receiving greater honour from the Prince's presence than it had ever derived from that of its former occupants. "The palace," he ended, "is a pearl, whilst they that formerly inhabited it were nought but shells. Thou art a pearl, unto whom the palace is but a shell." 'Omārah indignantly answered his companion, in lines of the same metre and rhyme. He dealt with the rhetorical figure in which the shell is spoken of as the occupant of a pearl, and ended with a line in which he denounces the poet as of less account than a dog, an animal which, at least, practises the virtues of gratitude and fidelity. The story is told by Makrīzi, who has preserved also a considerable fragment of a poem by 'Omārah, a lament over the fate that had overtaken the Fatimite dynasty. The following is the opening line, to which I add a few passages taken almost at random :—

Thou hast blighted, O Fortune, the noblest of hands—Thou hast stripped a graceful neck of the jewels that once adorned it. . . .

O censurer of my love for the sons of Fāṭimah. . . . Come, I adjure thee, cease weeping over Ṣiffīn and the Camel,* and join in my tears over the desolate halls of the twin Palaces. . . .

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* The battles of the Camel and of Ṣiffīn were fought in A.H. 36 and 37, between the two contending parties into which the Muslim world had already divided itself. At Ṣiffīn, although on the verge of victory, 'Aly was induced to agree to the reference of his claims to arbitration, and thereby brought about the ruin of

Mayhap ye will return (O sons of 'Aly), that the world may be released of its bonds. . . .
They that have been false in their allegiance, will not escape the effects of God's anger . . . Their burning thirst will not be slaked by the hand of the noblest of created beings, the Seal of the Apostles. . . .
Love of the Imāms is the foundation of faith in God, and of all good works.
They are the divine Light of true guidance, torches piercing through the darkness of night.

The composition of that poem, says Makrīzi, was the cause of 'Omārah's death. And, indeed, if the verses have reached us in the form in which they left the author's hands, it is not surprising that he was regarded as an Ismailite, and, on the contrary, difficult to understand why he persistently refused to be enrolled as a member of the sect,* at a time when every consideration of ambition and self-interest must have urged him to do so.

'Omārah's History of Yaman, it must be confessed, is not such as can entitle its author to be ranked among the great historians of the world. The object of the book, as may be seen at almost every page, is simply that which he himself avows. It was written, not for purposes of instruction, but to amuse the leisure moments of a great personage. All that could serve the object is prominently and skilfully brought into relief. Matters of graver import are lightly touched upon, and some are, no doubt, passed over in silence. But in his own way, 'Omārah has preserved for us the leading facts of Muhammadan history in his country, down to his own time. The style in which he has written is one of perfect simplicity, and one which, in many passages, exhibits a natural sense of the picturesque, and a power of expressing it, somewhat remarkable in a writer of his nation and of his time. And finally, though not his least merit, 'Omārah has preserved for us an exceedingly curious picture of Arab life and manners, such, I may perhaps venture to say, as is only excelled in

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his cause, and the creation of fresh subjects of dissension among the followers of Islām.

By the twin palaces are meant the two great historic palaces of the Fatimites, the sites of which are still held in remembrance by the modern inhabitants of Cairo.

* See *infra*, Note 68.

Arabic literature by the tales of the Thousand and One Nights.

The MS. of the British Museum is, as I have already had occasion to remark, very imperfect. Errors of all descriptions are numerous, and nothing is more evident than that the copyist has not, as a rule, given himself the trouble to understand the plain sense of what he wrote. Some faults are habitual, but of a class not unfrequently met with. Such for instance are the erroneous substitution of *Alif* for *ya* in defective verbs, the retention of the letter *Alif* in the word *ibn* when it ought to be omitted and its omission when it ought to be retained. The *tashdīd* and *hamzah* are, as a rule, omitted, even when the absence, especially of the former, prevents the true sense in which the word is used from being readily apprehended. The two points over the final *ta* in words of the feminine form are almost invariably omitted. All these are in addition to orthographical errors of a varying character and to omissions, sometimes of single words and at others of entire sentences.

Without speaking of omitted and misplaced diacritical points, I have said enough to show that it was out of the question to reproduce the text precisely as it stands in the MS. I have followed that course as a general rule; but wherever it seemed useful—perhaps in some cases where I need not have done so—I have supplied the missing *tashdīd* and *hamzah* as well as diacritical points. I have refrained from reproducing or noticing certain verbal errors, the correction of which could be made without any reasonable doubt and which, while in some cases an offence to the reader's eye, were in others calculated to produce perplexity, more or less momentary it is true, but likely to be an interruption to the reader. It may perhaps be considered that I have not been sufficiently careful to lay down to myself a strict rule, and I must, indeed, confess that I have not heeded a certain degree of inconsistency between what I have done in some places and abstained from doing in others.

Ibn Khallikān's Biographies, more particularly that of ʿAly the Sulayhite, Yāḳūt's Geographical Dictionary, Ibn Khaldūn's History, and some other books, to be hereinafter more particularly mentioned, have each in their turn assisted me in the performance of my task. But my chief debt is due to the Histories of al-Janadi and of al-

Khazraji, of which it remains for me now to offer the reader some brief notice.

It must, however, in the first place be stated that, with one exception, ʿOmārah mentions no writer on the history of Muhammadan Yaman of a period previous to his own. The exception is a history of Zabīd, written by Abu ʾṭ-Ṭāmi Jayyāsh, one of the early kings of the dynasty of the Banu Najāḥ. The book bore the title of *Kitāb al-Mufīd fi akhbār Zabīd*, the Book of Instruction on the History of Zabīd, under which it is mentioned in the *Kashf az-Zunūn*. That identical title is usually attributed to Omārah's own History, but it does not appear in the Brit. Mus. MS., which is simply entitled *Book of Chronicles by the illustrious Kāḍi ʿOmārah the Yamanite.* Khazraji mentions that Jayyāsh's History was exceedingly rare in his day (see *infra*, Note 75). ʿOmārah quotes the book at some length in his account of the death of ʿAly the Sulayhite and of the restoration of the Banu Najāḥ. It is highly probable that these passages are all that survives at the present day.

Janadi's work is mentioned in the *Kashf az-Zunūn* under the title of *Kitāb as-Sulūk fi tabaḳāt il-ʿUlamāʾi wa ʾl-Mulūk*, Book of the Pearl-threads, containing the consecutive Series of Scholars and Kings. An excellent copy is preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, No. 2127, Suppl. 767. It is a large-sized volume comprising 207 folios, and is dated A.H. 820. It is written in a good and generally clear hand, diacritical points as a rule absent, but on the other hand, the vocalization in the case of names, both personal and geographical, is frequently specified with great care. The title of the book is absent, but its identity with that mentioned in the Bibliographical Dictionary is beyond all reasonable doubt. The copy at the Bibliothèque appears to have been the property of one of the last Princes of the Rasulite dynasty, Aḥmad, son of Sulṭan az-Ẓāhir Yaḥya who reigned from A.H. 831 to 842. The inscription on the fly-leaf to that effect is imperfectly legible through the edges of the paper being partly cut and partly worn away, and owing to slips pasted upon the sheet, but I read it as follows :

من كتب العبد الفقير الى كرم الله تعالى احمد بن يحيى بن اسمعيل بن العباس
بن (على) بن داوود بن يوسف بن عمر بن علىّ بن رسول عفا الله عنه و عن
ا . . . . (ابائه ؟)

Al-Janadi's full name was Abu 'Abd Allah Bahā ad-dīn (Yūsuf ?) ibn Yūsuf ibn Ya'ḳūb, but he is best known by his surname *al-Janadi,* that is to say, the native of Janad, or it may be, member of the tribe of Janad, a subdivision of the Banu Ma'āfir.* He died in A.H. 732. His History extends, according to al-Ahdal, to A.H. 724, but in some copies it was probably continued to a later date. The work is really, as indicated by its title, a series of biographies, for the most part of men renowned for piety and learning. The author does not exclude princes and dynasties, but they occupy a subordinate place, for the reason he expressly gives, that they are of far less importance. He begins with the days of the Prophet, passes on to the Prophet's successors, and proceeds to sketch the lives of all who can claim the slightest connection with Yaman. He includes therefore the Imām ash-Shāfi'y, the originator of the Shāfi'ite school of religious law, of whom it has been said that he was born in Yaman. His account of the Imām is little more than a panegyric, in which he conspicuously dwells upon the contention that ash-Shāfi'y, had he not exclusively devoted himself to theology and jurisprudence, would have ranked as one of the greatest of poets.† At fol. 30 obv. commences a history of the Karmathians in Yaman, of which I have included a copy and translation in this volume. He then fairly enters into the subject that forms the main object of his book, the lives of the Jurists of Yaman, which he gives in geographical order, that is to say, under the heading of the places in which they were born or in which they abode.

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* I find al-Janadi everywhere styled Yūsuf son of Ya'ḳūb; but he himself (fol. 21 rev.) gives his father that name, and Khazraji ('Uḳūd, fol. 133, obv.), mentions Yūsuf ibn Ya'ḳūb al-Janadi, father of Bahā ad-dīn the historian.

† It was not without surprise that I found al-Janadi attributing to the Imām, in a tone of perfect gravity, certain lines of verse which, according to Ibn al-Athīr, were written by the Oḳaylite chief Abu 'l-Musayyib Rāfi'. Janadi says they were addressed by ash-Shāfi'y to his mother, when on the point of leaving her for the purpose of devoting himself exclusively to religious studies. A portion, of far too ardent a character to be directed to a mother, is not included. The lines, together with a translation, may be found in a paper I contributed to the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. xviii. p. 518.

Al-Janadi tells us, in his Preface, that he has derived most of his information from the works of several predecessors—from the History of Ibn Samurrah, from the work of ar-Rāzi, from that of Ibn Jarīr, from ʻOmārah's *Mufīd*, and finally from the collection of biographics of Ibn Khallikān. The notices of these works in Hajji Khalīfah's Bibliographical Dictionary (excepting of the last mentioned), seem to be borrowed from al-Janadi and add little or nothing to what the latter tells us in his Preface.

The History of *Ibn Samurrah* is entitled *Tabaḳāt Fuḳahā 'l-Yaman wa Rūʻasā az-Zaman* (the Consecutive Series of the Jurists of Yaman and of the Chiefs of their time). Its author was Abu Ḥafṣ ʻOmar ibn ʻAly ibn Samurrah, who died, according to Hajji Khalīfah, in A.H. 586. This, says al-Janadi, gives the most complete account of the scholars and Jurists of Yaman from the time of the introduction of Islām down to a date somewhat later than A.H. 580. The book seems to have supplied al-Janadi with the model he followed in the composition of his own work.

Only second to Ibn Samurrah's History, continues al-Janadi, is the work of Abu 'l-ʻAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʻAbd Allah ibn Muḥammad ar-Rāzi, a native, as his surname indicates, of ar-Ray, but settled at Ṣanʻā. Many copies, says al-Janadi, are in existence, but all, he adds, represent themselves as being the third volume of the work, and though diligent inquiry has been made by the scholars of Yaman for the missing portion, the search has been unsuccessful. The volume in question, he continues, carries down the history to about A.H. 460. It has supplied him, he adds, with much that was deficient in Ibn Samurrah. The British Museum possesses a book (Or. 2903) by the same author, copied in A.H. 1090. The title is not given, but the book consists of legends and tales relating to Yaman and more particularly to Ṣanʻā, not, so far as I have been able to gather, of much interest or value, and it is obviously not the book referred to by Janadi.

Next comes the History of Ṣanʻā by Isḥāḳ ibn Yaḥya ibn Jarīr, a descendant of al-Aswad ibn ʻAuf, brother of ʻAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn ʻAuf.* It is a book, says al-Janadi, of

* ʻAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn ʻAuf, of the tribe of Ḳuraysh, was one of the earliest of the converts and companions of the Prophet. He died at Medinah in A.H. 31.

small bulk but of great value. The titles neither of this nor of ar-Rāzi's book are mentioned.

I come now to al-Khazraji, who, of all the writers to whose works I have had access, has been of the greatest assistance to me. His name was Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly ibn al-Ḥasan al-Khazraji, that is to say, of the tribe of Khazraj. He was surnamed Ibn Wahhās, and he died in A.H. 812. Hajji Khalīfah says that al-Khazraji was the author of three historical works. In one the writer, he says, followed the chronological order; the second was arranged in alphabetical order of the names ; and the third gave a separate history of each dynasty.

The first of these is probably the History of Yaman under the Rasulites, of which the India Office Library posseses a well preserved and valuable copy. The book is entitled *Al-'Uḳūd al-Lū'lū'īyah fi akhbār id-daulat ir-Rasūlīyah,* "The Necklaces adorned with Pearls, being the History of the Rasulite Dynasty." * It consists of 367 folios. The author commences with a chapter on the pedigree of the Banu Rasūl, who, he declares, were of Arab race, descendants of Jabalah ibn al-Ayham, the last king of the Ghassānite dynasty. The history ends with the death of the Rasulite Sulṭān al-Ashraf Isma'īl in A.H. 803. Fully two thirds of the book are a compilation, for the most part from three works, the *Sīrat al-Muẓaffarīyah*, the *'Iḳd ath-thamīn*, and Janadi's History, from each of which long passages are incorporated.

The first mentioned seems to be a life of Sulṭān al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf (A.H. 647-694). The *'Iḳd ath-thamīn* exists in the Library of the British Museum (Add. 27541), under the title of *Kitāb as-Simṭ il-Ghāly ith-thaman fi Akhbār Mulūk il-Yaman,* written by Badr ad-dīn Muḥammad ibn Ḥātim, a descendant of the Hamdanite Kings of Ṣan'ā. The volume is composed of 114 folios, and it carries down the history of the Rasulites to the death of Sulṭān al-Muẓaffar in A.H. 694. The titles of the book so largely quoted by Khazraji and of that at the British Museum, though verbally

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* I have reason to believe that the text and a translation of the History of the Rasulites, or at least of its most important parts, were prepared for the press by the late Sir James Redhouse, but that certain difficulties unfortunately prevented the publication of his work.

different, have the same signification, and I feel satisfied, after comparison of several passages, that the two works are one and the same. It must, however, be mentioned that Khazraji gives, in his Kifāyah, an extract from the 'Iḳd ath-thamīn, relating to the successors of Ibn Mahdy,* not to be found in the British Museum MS. It seems probable therefore that the books are two separate editions.†

Some other writers are referred to by Khazraji, among whom I may mention the Sharīf 'Imād ad-dīn Idrīs, a descendant of Suleymān ibn Ḥamzah. In the Uḳūd (fol. 173 obv.), the death is recorded of the Sharīf's father, Jamāl ad-dīn 'Aly ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ḥamzah, in A.H. 699, and Khazraji adds that the Sharīf Idrīs was author of several historical works, among others of one entitled *Kitāb Kanz il-Akhyār fi 't-tārīkhi wa 'l-akhbār,* a book which, if it is still in existence, will probably be found to throw light upon the history of the Zaydite Imāms of Yaman.

The other works by Khazraji mentioned in Ḥajji Khalīfah's dictionary are probably represented by the MSS. preserved in the Library of the University of Leiden, Nos. DCCV. and DCCCLXVIII. (Old Cat. vol. ii. pp. 173 and 196).

The last mentioned, despite its large size and its 369 pages, is but a fragment. It is entitled *Ṭirāz A'lām iz-Zaman fi ṭabakāti A'yān il-Yaman.* The book, according to the explanation of its plan given by the author in his preface, commences with an Introduction, containing in the first place a life of the Prophet, and next that of each of the Khalīfahs, from Abu Bakr to al-Musta'ṣim. A biographical dictionary, supplying an account of the scholars, kings, etc. of Yaman, the chief purport of the work, begins at p. 280 and the MS. ends abruptly at p. 369, before completion of the first letter of the alphabet. The author tells us that the book was composed by command of the Rasulite Sulṭān al-Ashraf Isma'īl (A.H. 778-803), who, he says, prescribed its form and the arrangement of its contents. Al-Khazraji, it must be added, handsomely acknowledges the debt he owes to the earlier labours of al-Janadi. "We have drawn," he says, "from his abundant springs, and we have drunk under his guidance. Without him we had not

* See *infra*, Note 101.

† The British Museum MS. is dated A.H. 1062 (A.D. 1652), and a note which follows the colophon states that the copy was carefully collated at the end of the following year.

ventured to enter so deep a gulf, neither could we have found our way to this our resting-place."

The Leiden MS. DCCCV. is entitled *Kitāb tarīkh il-Kifāyati wa 'l-A'lām fīman waliya 'l-Yamana wa sakanaha min al-Islām.* It consists of 384 pages. The author appears to have divided his work into *five* books, each subdivided into chapters, but the Leiden MS. contains the fourth and fifth books only. The fourth is divided into ten chapters. In the first five, the author, after citing certain traditions proving the high estimation in which the country and people of Yaman were held by the Prophet, gives an account of its conversion to Islām, of its government in the days of the Prophet and of his immediate successors, and under the Omayyads and Abbasides. The sixth contains the history of the Karmathians in Yaman, and the seventh (fol. 38) gives an account of the subsequent condition of Ṣan'ā until it was taken by 'Aly the Sulayhite. (See *infra,* Note 8.) The eighth chapter is the history of the Sulayhite dynasty, the ninth that of the Hamdanite Kings of Ṣan'ā, and the tenth that of the Zuray'ite Princes of Aden.

The fifth book is divided into twelve chapters. The first four (pp. 77-108) contain the history of the Ziyādites, of their successors the Banu Najāḥ, of the Abyssinian Wazīrs who became the actual rulers of the country, and of 'Aly ibn Mahdy; the fifth that of the Ayyubite dynasty. With the sixth commences the history of the Rasulites, and it includes the reign of Sulṭān al-Manṣūr 'Omar (A.H. 626-647), the first of the dynasty. To each of his successors one of the remaining chapters is devoted, and the work ends with the twelfth chapter at the same point as the MS. of the India Office Library.* The three last chapters of the fourth book and the first four of the fifth, that is to say, pp. 47 to 108, are for the most part an adaptation of 'Omārah's History. The author omits some passages and abridges others, often very slightly, and 'Omārah's language is frequently reproduced almost verbatim.

I have already had occasion to speak of a writer of much later date, Dayba', and of the small volume to which he has given the title of History of Zabīd. The British Museum Library possesses two copies, Or. 3265 and Add. 27540. It will be sufficient to add that the book is to all intents and purposes an abridgment and adaptation of a larger

* See Dozy's Catalogue of the Leiden Library, vol. ii. p. 173.

work by the same author, entitled *Kitāb Ḳurrat il-'Uyūn fi akhbār il-Yaman al-Maymūn.* The name of the author was *Wajīh ad-dīn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn 'Aly ad-Dayba'*, of the tribe of *Shaybān.** He died in A.H. 944 (A.D. 1536-7). The British Museum possesses two copies of the work, Add. 25111 and Or. 3022. The latter is a modern transcript of a MS. belonging to the Khedivial library at Cairo, executed in A.H. 1295 (A.D. 1878). Add. 25111 consists of 191 folios. The end of the book is wanting, but according to the Cairo copy only one folio is absent.

The greater portion of the book is little, it might almost be said nothing, but an epitome of the *Kifāyah.* The author commences with Khazraji's fourth book, which he calls his first.† He reproduces it in an abridged form, chapter by chapter, in the same order as that of the *Kifāyah* and each under the same heading. Next follows his second book, Khazraji's fifth. The twelfth chapter ends at fol. 133 rev. To this he adds six more, in which he carries the history of the Rasulite dynasty to its conclusion. Then follows the third book, commencing at fol. 144 rev. It is divided into three chapters, containing the history of the Banu Ṭāhir, down to the end of the dynasty and to the conquest of Yaman by the troops of the last Mamlūk Sulṭān of Egypt. It will be seen, therefore, that it is only the latter part of the work, commencing at fol. 133, that can be said to be of any material value from the historian's point of view. In his Preface the author acknowledges his indebtedness to Khazraji, to whose book, it may be noted, he gives the title of *Kitāb al-'Asjad.*

Another writer to whom I have had occasion to refer in the following pages is al-Ahdal. He was the author of several works, of some of which the titles are given by Hajji Khalīfah, and whereof one exists in the Library of the British Museum (Or. 1345). The first and last pages of the MS. are wanting and have been replaced by a fabricated title-page and colophon. There is, however, no room to doubt that it is al-Ahdal's work, the same to which Hajji Khalīfah gives the title *Tuḥfat az-Zaman fi A'yāni Ahl il-Yaman.* The full name of the author was Abu 'Abd Allah

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* The author of the *Tāj al-'Arūs* says that *Dayba'* is a Nubian word and that it signifies *white.*

† He begins, therefore, at the same point as the Leiden MS. of Khazraji's *Kifāyah.*

al-Ḥusayn ibn ʻAbd ir-Raḥmān il-Ahdal al-Ḥusayni, and he was member of a family of some note in Yaman, but originally from ʻIrāḳ. He was born, according to his own statement, about A.H. 779, and was living in A.H. 848. He himself designates his work an abridgment of Janadi's History. It is, indeed, but little more, though it contains sundry additions, which bring it down to the author's own time. The British Museum MS. consists of 318 folios.

Al-Ahdal complains that his copy of al-Janadi was very imperfect, and he makes the following remarks on the subject:

و انتهى ما اختصرت منه و ما تيسر من الزيادات و فى الاصل الذى اختصرت منه مواضع سقيمة و قد تحريت فيها بحسب الامكان و من تحقق خللا فليصلحه و بالله التوفيق

Here end my abridgments from al-Janadi and the additions with which I have been able to supplement them. The copy of his book which has served me, contains many faulty passages, which I have striven to elucidate to the best of my ability. Let him who finds errors in my work correct them. From God cometh the aid that ensureth success.*

Of the geography of Yaman—excluding, it must be said, the portion of the country recently surveyed by Dr. Eduard Glaser—our knowledge is as yet very imperfect. I have endeavoured to supplement the information obtainable from Western authorities, by reference to the works of native writers, but the task is one attended with much difficulty. Hamdāni's Description of Arabia (he died A.H. 334) treats largely of Yaman, and the work is one the merits of which it is hardly possible to overstate. The well-known edition published by D. H. Müller has been of the greatest service to me.† But al-Hamdāni's Geography pre-supposes in its reader a certain knowledge of the chief features of the country, of the direction of its principal chains of mountains and valleys and of the situation of many towns. It

* Fol. 262. See also fol. 312.

† Müller's second volume, containing his notes and indices, had not yet appeared at the time I occupied myself with Hamdāni, nor did I become aware of its publication until after I had passed on to other matters. The book reached me, however, in time to be still of much service.

is not possible to construct a map, however rude, from his descriptions. A correct map, showing the general outlines of the country, is on the contrary necessary for the purpose of enabling the student to follow the author in his descriptions. That published by Dr. Glaser in Petermann's Mittheilungen (1886, I.), may be said amply to fulfil the required condition. Indeed, a sure test of its excellence may be found in the fact that the student is able, with its assistance, to follow al-Hamdāni step by step, with hardly any other difficulty but that of identifying, in certain cases, the modern with the ancient names of places. And of that difficulty, in many important particulars, the reader is relieved by explanations supplied in the letter-press.

But, unfortunately, Dr. Glaser's map comprises only the northern part of the country. For the southern portion I have chiefly relied upon the map published by Manzoni in 1884 along with the account of his travels. Apart, however, from the delineation of his own lines of travel, the accuracy of which can no doubt be fully trusted, Mr. Manzoni has been compelled to rely upon the work of his predecessors, and creditably as his task has been performed, it is beyond all question that he is often led astray. The difficulties to be overcome by the student will be at least partially perceived on attempting to reconcile the great divergencies to be found between Dr. Glaser's and Mr. Manzoni's maps on the border country, where the two ought to combine into one, and where, on the contrary, their disagreement could hardly be exceeded.

During the course of my work, I marked down, for my own use, on a roughly drawn sheet, the situation, as nearly as I could arrive at it, of several places, the localities of which require to be understood in following ʻOmārah in his history and al-Janadi in his account of the Karmathians. I have, with some hesitation, decided upon printing the map, such as it is. But the reader will understand that, so far at least as hitherto undetermined localities are concerned, I presume to do no more than indicate, more or less approximately, where certain of these places, or their remains, are to be sought—such, for instance, as Mudhaykhirah, Sharjah, ʻAththar, Ḥaraḍ or Mahall Abi Turāb, az-Zarāʼib and others. Considerable difficulty in the attempt to determine the situation of some places is caused by the great changes that have occurred on the coasts of the Red Sea and of Yaman in particular. For many centuries past

the sea has gradually but steadily retired, with the result that old harbours have silted up and have disappeared, and that new ones have been created, where at one time only deep water was to be found. See Dr. Glaser's remarks on the subject, p. 3. The coast line on the accompanying map is that of the Admiralty Chart.

The frequent inaccuracy of native writers—Yāḳūt, Ibn Sa'īd, Ibn Khaldūn and others—are a further addition to the difficulties that attend the study of the subject. Such, for example, are the misleading statements that Dhu Jiblah stood on Mount Ṣabir, that Mudhaykhirah and Aden Lā'ah adjoined one another, that Aden Abyan and the well-known seaport of Aden were two different places. Yāḳūt borrows (probably at second hand) much of his information from 'Omārah. In such case he adds nothing to what we have in our text. In others I have generally found that his information requires some scrutiny before it can be received. He seldom gives us the situation of a place with any degree of precision, and when he says, as he often does, that it is "near Zabīd" or "near Ṣan'ā," the assertion must always be received with caution. His Geographical Dictionary, in fact, useful as it undoubtedly is, is a compilation from writings of a very varying degree of merit, and, according to a custom unfortunately very common among his countrymen, he does not, as a rule, make known the source from which his information is borrowed.

The author of the Commentary on the Ḳamūs, known as the *Tāj al-'Arūs*, deals to a considerable extent with geographical names. He was a native of Yaman, and it might be expected that his great work would be of material assistance in the study of the geography of his country. But it is not so. He tells us occasionally, when mentioning a place, that he has visited it, but he adds no information of his own, and contents himself with simply copying the words of old writers and principally of Yāḳūt.

I have been hardly less disappointed with the extracts from Ibn al-Mujāwir, given by Dr. Sprenger in his *Reiserouten*. Ibn al-Mujāwir gives in most cases the distances in parasangs between places mentioned; but they cannot be trusted. They are not only in frequent contradiction with one another, but also quite irreconcilable with certain measurements obtainable, with small risk of serious error, from modern maps.

It is only by the labours of competent travellers, wh may make the topography and the archæological remains c the country an object of study, that any material advanc in our geographical knowledge of Yaman will be achieve I shall be well satisfied if the few notes I have collected i the pages of this volume prove of some little assistance t the explorer, and above all if I have succeeded in showin that a not unimportant and an interesting work offers itse to anyone able and willing to undertake it.

I have had occasion, when speaking, of Janadi's book, t mention his chapter on the Karmathians of Yaman, a cop and translation of which are included in this volum 'Omārah barely mentions the Karmathians, and it is hard t explain the omission, excepting on the supposition that th subject was not likely to commend itself either to th taste of his Ismailite patrons at Cairo, or to his ow Ismailite sympathies. Al-Khazraji, in his *Kifāyah*, likewis gives us an account of the Karmathians, drawn from th same source as al-Janadi's. He has not, on this occasio contented himself with borrowing at second hand, but h adds nothing of material importance to the particula given by al-Janadi.

I have, moreover, included the text and a translation c Ibn Khaldūn's epitome of the History of Yaman, extracte from his General History. Ibn Khaldūn, it will be see has fallen into sundry errors, chiefly, as it appears to m attributable to his having placed undue reliance upon th works of his countryman Ibn Sa'īd. I have thought th a copy of his version, as it exists in the best MSS. woul nevertheless, be acceptable to most readers. It is preced by a slight sketch of the early Muhammadan history of th country, and the geographical details with which it co cludes, though requiring correction in certain particula are not without interest.

The version of Ibn Khaldūn's text here printed is founde upon that contained in the Bulāḳ Edition, which howeve I have carefully collated with the valuable MS. in th British Museum Library (Add. 23272, fols. 68 to 79), c which it is consequently a reproduction. The chapter c the Banu Rassi has, in like manner, been collated with th MS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale, "Suppl. Ar. 742 M, fol. 50.

I had practically completed my task when I first becan aware of an important addition to the Oriental Departme

of the British Museum Library, through the acquisition by the Trustees of a considerable number of MSS. relating to the Zaydites of Yaman. Some unavoidable delay occurred before I was able to examine them and the result of the work, though by no means fruitless, has, I must confess, been somewhat of a disappointment. I have found the Zaydite writers far more deficient in historical matter, properly so called, than I had allowed myself to expect. The particular information which, at the cost of no inconsiderable labour, I had sought in other quarters, and which I found for the most part in the pages of Khazraji and of al-Ahdal, could have been more easily obtained from the Zaydite MSS., but rectifications as well as additions have not been as important as I anticipated.

The two most useful works for my purpose have been the *Hadā'iḳ al-Wardīyah* and the *Yawaḳīt as-Siyar.** Of the former the Museum Library has acquired two copies, each in two volumes, Or. 3785-86 and Or. 3812-13. It contains the lives of the principal Imāms down to the thirteenth century of our era, eighteen in number, beginning with al-Ḳāsim the Rassite and ending with al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah.

The *Yawaḳīt as-Siyar* (Or. 3771) commences with the history of the Creation, with that of Adam, then with the lives of the prophets who succeeded him, and next with a life of Muḥammad, based upon that contained in an earlier work, the *Jawāhir wa 'd-durar* (Or. 3911). At fol. 141 the Yawaḳīt enters into an account of the Zaydite Imāms, descendants of 'Aly. It is little more than a list of their names, and where fuller particulars are given, the author has for the most part copied or abridged the Hadā'iḳ. The book, which is evidently incomplete, ends at fol. 173, with the death of the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn in A.H. 656, and with a few words on the dissensions that followed.

The other historical MSS. treat of special subjects, each however, as is likewise the case with the Jawāhir, preceded by an account of the succession and pedigrees of the Imāms. Discrepancies in the several accounts of the succes-

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* Dr. Rieu's descriptive list of the MSS., which he was good enough to place in my hands, was of great service to me, enabling me, as it did, to select at a glance the books most likely to serve my objects.

sion are numerous, and the absence of dates so frequ
that it is almost the general rule.

The *Bughyat al-Murīd* (Or. 3719) is an account of t
descendants of 'Aly al-Amlaḥy (died in A.H. 977—A.D. 156
descendant of Yūsuf ad-Dā'y and grandfather of t
Imām al-Ḳāsim son of Muḥammad surnamed al-Manṣūr,
whom I have had occasion to speak in the latter part
Note 130.

The *Kāshifat al-Ghummah* (Or. 3791) is for the m
part devoted to the religious opinions and controvers
writings of the Imām an-Nāṣir li-dīn Illah, who reigned
the end of the seventh and beginning of the eighth ce
turies of the Hijrah. The value of the introductory portic
on the succession of the preceding Imāms, is much i
paired by the general absence of dates, even more notic
able in the present instance than in others.

It remains for me to express my sense of obligation
the friendly help I have received throughout the course
my work. I owe my acknowledgments to Dr. Rieu a
Dr. Rost for assistance always so readily afforded in t
recourse I have had to the libraries under their charg
To my old friend, M. Henri Lavoix, I am indebted f
never-failing good offices, of special service to me
the present occasion, in the futherance of my work
the Bibliothèque Nationale. I am under great obligati
to M. Zotenberg, keeper of Oriental MSS. at the Bibli
thèque, and in particular for the favour he has done me
collating with the original the passages I have print
from al-Janadi. And finally I have to offer my thanks
Professor de Goeje for facilities so cordially granted to
at the Library of his University, for his kindness in revisi
with the original the principal extracts I have printed fro
Khazraji, and, let me add, for the pleasant memories wi
which my visit to Leiden is associated.

MUHAMMADAN AND CHRISTIAN DATES.

(From Wüstenfeld's Tables.)

A.H.	Began	A.D.	A.H.	Began	A.D.
201	Wed., July 30	816	401	Tues., Aug. 15	1010
206	Thur., June 6	821	406	Tues., June 21	1015
211	Fri., April 13	826	411	Wed., April 27	1020
216	Sat., Feb. 18	831	416	Thur., March 4	1025
221	Sun., Dec. 26	835	421	Fri., Jan. 9	1030
226	Sun., Oct. 31	840	426	Sat., Nov. 16	1034
231	Mon., Sept. 7	845	431	Sun., Sept. 23	1039
236	Tues., July 15	850	436	Sun., July 29	1044
241	Wed., May 22	855	441	Mon., June 5	1049
246	Thur., Mar. 28	860	446	Tues., April 12	1054
251	Fri., Feb. 2	865	451	Wed., Feb. 17	1059
256	Fri., Dec. 9	869	456	Thur, Dec. 25	1063
261	Sat., Oct. 16	874	461	Fri., Oct. 31	1068
266	Sun., Aug. 23	879	466	Fri., Sept. 6	1073
271	Mon., June 29	884	471	Sat., July 14	1078
276	Tues., May 6	889	476	Sun., May 21	1083
281	Wed., Mar. 13	894	481	Mon., Mar. 27	1088
286	Wed., Jan. 17	899	486	Tues., Feb. 1	1093
291	Thur., Nov. 24	903	491	Wed., Dec. 9	1097
296	Fri., Sept. 30	908	496	Wed., Oct. 15	1102
301	Sat., Aug. 7	913	501	Thur., Aug. 22	1107
306	Sun., June 14	918	506	Fri., June 28	1112
311	Mon., April 21	923	511	Sat., May 5	1117
316	Mon., Feb. 25	928	516	Sun., March 12	1122
321	Tues., Jan. 1	933	521	Mon., Jan. 17	1127
326	Wed., Nov. 8	937	526	Mon., Nov. 23	1131
331	Thur., Sept. 15	942	531	Tues., Sept. 29	1136
336	Fri., July 23	947	536	Wed., Aug. 6	1141
341	Sat., May 29	952	541	Thur., June 13	1146
346	Sat., April 4	957	546	Fri., April 20	1151
351	Sun., Feb. 9	962	551	Sat., Feb. 25	1156
356	Mon., Dec. 17	966	556	Sat., Dec. 31	1160
361	Tues., Oct. 24	971	561	Sun., Nov. 7	1165
366	Wed., Aug. 30	976	566	Mon., Sept. 14	1170
371	Thur., July 7	981	571	Tues., July 22	1175
376	Thur., May 13	986	576	Wed., May 28	1180
381	Fri., Mar. 20	991	581	Thur., April 4	1185
386	Sat., Jan. 25	996	586	Thur., Feb. 8	1190
391	Sun., Dec. 1	1000	591	Fri., Dec. 16	1194
396	Mon., Oct. 8	1005	596	Sat., Oct. 23	1199

THE HISTORY OF YAMAN

BY

NAJM AD-DĪN ‘OMĀRAH AL-YAMANI.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE GRACIOUS.

PRAISE be to God, the most meet to be praised, the most worthy of worship. His blessings and salutations of peace be upon Muḥammad the Prophet, the most pure in lineage, the most beneficent of apostles, and upon his family, the most perfect in knowledge, the most steadfast in judgment.

AND AFTER. In the year 563 I attended the receptions of the most illustrious and learned Ḳāḍi (al-Fāḍil) Abu ‘Aly ‘Abd ar-Raḥīm, son of the most noble Ḳāḍi Bahā ad-Dīn Abu ’l-Majd ‘Aly al-Baisāni (native of Baisān). May God preserve his greatness and perpetuate his dignities. He was Chancellor and Chief Secretary to the Khalīfah al-‘Āḍid. He urged me, nay, he guided me, to the composition of a book comprehending all that is preserved in my memory touching the land of Yaman, its plains and its hills, its dry land and its waters, the extent of its kingdoms and the course of its roads, the wars of its people and their battles, their memorable deeds and their achievements, the history of its Ḳāḍis and of its Dā‘ys,[1] of its nobles and of

its princes, of its poets, those of whom he had hea
and those I had seen.

I obeyed his commands, and I placed relian
upon his indulgence on my work being submitt
to him. He is not one in whose presence I fe
overcome by the reverence with which I regard h
exalted station, and were I not encouraged by n
knowledge that judgment (upon my work) rests
his hands, yet would my own lowliness (throu
his graciousness) convert my fears into boldness.

It has been related to me by the Sheykh a
Jurist Nizār ibn 'Abd al-Malik, the native of Mec
and by the Jurist Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ash'
—and both are well acquainted with the histories
the people, with their genealogies and with th
poetry—and I have also read in the book entitl
Al-Mufīd li-Akhbar Zabīd (the Instructor on t
history of Zabīd), composed by the mighty Ki
Abu 'ṭ-Ṭāmi Jayyāsh, son of Najāḥ, *Nāṣir ad-d*
(Defender of the Faith), sovereign of Zabīd—th
report that in the year 199 (A.H.) certain perso
descendants of 'Abd Allah ('Obayd Allah) *son*
*Ziyād** were brought to (the Khalīfah) al-Ma'mū
2 son of ar-Rashīd. One, named Muḥamma
grandson of 'Abd Allah ibn Ziyād, claimed to
descended from ('Obayd Allah son of) Ziy
Another represented himself to be descended fr
Suleymān, son of (the Omayyad Khalīfah) Hish
son of 'Abd al-Malik. Khalf ibn Abi Ṭāhir, wa
of the Amīr Jayyāsh son of Najāḥ, was a desce
dant of that man.

Al-Ma'mūn, in reply to the Omayyad, object
that 'Abd Allah ibn (Muḥammad ibn) 'Aly ibn ('A
Allah ibn) 'Abbas beheaded Suleymān ibn Hishā
and caused his two sons to be executed on t
same day. "I am a descendant," answered t
Omayyad, "of Suleymān's youngest son, then

* Read *adherents of the Omayyads.*

his childhood. We form a tribe at Baṣrah, where we live in a state of obscurity." Another man, Muḥammad, son of Harūn, claimed to be a member of the tribe of Taghlib. On hearing his name, al-Ma'mūn wept and exclaimed: "Verily I am answerable for Muḥammad son of Harūn!" He referred to his brother al-Amīn. He then ordered the two Omayyads to be put to death, but the Taghlibite to be pardoned for the sake of his name and of that of his father.

Ibn Ziyād thereupon exclaimed, addressing the Khalīfah: "How falsely do people speak, O Prince of the Faithful, when pretending that thou art lenient, forgiving, and averse to shedding blood without just cause! If it be thy purpose to slay us by reason of our misdeeds, behold, we have not forsaken obedience unto thee, neither have we, in our allegiance, dissevered ourselves from the counsels of the nation. And if thou desirest to punish us for the crimes of the Omayyads against thy race, behold God, be he exalted, hath said:—*No burdened soul shall bear the load that belongeth to another.*"[2] Al-Ma'mūn approved and commended the words of Ibn Ziyād. All his prisoners were pardoned, and they were more than one hundred in number. He placed them under the care of Abu 'l-'Abbas al-Faḍl ibn Sahl *Dhu 'r-Ri'āsatayn*, or, according to others, under that of al-Faḍl's brother, al-Ḥasan.

In Muharram A.H. 202, the proclamation took place at Baghdād of Ibrahīm, son of (the Khalīfah) al-Mahdi (and uncle of al-Ma'mūn—in pursuance of an attempt to usurp the throne). At that same time a letter came from the governor of Yaman with tidings of the revolt of the Ash'arites and
3 'Akkites.[3] Al-Faḍl ibn Sahl spoke to al-Ma'mūn in praise of Muḥammad ibn Ziyād, of the Marwānite, and of the Taghlibite. He urged that they were men of distinction, and unsurpassed in their capacity

to render good service. He advised their being sent to Yaman, Ibn Ziyād as Amīr, Ibn Hishām as Wazīr, and the Taghlibite as Judge and Mufti.* From the sons of the Taghlibite Muḥammad ibn Harūn, are descended the Ḳādis of Zabīd, known as the Banu Abi 'Aḳāmah, and the office continued to be inherited in the family until they were deprived of it by 'Aly ibn Mahdy, on the dissolution at his hands of the Abyssinian dynasty (of the Banu Najāḥ).[4]

The liberated prisoners accompanied the army despatched by al-Ma'mūn to Baghdād against Ibrahīm, son of al-Mahdi. In A.H. 203 Ibn Ziyād and his companions performed the pilgrimage. He proceeded on his way to Yaman and conquered the Tihāmah (of Yaman),† after a war with the Arabs who inhabited that province. In Sha'ban, A.H. 204, the date of the death, at Miṣr (in Egypt), of the Jurist and Imām Muḥammad ibn Idrīs ash-Shāfi'y (the mercy of God be upon him), Ibn Ziyād laid the foundations of the city of Zabīd.[5] In A.H. 205, Ja'far, freedman of Ibn Ziyād, started from Yaman to perform the pilgrimage, carrying with him a considerable sum of money and presents. He proceeded to 'Irāḳ, where he was received in audience by al-Ma'mūn. He returned to Zabīd in 206, bringing with him one thousand horsemen, including seven hundred adherents of the Abbasides of Khurassān. The rule of Ibn Ziyād extended itself, and he became possessed of the whole of Yaman, both of the mountains and of the maritime provinces. Ja'far was appointed governor of al-Jibāl (the Highlands), where he founded a city known by the name of al-Mudhaykhirah, situated in the district of Raymat al-Ashā'ir, possessing streams of water and extensive gardens.[6] The country over which

* The Mufti is the official expounder of religious law.

† For the word Tihāmah see *infra* (Geographical Index).

he ruled is known to this day under the name of the Mikhlāf of Ja'far. The word *Mikhlāf*, as used by the people of Yaman, signifies an extensive district. This Ja'far was a man of great capacity and astuteness. It was through him that the dynasty of Ibn Ziyād acquired its greatness, and for that reason Ibn Ziyād received a surname actually derived from the name of Ja'far. It was he who stipulated with the Arabs of Tihāmah that they should not make use of riding horses. Ibn Ziyād became master of Ḥaḍramaut, of Diyār Kindah, of Shiḥr, of Mirbāṭ,[7] of Abyan, of Laḥj, of Aden and of the maritime provinces on the Red Sea as far as Ḥaly. From Ḥaly to Mecca (may God guard it) is eight days' journey. He possessed also in the Highlands, Janad and its dependencies, Mikhlāf al-Ma'āfir, Mikhlāf Ja'far, Ṣan'ā, Ṣa'dah, Najrān and Bayḥān. Ibn Ziyād and his posterity after him caused the Khutbah to be recited in the names of the Abbaside Khalīfahs, and sent them tribute and valuable presents.

His descendants were Ibrahīm, son of this same Muḥammad the first of the dynasty. Next after Ibrahīm came his son Ibn Ziyād (Ziyād ?), whose reign did not long endure. He was succeeded by his brother Abu 'l-Jaysh Isḥaḳ, son of Ibrahīm, whose life was prolonged over a long period. When he had attained a great age, and his reign had endured for eighty years, some of the provinces separated themselves from his kingdom. Among those who manifested an evil disposition was the King of Ṣan'ā, a descendant of the Tubbas and of Ḥimyar.[8] His name was As'ad ibn Ya'fur. The Khutbah was recited and the coinage was struck, in his provnice, in the name of Abu 'l-Jaysh ibn Ziyād; but As'ad paid him neither voluntary offerings nor contributions of stores nor tribute. His revenues did not exceed 400,000 (dinārs) a year, most of which

he expended in charitable deeds and in hospitality.* The rulers of Bayḥān, of Najrān, and of Jurash[9] were likewise subject to Ibn Ziyād. As for Ṣa'dah, it became the scene of the revolt of the Ḥasanite Sherīf (al-Hādi Yaḥya) known by the surnames of the *Rassite* and the *Zeydite.* It would not be proper to relate his history at this place, although[10] . . . . there is not in all Yaman a larger, pleasanter, or more populous city than Ṣan'a. It is situated on the equator, and enjoys a temperate climate, so that no person requires throughout the course of his life to move his residence from one spot to another, either for winter or for summer, and the length of the days in either season is almost the same. It contains a large building, now in ruins and reduced to a high mound. It is known by the name of Ghumdān. None of the (later) kings of Yaman have built a palace like unto it, or so lofty.

In the kingdom of As'ad ibn Ya'fur, Prince of Ṣan'ā, is the mountain Mudhaykhirah, and it has been reported to me that it is about twenty parasangs in height. It contains cultivated lands and (running) waters, and it produces the plant known as *Wars*,† similar to saffron. The mountain is accessible by only one road.

Muḥammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Faḍl the Dā'y, (was?) known as the Sheykh of Lā'ah, and this place Lā'ah, which adjoins it, is a pretty village known as 'Aden-Lā'ah.[11] It is not the same as the seaport of 'Aden-Abyan. I have visited 'Aden-Lā'ah. It is the place at which the Alide supremacy was first proclaimed in Yaman, and thence issued forth Manṣūr al-Yaman. The Dā'y Muḥammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Faḍl was a native of the place, and among others who came to it was Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shīya'i, who proclaimed the Alide su-

* Cf. Ibn Ḥauḳal, p. 20.

† Memecylon tinctorium (Freytag).

premacy in North Africa. It was there also that ʻAly, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, studied in his youth. It was one of the centres of the Alide mission in Yaman.

Muḥammad (ʻAly) ibn al-Faḍl, whom I have here mentioned, conquered Mount Mudhaykhirah and established there the Khutbah in the name of the Alides in the year 340 (read 291?). Then it was retaken by the people of Asʻad ibn Abi Yaʻfur, but the followers of Muḥammad (ʻAly) ibn al-Faḍl again recovered possession of it.

The mountain of Shibām was situated in the dominions of Asʻad ibn Abi Yaʻfur, Prince of Sanʻā. It is a strong place of defence, containing villages and cultivated lands, as also a great mosque, and it forms an independent government. Cornelian and onyx are found upon it. These are hard stones, the beauty of which appears when they are cut.

Among other governors of Abu 'l-Jaysh son of Ziyād, who revolted, was Suleymān ibn Ṭarf, ruler of ʻAththar. He was one of the Princes of Tihāmah. His dominions extended over a length of seven days' journey by two in width, namely, from ash-Sharjah to Ḥali. His annual revenues amounted to 500,000 (ʻAththarīyah) dinārs. Although he refused to attend in person at the Court of Ibn Ziyād, he caused the Khutbah to be recited and the coinage to be struck in the name of that
6 Prince. He paid him also an annual tribute and sent him presents, but I know not the amount thereof.

Among the Princes of Tihāmah who, like Ibn Ṭarf, recited the Khutbah and struck the coinage in the name of Ibn Ziyād and paid him a fixed amount of tribute, was al-Ḥarāmi, ruler of Ḥali, a Prince of inferior power to that of Ibn Ṭarf.

The portion of Yaman that remained subject to Ibn Ziyād in his old age extended in length from

ash-Sharjah to Aden, a distance of twenty days' journey, and from Ghulāfiḳah to Ṣan'ā, five days' journey. I have seen a statement of the revenues of Ibn Ziyād in A.H. 366, and notwithstanding the reductions they had undergone, they amounted to a million of 'Aththarīyah dinārs.[12] This did not include various duties he levied upon ships from India, nor contributions of musk, camphor, ambergris (spikenard), sandal-wood and china. It was exclusive also of taxes levied upon ambergris on the shores of Bāb al-Māndab, at Aden, at Abyan, and at ash-Shiḥr and other places, and exclusive of imposts on the pearl fisheries, and of tribute imposed upon the ruler of the city (read island) of Dahlak, comprising, among others, one thousand head of slaves, whereof five hundred were Abyssinian and Nubian female slaves. The Kings of the Abyssinians, on the further side of the sea, sent him offerings of presents and sought his alliance.

Abu 'l-Jaysh died in the year 371, leaving a child of the name of 'Abd Allah, or, as it is also said, of the name of Ziyād. The guardianship of the child was assumed by his sister Hind, daughter of Abu 'l-Jaysh, and by one of the slaves of Abu 'l-Jaysh, an Abyssinian eunuch of the name of Rushd. The latter [did not long survive, but he] possessed a Nubian slave known by the name of Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah, Salāmah being the name of Ḥusayn's mother. Ḥusayn grew up a man of ability and resolute character, and abstemious in his habits. On the death of his master Rushd he became wazīr to the son of Abu 'l-Jaysh and to the Prince's sister Hind. The outlying provinces of their dominions had fallen into a state of decay, and the governors of the fortresses in the Highlands had possessed themselves of the districts entrusted to them.

The Ḳā'id Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah made war upon the mountain chiefs and compelled them to submit.

Ibn Ṭarf and Ibn al-Ḥarāmi also re-entered into subjection. Ibn Salāmah recovered the original limits of the kingdom, and he founded the cities of al-Kadrā on the Wādi Sahām, and of al-Ma'ḳir on
7 the Wādi Dhuwāl. He was a just ruler, profuse in bestowing alms and donations for the love of God (whose name be exalted), and following generally in his conduct the example of (the Khalīfah) 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. He ruled for thirty years, and died in A.H. 402.[13]

Among the splendid works executed by Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah must be reckoned the construction of great mosques and lofty minarets along the road from Ḥaḍramaut to the city of Mecca (may God Most High guard it). The distance extends over sixty days' journey. He dug wells and channels with running water in solitary wildernesses, and he erected along the road constructions on which were indicated the distances in miles, in parasangs and in stages. Some of these works I have seen, either in good order or in ruins, and of the remainder I have received descriptions from other persons, all agreeing with one another. The first stations were at Shibām and Tarīm, two cities of Ḥaḍramaut.* A series of mosques was built extending thence to Aden, to Abyan, and to Laḥj, a distance of twenty days' journey. At each interval of one day's journey, there stood a mosque with a minaret and a well. As to Aden, it contained a mosque built by (the Khalīfah) 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, which was restored by Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah.

From Aden the road to Mecca divides itself into two, one of which ascends the mountains and the other passes through the low country (Tihāmah). The highland road is bordered by the mosque of

* See note 11. Of Tarīm, al-Hamdāni merely says that it was a large city (p. 87, l. 17).

al-Ḥawah (al-Juwwah?),* a large building, which I have seen in good order, as erected by Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah. Of the other mosques on the highland road, I have seen that of al-Janad, which is like unto the mosque of Aḥmad ibn Ṭulūn at Miṣr. There stood formerly on its site a pretty mosque originally erected by Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, on his being sent to Yaman. Mu'ādh was one of the companions of the Apostle of God, upon whom be blessings and peace.[14] The people of Janad and of the surrounding villages relate singular stories touching the merits of that mosque. They affirm that a visit paid to it, in the first week of the month of Rajab, is equivalent to a visit to the holy places of Mecca, or even to the performance of the rites of pilgrimage. The custom of annually resorting to it grew, until at length the practice was regarded as one of the religious ceremonies attending the pilgrimage to Mecca, and the building was looked upon by the people as a sacred place of resort. If one man owe a debt to another, he will beg to be allowed to remain undisturbed until after the pilgrimage, by which he simply means the visit to al-Janad. Next is Dhu Ashraḳ, where there is a mosque with the following inscription, carved in stone over the entrance: *One of the mosques the erection of which was ordered by 'Omar son of 'Abd*
8 *al-'Azīz son of Marwān.* Next is the city of Ibb, then an-Naḳīl, then Dhamār. [Thence to Ṣan'ā is a distance of five days' (?) journey, at each of which a station has been built.] Then the mosque of Ṣan'ā, a large building. From Ṣan'ā to Ṣa'dah is ten days' journey [with a mosque at each stage], and from Ṣa'dah to Ṭā'if, seven days. At each interval of a day's journey there are a mosque and reservoirs for water. Then the traveller reaches the pass of Ṭā'if, which occupies a day to him who

* For al-Juwwah, see note 111, the latter part.

ascends from Mecca, and half a day to him that goes down to the city. The road was constructed by Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah of such width that three laden camels can travel abreast upon it.

The above is the highland road. The Tihāmah (low country) road likewise divides itself into two branches. One, the maritime road, extends along the coast. The other, the royal highway, runs halfway between the coast and the mountains. The two roads diverge from Tihāmah (Aden ?), and upon both, at each interval of a day's journey, stands a great mosque. On the maritime road stands al-Makhnaḳ, at a distance of one night's journey from Aden. It has a well eighty (thirty) fathoms in depth, which I have several times visited, as also a ruined mosque. Then al-'Ārah, then 'Athr, and next as-Suḳya, with a mosque, and a well forty fathoms in depth. Then Bāb al-Māndab, and then Mokha. Then as-Suḥāri, al-Khauhah, al-Ahwāb, Ghulāfiḳah, Bī'ah (?), al-Jardah (al-Ḥirdah), az-Zar'ah (?), ash-Sharjah, al-Mufajjar (al-Hajar ?), al-Ḳandīr (?), and 'Aththar, which is the seat of an ancient kingdom.[15] Then ad-Duwaymah, Ḥamiḍah, Dhahabān, Ḥali, as-Sirrayn and Juddah. These are the mosques on the maritime road, every one of which I have seen either in good repair or in ruins.

On the middle road stand Dhāt al-Khayf
9 (Khubayt ?), Mauza', al-Jadūn (?), Ḥays, Zabīd, Fashāl, aḍ-Ḍijā' (written with Kisra to the letter Ḍad), al-Kaḥmah, al-Kadrā, which was the residence of Ibn Salāmah and was founded by him, al-Jaththah, 'Irk an-Nasham, al-Mahjam, Maur, al-Wādiyāni, Jizān, al-Musā'id, Ta'shar, al-Mabny, Riyaḥ and al-Fajr. Then the royal highway and the maritime road unite. They diverge on leaving as-Sirrayn. Thence to Mecca are five days' journey. The first building erected by Ibn Salāmah

which is reached by the pilgrims, is Bayn (Bīr ?) ar-Riyāḍah, then Sabakhat al-Ghurāb, next al-Līth. Then they reach Wādi Yalamlam, where there is a well with an abundant supply of drinking water, ten fathoms in depth and five or six in width. Here the travellers separate into two parties. Those whose destination is Mecca find on their way Ibn Salāmah's buildings at Birād, next al-Bayḍā, then al-Ḳarīn, and finally Mecca. Those proceeding to 'Arafāt reach a well constructed by Ibn Salāmah in Wādi ar-Raḥm, thence to Na'man, and then 'Arafāt. He built also a mosque on Jabal ar-Raḥmah, at 'Arafāt. May God have mercy upon him ! [16]

I have been informed by the Faḳīh (Jurist) Abu Muḥammad 'Abd Allah ibn Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Abbār, under whom I studied the Shāfi'y doctrines, that the following incident was related to him by his father, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim. The same was reported to me by 'Abd ar-Raḥman ibn 'Aly al-'Absi, and by al-Muḳry (the Ḳur'ān reader) al-Ḥusayn, grandson of Ḥusayn, son of Salāmah. All these attained the age of nearly one hundred years. They relate that people were, on a certain occasion, assembling in crowds to attend the morning reception of Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah, when a man approached and said unto him : "The Apostle of God (upon whom be blessings and peace) hath commanded me to come unto thee, that thou mayest pay me one thousand dinārs." "It may be," answered Ḥusayn, "that the Evil Spirit hath visited thee in a false shape." "It is not so," replied the man, "and the sign between me and thee is, that for twenty years past, thou hast every night, two hundred times invoked blessings on the Apostle." Ḥusayn, on hearing these words, wept and exclaimed : "This I swear by Allah is a true sign, for none knew of it but God alone ! " And he ordered the money to be paid.[17]

The following anecdote has moreover been re-

ported to me by the Jurist Abu 'Aly ibn Ṭalīḳ, who was a pious man and eminent scholar, and who inhabited the city of al-Ma'ḳir. It had been related to him, he said, by his father and by others his predecessors, all members of families distinguished for learning and for sober living. A man, it was said, complained in that valley, to Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah, who was on his way from Zabīd to al-Kadrā, that he had been robbed of a leathern bag, containing one thousand or, as it is also said, two thousand dinārs. This, he said, had occurred in Wādi Maur, which is several days distant from the place where he made his complaint. Ḥusayn ordered the man to be brought to him, and made him sit down among his followers (in the mosque of al-Kadrā). He rose to perform his devotions, and he prolonged them to an unusual length. He then lay down in the Mihrāb and slept, and the people gradually crowded towards the spot from all parts of the mosque. The narrator's father said that he was one of those who approached nearest to the Prince, and he heard him command one of his followers to proceed with the man to such and such a village on the coast, to receive the property from so and so, son of so and so, and to do that person no harm. "For," he said, "the Apostle of God (upon whom be blessings and salutations of peace) hath interceded for him, informing me that the person in question is one of his descendants, and hath acquainted me with the facts of the case." The history of Ḥusayn and a relation of his good deeds in Yaman, would fill volumes.

Sovereignty over the dominions of the Banu Ziyād then passed on to a child of the family, whose name I do not know, but I believe it to have been 'Abd Allah (read Ibrahīm?). He was placed under the guardianship of a paternal aunt and of a eunuch of

the name of Marjān, one of the slaves of Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah, who exercised the office of wazīr. He had two Abyssinian slaves, vigorous men, whom he had brought up from their childhood, and whom, on their attaining manhood, he appointed to the administration of affairs. One bore the name of Nafīs,* and was entrusted with the direction of affairs at the capital. The other was named Najāḥ, and he was the ancestor of the kings of Zabīd, whose dynasty was brought to an end by 'Aly ibn Mahdy in A.H. 554. He was father of the king Sa'īd al-Aḥwal, the slayer of the Amīr 'Aly ibn Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, who was Dā'y (guardian and propagator) in Yaman of the Fatimite doctrines and of the supremacy of the (Egyptian) Khalifate, at that time held by al-Mustanṣir. Najāḥ was likewise father of the most excellent and righteous King Abu 't-Ṭīb (read Abu 't-Ṭāmi) Jayyāsh, in whose hands and in the hands of whose descendants, supreme authority remained until the above-mentioned date.

11 Najāḥ ruled over al-Kadrā, al-Mahjam, Maur and al-Wadiāni, and these four districts are the finest provinces north of Zabīd. Jealousy arose between him and Nafīs touching the exercise of the office of wazīr at the capital. Nafīs was of a tyrannical disposition and was dreaded by the people, whilst Najāḥ was merciful, righteous, and beloved. Their master, Marjān, nevertheless inclined unto Nafīs, and favoured him at the expense of Najāḥ. It was intimated to the former that the aunt of his master Ibn Ziyād, was in correspondence with Najāḥ, and that she favoured him. Nafīs complained thereof to Marjān, who laid hands upon the Princess and upon her brother's son, and delivered them to Nafīs.

The young Prince in question was the last of his

* See note 13, last par.

race. With him the dynasty of the Banu Ziyād came to an end in Yaman, and their power passed into the hands of men, originally their slaves. The dynasty endured two hundred and three years (read two hundred and six years, A.H. 203 to 409), for they founded Zabīd in A.H. 204, and the dynasty ended in A.H. 409.

Nafīs, having gained possession of the Princess and of her nephew, caused them to be immured. They stood, praying for mercy, and adjuring him in the name of God Most High, so long as an aperture remained, and until the wall was completely closed upon them.

When the Ziyādites received tidings of the weakened condition of the Abbaside Khalīfate, of the assassination of al-Mutawakkil (in A.H. 247), and of the deposition of al-Musta'īn (in A.H. 252), they appropriated to themselves the entire revenues of Yaman and, when riding forth, the royal umbrella was borne over them;[18] but they tranquillized the minds of their subjects, by continuing the recitation of the Khutbah in the name of the Abbasides. When Nafīs murdered Ibrahīm (or 'Abd Allah), son of his master, and the boy's aunt, he assumed the royal dignity, adopted the use of the umbrella, and struck the coinage in his own name.

Najāḥ, on hearing of the treatment his master had undergone at the hands of Nafīs, summoned his neighbours to his assistance, Arabs and non-Arabs. He marched upon Zabīd, and repeated battles were fought between the two rivals—the battles of Rima' and of Fashāl, in both which Najāḥ was worsted, that of al-'Ukdah in which he was victorious, and that of al-'Irk in which Nafīs was killed near the Gate of Zabīd, with the loss on the two sides of five thousand men. Najāḥ captured the city of Zabīd in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah of the year

412. He then asked Marjān: "What hath Nafīs
12 done with thine own and our masters?" "They are in that wall," he replied. Najāḥ removed the bodies, prayed over them, and erected a mausoleum over their place of burial. Marjān was immured alive along with the corpse of Nafīs, in the wall in which the two bodies were found.

Najāḥ now adopted the use of the royal umbrella and struck the coinage in his own name. He entered into correspondence with the supreme authorities in 'Irāḳ, tendering them his submission, and he received the title of *al-Mu'ayyad Nāṣir ad-Dīn*. He was empowered to appoint as Ḳāḍi whomsoever he chose, and to administer all the affairs of the country of Yaman. He continued to rule over Tihāmah, and to exercise control over most of the people of the Highlands, and he was styled King, both in the Khutbah and in official documents, with the title of *Our Lord*. He had several children, among whom were Sa'īd, Jayyāsh, Mu'ārik, adh-Dhakhīrah and Manṣūr.

But the governors appointed by Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah in the Highlands, seized upon the mountain fortresses.[19] Aden, Abyan, Laḥj, ash-Shiḥr and Ḥaḍramaut were taken by the Banu Ma'n, who, I believe, were not descendants of Ma'n ibn Zā'idah the Shaybānite.[20] Samadān, a place of greater strength than Dumlūwah, also the fortress of Sawā, that of Dumlūwah, the fortresses of Ṣabir, of Dhakhir, of Ta'kar (which commands Janad), also the provinces of Janad (Ja'far), of 'Unnah and of al-Ma'āfir were appropriated by a family, descended from Ḥimyar, known as the Banu 'l-Kurandi. They achieved distinction by generous and noble deeds, by their powerful rule and brilliant estate. The fortress of Ḥabb, which is like unto at-Ta'kar, that which bears the name of 'Azzān, that of Beyt 'Izz, that of as-Sa'r (ash-Sha'ir), a great fortress, that of Nūr

(Anwar), an-Nakīl, and as-Saḥūl, the fortresses of Khadid, and of ash-Shawāķi (Shawāfi). All these were conquered by the Sulṭān Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn ibn at-Tubba'y, and by his son. Saḥūl is the place in which the cloth known by the name of Saḥulīyah is woven, of which two pieces were used as winding-sheets for the Apostle. The valley belongs to the Banu Aṣbaḥ, a tribe to which the Jurist Mālik al-Aṣbaḥi, Imām of the City of the Flight, belonged.[21] Sulṭān Abu 'Abd Allah al-
13 Husayn is he who contrived the stratagem whereby Sa'īd al-Aḥwal, son of Najāh, who had killed the Amīr 'Ali, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, was himself slain. The province of Uhāẓah (also called Wuḥāẓah), of which the seat of government is the stronghold of Baybars (Yarīs?), was likewise appropriated. Among its other fortresses are Dahwan (Zahrān), Yafūz, Sha'r (Sha'b?), and al-Khaḍrā. Its chief city is Shāḥiṭ. Nizār, son of the Jurist Zayd ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Wuhāẓi, wrote the following lines on the Sulṭān of the country :—

They told us the Sulṭān was at Shāḥiṭ.—He ascends the mountains from the barren plains.
I asked, Does the Sulṭān occupy the highest point?—Nay, they answered, he has gone down.[22]

The fortresses of Wuḥāẓah were conquered by the Banu Wā'il, who are descendants of Dhu 'l-Kalā'. They are an ancient family of chieftains, but their people are a silly folk, who imagine themselves to be absolutely the noblest race descended from Adam. I may mention that I was once on a hot summer's day travelling along the road from the market of Jabḥab (Jabjab), the greatest market held in the district, when I was overtaken by two horsemen of the tribe, who were urging on their horses with their heels, and whose lances were held by the riders pointed in my direction. I alighted from the beast upon which I was mounted, and I

climbed up the side of the hill. The horsemen, on reaching me, said that the question who are the noblest descendants of Adam was in dispute between them, and that they had agreed to abide by my decision. One of them maintained that the Banu Wā'il are absolutely superior to every other race. The second contended that the Banu Wā'il and Banu Ḳuraysh are equal in nobility. To rid myself of them I replied that the Apostle (upon whom be blessings and peace) is the noblest of all mankind, and that the Banu Wā'il exceed in nobility the tribe of Ḳuraysh. One of the two men answered: "By Allah, hadst thou spoken otherwise, thou hadst not escaped me!" and thereupon they left me. The Sultān As'ad ibn Wā'il ibn 'Īsa, celebrated for his generosity and the theme of exuberant praise, is a member of the tribe of Wā'il.

The fortress of Ashyaḥ, seat of the King and Dā'y Saba, son of Aḥmad the Sulayhite, and the fortress of Wuṣāb and its territories, were conquered by a family belonging to the tribe of Bakīl,[23]
14 descended from Hamdān. Ṣan'ā and its dependencies were conquered by a Hamdanite family. That of 'Abd al-Wāḥid seized the provinces of Bura', al-'Amad, and Li'san. They possessed themselves also of the fortress of Masār, which has no equal in Yaman, with the exception only of at-Ta'kar, of Samadān, and Ḥabb. It was at Masār, in Ḥarāz, that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi first arose proclaiming the supremacy of the Fatimite Khalīfah al-Mustanṣir. Ḥarāz is the name of the district, and its inhabitants are designated after it. They are closely allied with the tribe of Hamdān, and it was with their support that the Dā'y 'Aly, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, raised himself to power.[24]

The History of the Dā'y 'Aly, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite. Thence proceeds the most important part of the History of Yaman, and therewith the subjects of the remainder of this book, touching the Ḳāḍis, the Dā'ys, the distinguished men and the poets of the country are closely connected.

The Ḳāḍi Muḥammad son of 'Aly, father of the Dā'y 'Aly the Sulayhite, was a follower of the Sunni doctrines, and he exercised great influence over the men of Ḥarāz, who were 40,000 in number. When the office of Dā'y was transferred to 'Āmir ibn 'Abd Allah az-Zawāhy (ar-Rawāhy?), so named after a village in the province of Ḥarāz,[25] he applied himself to win the favour of the Ḳāḍi Muḥammad ibn 'Aly, father of the Dā'y 'Aly ibn Muḥammad, the Sulayhite. Az-Zawāhi was in the habit of riding to the dwelling-place of the Ḳāḍi, who was a man of authority, holding the dignity of a chief, and both virtuous and learned. He steadily persevered in his designs and finally won the affection of the Ḳāḍi's son 'Aly, then below the age of puberty, in whom he had perceived signs of future greatness. It is said that 'Āmir possessed a description of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, contained in the *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣuwar* (Book of Delineations), one of the treasures of the ('Obaydite) Imāms, upon whom be peace.[26] He made known to 'Aly the revelations contained in the book touching the destinies reserved for him in the future, and the noble career he was to fulfil. He did this secretly, without the knowledge of the youth's father and family. Az-Zawāhi ere long died, bequeathing to 'Aly his writings and his learning. Before his death

'Aly's mind had become deeply impressed by az-Zawāhi's teaching. He was highly intelligent, and applied himself to study. Ere he had reached the age of manhood, he had become filled with knowledge, by means of which and of good fortune, he attained the highest objects of his ambition. He was learned in the jurisprudence of the Imperial sect, and versed in the science of (mystical) interpretation (of the Ḳur'ān). He began his career as leader of the pilgrims, for several years, by way of as-Sarāt * and Ṭā'if. He alone led the pilgrimage during that time, and in his early years his condition gradually rose from lowliness to exaltation, from poverty to wealth. Illustrations thereof were related to me by the Jurist Abu 'l-Ḥusayn 'Aly ibn Suleymān. He was a man of advanced age, a poet, author of the following lines referring to 'Omar ibn 'Adnān the 'Akkite :—

Though my night watchings be attended with forebodings of evil—
(yet I know that) Ibn 'Adnān will be unto me a protector from oppression.†

Similar circumstances were related to me also by az-Zibrikān ibn al-Fuwaykar (Ghuwayfar?), the 'Akkite, on the authority of a certain poet. He was the author of the following lines, part of an ode in which be satirized his own people :—

Who will buy the 'Akkites at the cost of a copper ?—
Behold I will sell them all, absolutely, and without the option of cancelling the bargain.

Both these men and other persons have repeated to me an anecdote related by the Ḳāḍi 'Omar ibn al-Murajjal, who bore the surname of *the Ḥanafite* and belonged to that school of religion, and who was a distinguished scholar. He said that near the gate

* For the words Sarāt and Sarawāt, see *infra* (Geographical Index).

† The accuracy of these lines, as they stand in the MS., is, I think, very doubtful.

of Zabīd, within the walls, there was the house of an Abyssinian of the name of Faraj as-Saḥrati (the Sahrite) a man of benevolence and of exceeding charity. Whoever entered his mosque he welcomed and entertained. His thoughts were occupied with his guests, and he was in the habit of entering the mosque and of making private inquiries respecting them, without the knowledge of his agents and servants. He went forth one night and found in the mosque a person occupied in reading the Ḳur'ān. He questioned him touching his evening meal, and the man in reply recited the following lines of al-Mutanabbi:—

Who hath taught the mutilated negro the performance of generous deeds?—
His noble-minded masters or his enslaved forefathers?[27]

The Abyssinian took the man with him. He led him to the chief room of his house, and treated him with the most liberal hospitality. He asked his guest the reason of his journey to Tihāmah. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi replied that he had a paternal (read maternal) uncle named Shihāb, whose daughter Asmā had few equals in beauty, and was unmatched
6 in literary culture and intelligence. He had asked her in marriage, and had been met with a demand for dowry exceeding in its amount the bounds of moderation, her mother urging that she should be married to none other but to one of the Hamdanite Kings of Ṣan'ā, or to one of the kings of the family of the Banu Kurandi in Mikhlāf Ja'far. They, in short, exacted a sum which it was wholly beyond his power to command. He was now, he added, on his way either to the Banu Ma'n at Aden, or to the Banu Kurandi in the district of al-Ma'āfir. The Ḳā'id Faraj as-Saḥrati, continued the narrator, supplied him with a large sum of money, double the amount that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi actually paid. The bride

and bridegroom were equipped on a scale such as kings strive to provide when allying themselves with women of the most noble lineage. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi returned, by direction of the Abyssinian, to his uncle and married Asmā. She was the mother of the king al-Mukarram, husband of the Lady, the Queen Sayyidah (the Lady Arwa?), daughter of Aḥmad the Sulayḥite. Asmā was of a generous and noble disposition, liberal in the rewards she bestowed upon poets, and in the large sums she granted in furtherance of the service of God, of acts of benevolence, and of other good deeds. The renown of her splendid virtues extended to her children, her brothers, and her kindred. Her husband's poet, named As'ad ibn Yaḥya al-Haythami, spoke of her in the following terms, in an ode which commences with the words: "She of the white hands hath bestowed gifts:"

She hath impressed upon beneficence the stamp of generosity—Of meanness she allows no trace to appear.
I say when people magnify the throne of Bilḳīs—Asmā hath obscured the name of the loftiest among the stars.[28]

Among other anecdotes of the Dā'y 'Aly aṣ-Ṣulayḥi is that related to me by Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn al-Amawy, surnamed ibn as-Saḥah (as-Sabkhah?). He held it from his father, who had been told the story by my informant's grandfather. He dwelt, he said, in the city of Ḥays, distant a night's journey from Zabīd. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, on conquering Zabīd, rode to the Court of the Ḳāḍi, and delivered to him a judicial deposition he had sworn in the days of his youth. Then, after some private conversation with the Ḳāḍi, he took his leave. After the Amīr's departure, the Ḳāḍi repeated what had been told him by the Prince. He had on one occasion, he related, come to the city of Ḥays for the purpose of gaining
17 intelligence touching the two slaves of Marjān, Nafīs, and Najāḥ. He was met by a person who

knew him, whereupon he changed his garb, and assumed the dress of an oil-presser, a seller of oil at one of the oil-mills of Ḥays. The statement of evidence referred to, he took to the house of a man of the name of as-Sabkhah. After he attained supreme power, an aged woman came to him with the paper in his handwriting. He immediately recognized it, and could allow himself no rest until he had fulfilled his obligation. His deposition, he said, was in precise accordance with what he had written at the time he undertook the duty. ‘Aly ibn Muḥammad, Ḳāḍi of Ḥarāz, bore witness to the truth of this anecdote, and he committed it to writing with his own hand, that under the will of God Most High, it might be borne in remembrance.

Another anecdote of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, relating to the commencement of his career, was told me by the Sulṭān Nāṣir, son of Manṣūr the Wā'ilite, who held it from his grandfather ‘Īsa ibn Yazīd. ‘Aly, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, was, he said, leader of the pilgrimage by the road of the Sarawāt for fifteen (years). The people were in the habit of telling him, when he first rose to eminence, that according to what had come to their knowledge, he was destined to reign over the whole of Yaman, to earn a great name, and to be the founder of a dynasty. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi censured and disavowed what was thus said to him, though it was a thing that had spread far and wide among the people, and was on the lips of all, both high and low.

In the year 429, aṣ-Ṣulayḥi raised his standard on the summit of Masār, the highest peak of the mountains of Ḥarāz. He was then at the head of sixty men, from whom he had received an oath of fidelity at Mecca in A.H. 428, during the celebration of the pilgrimage ceremonies of the month of Dhu 'l-Hijjah. They had sworn to stand by him unto death, in support of his work as Dā‘y for the establishment

of the Ismailite doctrines. Every one of his companions was a member of his family, and of his tribe, which comprised numerous and distinguished men. No building existed on the summit of the mountain. It was a peak, forming a defensive position of great natural strength. Before noon of the day following the night on which aṣ-Ṣulayḥi seized upon the spot, he was surrounded and besieged by 20,000 swordsmen, who reviled and insulted him. "Come down," they said, "or we will cause you and all that are with you to perish by famine." He told them in reply that all he had done was occasioned by his apprehensions for their own safety, as well as for the protection of himself and of his companions. If, he added, they would leave him, he would guard the place. If not, he would come down to them. Thereupon they departed.

Before the expiration of many months, he had erected buildings on the mountain and had strongly fortified the place. He remained at Masār, gradually increasing in power, from the year 429, the commencement of his career, concealing his purpose, that of winning adherents to the Ismailite supremacy.
18 He lived in dread of Najāḥ, the Prince of Tihāmah, but sought to win his favour, assuming a humble demeanour, but never desisting in his efforts against him, until he succeeded in bringing about the death of Najāḥ by poison, with the help of a beautiful female slave whom he sent as a present to his rival. Najāḥ died at al-Kadrā in the year 452.

Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi wrote to the Imām al-Mustanṣir (at Cairo),[29] asking permission to make open proclamation of the Ismailite doctrines and supremacy. He received an answer granting his prayer. He rapidly overran the country and conquered both the (mountain) fortresses and the low country. Before the end of the year 455, he had subjected the whole of

Yaman to his authority. None of its plains or of its hills, of its lands or of its waters remained unsubdued. No parallel case can be found of so rapid a conquest, either in the days of ignorance or in the days of Islām. On a certain occasion when delivering the Khutbah (sermon) at al-Janad, he declared that on the day corresponding with that on which he spoke, he would, under the will of God, preach from the pulpit of Aden. A man exclaimed derisively, "O holy one, O worthy of praise!" Aṣ-Sulayḥi ordered the man to be arrested, and on the day he had indicated, he preached the Khutbah from the pulpit of Aden. The same man thereupon exclaimed, "O twice worthy of praise, O twice holy!" and forthwith took the oath of allegiance and joined the Imperial sect.

From the year 455, the residence of aṣ-Sulayḥi was established at Ṣan'ā. He brought thither the Yamanite kings whom he had deprived of their thrones, giving them places of abode near himself, and appointing governors over the strongholds they had formerly possessed. He built several palaces at Ṣan'ā. I was told by one of the citizens, Muḥammad ibn Bishārah, in A.H. 535, when he stated himself to be nigh unto eighty years of age, that all the palaces of aṣ-Sulayḥi were in ruins, and, he added, all who have built houses at Ṣan'ā, from that time down to the present, have made use of materials taken from aṣ-Sulayḥi's palaces. Neither the brick nor the stone nor the timber have perished.

As to Zabīd and its dependencies in Tihāmah, aṣ-Sulayḥi had sworn that he would appoint as governor only such as would pay him a sum of one hundred (thousand) dinārs. Afterwards he repented
9 of his oath and he desired to appoint his brother-in-law As'ad ibn Shihāb, brother of his wife Asmā, daughter of Shihāb. She weighed out the money

to him on behalf of her brother. "My lady," he said, "*whence hast thou obtained this?*" "*It is the gift of God,*" she answered. "*Verily, God bestoweth His bounty upon whom He willeth, and taketh no account thereof.*" * Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi smiled and understood that the money came from his own treasury. He received it saying: "*This is our property which hath come back unto us.*" † To which Asmā quickly added (in the remaining words of the verse), "*And we will provide for our kinsfolk and care for our brother.*"

As'ad ibn Shihāb entered Zabīd in 456, and distinguished himself by his just treatment of his subjects. He protected the Sunnis in the public exercise of their religion. He established his residence in the palace of Shaḥār. This is a building against which the assaults of Ruin are made in vain, and which Decay, the most powerful of kings, is unable to subdue. It was erected by Shaḥār, son of Ja'far, the ruler of Mikhlāf Ja'far.

"I was one day reposing," said As'ad ibn Shihāb, "and, as I lay extended on my back, I reflected over my affairs. Behold, I said to myself, aṣ-Ṣulayḥi is a man held in the highest honour, who has appointed me ruler over Zabīd, and regards me as equal to Sulṭān As'ad ibn 'Arrāf, to 'Āmir ibn Suleymān az-Zawāḥi, and to such and such other kings. My Lady Asmā has overwhelmed me with kindness, and whenever I measure my deserts by the increasing flow of her favours, I perceive how unworthy I am of her benevolence. On the other hand, I am wholly averse to laying my hands tyrannically and extortionately upon my subjects and subordinates. Whilst occupied with these thoughts I fell asleep. I was awakened by dust that fell and sprinkled my face, and which was charged with

* Ḳur'ān, S. iii. v. 32.
† Ḳur'ān, S. xii. v. 65.

gold. I mounted upon the roof, and on examining it and the ceiling I found chests containing gold and silver and treasure exceeding in value three hundred thousand dinārs. I first set apart one third of the amount and expended it in works of charity. The second third I sent to the Lady Asmā, in discharge of my obligations to her. With the remainder I acquired unto myself goods and property, and I vowed unto God Most High that I would not oppress any of his creatures. I continued ruler of the province for fifteen years, and no arbitrary act
20 during that period is, within my knowledge, chargeable upon my conscience."

Continuing his narrative, As'ad ibn Shihāb stated that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi appointed three men to assist him in the administration of the country, who, in the performance of their duties, obeyed his wishes by entirely abstaining from all unlawful interference with the property of the people. One of them was Aḥmad ibn Sālim, who had the superintendence of affairs from Wādi Ḥaraḍ to near Aden. He relieved As'ad of the cares proceeding from the contentions of local officials, and of the task of levying the imposts.

No sums were exacted from him excepting on distinct accounts, or in accordance with payments actually received. The second was the Ḳāḍi Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn ibn Abi 'Aḳāmah, a descendant of Muḥammad ibn Harūn the Taghlibite, whom the Khalīfah al-Ma'mūn appointed as Chief Judge over Yaman in conjunction with Ibn Ziyād. He was As'ad's deputy in administering the sacred law, and in the execution of his duties, he displayed sound judgment and effectually protected the people from wrong.* The third was Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly ibn

* The above doubtless conveys the general sense intended by the writer, but I am not able to translate the passage, as it stands in our text, without considerable hesitation.

Muḥammad al-Ḳumm, father of Ḥusayn ibn 'Aly ibn Muḥammad al-Ḳumm, the poet, and one of the most distinguished of men for generosity, for his fitness to command, and for his business abilities. He was, moreover, a distinguished poet, and it was he who wrote in a short piece the following line touching his brother, whom he reproached for the exaggerated affection he displayed towards his son Ḥusayn :—

Behold him ever watching—his sons. Truly all men are not manly.

Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly, it was stated by As'ad ibn Shihāb, was placed with him as wazīr and private secretary by his master, the Dā'y 'Aly ibn Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥi. The Prince and the Lady Asmā gave him strict orders to decide nothing without first consulting 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm. "I used to send him each year," said Ibn Shihāb, "as my delegate to Ṣan'ā, accompanied by Aḥmad ibn Sālim, governor of Tihāmah. I levied every year from Tihāmah, in money alone, a sum of one million of dinārs, and my two friends invariably returned to me with presents from my master and mistress, amounting to fifty thousand dinārs, which I divided with my followers."

Among other events in the life of the Amīr 'Aly ibn Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, it is related, that in the year 460, he received intelligence that Ibn Ṭarf had been joined by the Kings of Abyssinia and by a
21 mixed multitude of Africans. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi marched against them at the head of two thousand seven hundred horsemen. The two armies met at az-Zarā'ib, in the dominion of Ibn Ṭarf, the place in which I was born and which my family inhabits to the present day. The Arabs on the first day suffered severe losses. Then, however, Fortune turned against the Blacks, and their force was reduced to one thousand men,

whom my grandfather, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, received in his castle at 'Ukwah. *Al-'Ukwatāni* (the two 'Ukwahs) are two mountains of great natural strength, which no one would willingly attack. They are the places mentioned by the leader of the Caravan of pilgrims, when he says, addressing his eyes inflamed with want of sleep,—

> When ye behold the two mountains of 'Akād,
> And when the two 'Ukwas rise before you,
> Rejoice, O weary eyes, at the prospect of rest.

The two mountains of 'Akād look down upon the city of az-Zarā'ib, and their inhabitants have preserved the Arabic language in its purity from preislamitic days down to the present. Their speech has been preserved from corruption, through their refraining from intermarriage, or association with townspeople. They are a sedentary people, who do not wander or quit their homes.[30]

I may mention that in the year 530, being then under twenty years of age, I came to Zabīd for the purpose of studying jurisprudence. The Professors of all the Colleges were much surprised to find that I never committed a solecism in speaking. "I take oath by God Most High," said the Jurist Naṣr Allah ibn Sālim, "that this youth has made a deep study of grammar." After a considerable lapse of time, friendship having been established between us, he used, whenever we met, to exclaim: "Welcome he on whose account I have forsworn myself." When my father visited me at Zabīd, along with seven of my brethren, I arranged a meeting between them and the Jurists. They conversed together and by Allah, with one exception, no solecism was committed by my friends, whilst the author of that single inaccuracy of language was immediately reproved by his companions.

But let us return to the history of the Dā'y 'Aly

ibn Muḥammad the Sulayhite. I myself have seen
the bones and horses hoofs, that are uncovered on
the battle-field, and exposed to view whenever a
22 violent wind blows. After visiting Zabīd, aṣ-
Ṣulayḥi returned to Ṣan'ā (may God guard it), and
he remained there for twelve years without moving
from the city.

Among other passages in the history of Yaman is the story of the slaughter of the Dā'y 'Aly the Sulayhite, an event which occurred on the twelfth of the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah of the year 473, or as it is also said of the year 459, and the latter is the correct version.[31] The Amīr, the Glorious Da'y, the Triumphant in the wars for the Faith, the Friend of the Prince of the Faithful, 'Aly, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, had appointed as governors over the fortresses and highlands persons whom he could trust. Having determined upon going to Mecca (may God Most High guard it), he resolved to take with him the kings (to whom he had given places of abode at Ṣan'ā), and also the Lady Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, and mother of the king al-Mukarram. He made the latter governor of Ṣan'ā, and appointed him his deputy. He set forth at the head of two thousand horsemen, of whom one hundred and sixty were members of the Ṣulayḥi tribe. On reaching al-Mahjam he halted on a cultivated tract, near the outskirts of the city, known under the name of Umm ad-Duhaym, and also under that of Bīr (Well of) Umm Ma'bad. He encamped his soldiers, and placed around his own tent the Princes, among whom were Ma'n (read Aly ?) ibn Ma'n, Ibn al-Kurandy, Ibn at-Tubba'y, Wā'il ibn 'Īsa al-Wuḥāẓy, and others, all of whom he had brought with him for fear of their raising a revolt against him during his absence. Suddenly and without warning the news spread among his people, who were occupying themselves with their

personal affairs, scattered and divided into separate
parties, that the Amīr 'Aly and his brother 'Abd
Allah ibn Muḥammad the Sulayhite had both been
beheaded. The troops were surrounded, and not
a man escaped. Power passed into the hands of
Sa'īd, son of Najāḥ al-Aḥwal, who caused the men
to be massacred by his spearmen. He spared Wā'il
ibn 'Īsa al-Wuḥāẓy, Ibn Ma'n, and Ibn al-Kurandy,
but he slew the others, and captured Asmā, daughter
of Shihāb and mother of the king al-Mukarram.
Sa'īd then started from al-Mahjam on his way back
3 to Zabīd, with the two heads borne in front of the
Princess's litter. On his arrival at Zabīd he raised
them on high, opposite the casement of a house he
assigned for her residence. And Asmā remained a
full year the captive of Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ.

How the King al-Mukarram Aḥmad, son of 'Aly, son of Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, Supreme Chief of the Arabs, Sulṭān under the Prince of the Faithful, proceeded from Ṣan'ā to Zabīd to release his mother Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, from her captivity.

It is related that all attempts to transmit a letter from Asmā to al-Mukarram, or from him to his mother, having failed, the Princess herself devised an artifice whereby the object was accomplished. She hid a letter in a cake of bread, and contrived means by which it was given to a mendicant. The latter transmitted the letter to al-Mukarram, who received it in the month of Shawwāl of the year 475. The Princess wrote to her son as follows: "I am great with child by the squint-eyed slave

(al-Aḥwal).[32] See that thou come unto me before my delivery. If not, everlasting disgrace will ensue."

Al-Mukarram, on reading the letter, assembled his friends and showed it them. They burst into lamentations, but soon became eager to vindicate the honour of their tribe. Al-Mukarram marched from Ṣan'ā at the head of a body of three thousand horsemen, whom he had sworn to fidelity, whose assistance he claimed, and whose spirit he stimulated by his addresses. He was an eloquent speaker and a brave warrior, widely known for his resolute character as well as for his bravery. No one in his day was his equal in strength and stature, or able to wield his arms, his lance, his sword, and his bow. At each halting-place he exhorted the people, saying that whosoever cared only for the preservation of his life should not be one of them. Sixteen hundred horsemen * from among his allies steadfastly adhered to him, and fourteen hundred drew back.

I have been told by the Sheykh and Jurist al-Mukri (the Ḳur'ān teacher) Suleymān son of Yā-Sīn that the following anecdote was related to him by the pious Sheykh Muḥammad son of 'Ulayyah. "I was on a certain Friday," said Sheykh Muḥammad, "at near the hour of daybreak, in the mosque of Turaybah. The country people had taken refuge
24 in the city of Zabīd out of fear of the Arabs. I was engaged in a recitation of the entire Ḳur'ān, and had reached the chapter commencing with the words, *By the Heavens containing the mansions of the stars.*† I had no other occupation and the mosque in which I sat, stood on a desolate spot. I was suddenly startled by the arrival of a horseman, whom I could not distinctly see on account of the still lingering darkness. He deposited his lance on the ground, with its point resting against the wall

* Or, according to Janadi, three thousand.

† Ḳur'ān, S. lxxxv.

of the western aisle, in which I was seated. Then he dismounted, and a person approached me, than whom I have seen none among the sons of Adam of more perfect form, or of more noble appearance, a man of kingly aspect. Standing up at my side he performed his morning devotions. The early light soon began to shine, and I perceived that the stem of his lance was a Kulamite cane (or bamboo), an equal to which could not be met with.* His horse resembled (in its powerful appearance) a beast of burden. He desired me to finish the section of the Ḳur'ān upon which I was engaged. I obeyed and he listened to my chanting. He then desired me to pray. I did so, and to each of my petitions he responded with ejaculations of *Amen.* The sun now rose, and horsemen began to issue forth in detachments and troops from the hollows of the plain. Each party as it came forward saluted the Chief and then stood still. The words they used were, '*God grant a day of bounteous grace unto our Lord, and perpetuate his renown!*' In his reply he confined himself to the words, '*Welcome, ye Arab nobles!*' On their number being complete, certain persons came forth unto him at the mosque. The only one known to me was As'ad ibn Shihāb, with whom I was acquainted, seeing that he had been governor over us citizens of Zabīd. I inquired of him who were these persons. 'That man,' he answered, 'is al-Mukarram, al-Malik as-Sa'īd (the auspicious king) Aḥmad ibn 'Aly, the Sulayhite, that is al-Karam † the Yāmite, and that is 'Āmir az-Zawāḥi, the most generous Arab that ever bestrode a horse.' The men called upon a fourth to come forward, but he declined. He was the

* *Kulami* I take to signify imported from Kulam, now known as Quilon, on the Malabar coast. See *Ibn Khordadhbah*, ed. de Goeje, p. 62, also Yule's *Marco Polo*, ii. p. 312, note.

† 'Abbās son of al-Karam ?

paternal uncle of As'ad ibn Shihāb and of the Lady Asmā, and not inferior to the other four in nobility of race or in personal merit. Then al-Mukarram arose and addressed them, speaking so that he could be clearly heard. The following passage of his speech has remained in my memory :—

'O ye believers, if the undertaking upon which ye have entered were but newly resolved upon, I would of a certainty
25 seek to sharpen your determination. But I will not now add to what ye heard from me yesterday, and to what I have said before yesterday. The words I have spoken are sufficient. I offered you the option of returning when the distance ye had travelled still permitted you to draw back. But now the choice is with your enemy. Ye have penetrated into his country as into a lion's den, and your only alternatives are to encounter death or to suffer dishonour by unavailing flight.' "

He then recited the words of Abu 't-Ṭayyib al-Mutanabbi, as follows :—

"Grasping my death-dealing sword, I will go down among my foes, —
A field whence only they return who deal effectual blows." *

The Abyssinians had assembled to the number of twenty thousand foot. The right wing of the Arab force was under the command of As'ad ibn Shihāb, and the left under that of his uncle. "Ye are not," said al-Mukarram, "like unto the other members of this army. Ye have personal wrongs to avenge, for our lady is sister to one of you and niece to the other." Al-Mukarram himself took command of the centre. The two armies entered into action. The centre of the Abyssinians fought strenuously for a time, but the two wings closed upon them. The Abyssinians were defeated, and immense numbers were slain. Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ and those surrounding him fled from the field and took refuge in Dahlak and its neighbouring islands. The slaughter of the Abyssinians, near the gate of the

* See Dieterici's *Mutanabbi*, p. 463.

city, ceased not until the hour of midday prayer. The first warrior to reach the spot where the two heads were set up, and to stand below the casement of Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, was her son, al-Mukarram Aḥmad. He said unto her, and she did not recognize him, "May God safeguard and perpetuate thy renown, O our lady." "Welcome," she replied, "O noble Arab!" Al-Mukarram's two companions saluted her in the same words as his. She asked him who he was, to which he answered that his name was Aḥmad, son of 'Aly son of Muḥammad. "Verily the name Aḥmad son of 'Aly," she answered, "is borne by many Arabs. Uncover thy face that I may know thee." He raised his helmet, whereupon she exclaimed, "Welcome, our Lord al-Mukarram!"

At that moment he was struck by the wind, a shudder passed over him, and his face was contracted by a spasm. He lived many years thereafter, but continued subject to involuntary movements of the head and spasms in his face. She then asked who were his two companions, and he named them. Upon one she conferred a grant of the revenues of Aden for that year, amounting to one hundred thousand dinārs. To the other she gave the two fortresses of Kaukabān and Ḥaubān (?), together with their territories, the assessments upon which are not inferior to the revenues of Aden.

Then the army entered by detachments, whilst she stood at the casement with her face uncovered. Such had been her custom in the days of her husband, a sign of her exalted rank over the men from whom other women are secluded. Al-Mukarram ordered the two heads to be taken down, and he erected over them a mausoleum, which I have known as the Mausoleum of the Two Heads (*Mashhad ar-Ra'sayn*). It is said that when al-Mukarram uncovered his face Asmā exclaimed:

"He whose coming is like unto thy coming hath not tarried, neither hath he erred."

The statement in her letter, that she was with child by the slave Sa'īd, son of Najāḥ, was not actually true, but she thought thereby to excite and stimulate her son to the vindication of his honour. Al-Mukarram's heralds now proclaimed his orders to unsheathe the sword against the people of the captured city. But he warned the army that the Arabs of Tihāmah beget children by black concubines, and that a black skin was common to both slave and free. "But if ye hear a person pronounce the word aẓm, *azm* (as if it were written with the letter z), know that he is an Abyssinian and slay him. If he pronounce it *aẓm* (with the letter ẓ), he is an Arab, and ye shall spare him."

He appointed his maternal uncle, Aḥmad (As'ad? see below) ibn Shihāb, to be ruler over Tihāmah as before, and he then departed for Ṣan'ā, serene in mind after his victory, and accompanied by Asmā, daughter of Shihāb. A saying became common among the people of Zabīd which has been preserved down to my own time. If a man of the lower classes revile one of his neighbours, and if he be reproached for his evil language towards the man, he will answer: "By Allah! the man who took his mother from Zabīd, and who slew on her account twenty thousand Abyssinians, by my life! he was truly a man!"[33]

Al-Mukarram having appointed his maternal uncle As'ad ibn Shihāb to the rulership over Zabīd and its dependencies, (joined with him?) on that occasion Aḥmad ibn Sālim. As'ad sent him to Ṣan'ā in charge of the tribute of the province of Tihāmah. Asmā distributed the greater part among the Arab envoys. Aḥmad ibn Sālim thereupon began to tear his beard, saying:—"I have

passed through fire for the sake of this money, and see now what has been done with it!" "If money
7 be not spent upon those who are deserving of it," answered Asmā, "then it is but vanity and unprofitableness."

But she wrote to her brother As'ad ibn Shihāb desiring him to pay twenty thousand dinārs to Aḥmad ibn Sālim out of the current year's revenue, as a present and mark of good-will.

Not long after, Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, died, at Ṣan'ā, in the year 497.* That same year al-Mukarram ordered the *Maliki* dinārs to be struck. They are so named after him, and they are the dinārs of Yaman. The inscription they bear is the following: *The King and Lord al-Mukarram, Supreme Chief of the Arabs, Sulṭān under the Prince of the Faithful.* They continued to be struck according to that design until the present day (that is to say), until the Dā'y 'Imrān ibn Muḥammad ibn Saba the Zuray'ite made the inscription as follows: *The Unparagoned among the Kings of the age, King of the Arabs and of Yaman, 'Imrān, son of Muḥammad.*[34]

In that same year the Banu Najāḥ returned. They drove Aḥmad (read As'ad?) ibn Shihāb out of Zabīd, and made themselves masters of the city. But they were themselves again expelled by al-Mukarram ibn 'Aly, and Sa'īd al-Aḥwal, son of Najāḥ, was killed under the walls of the fortress of ash-Sha'ir, the result of a stratagem effected by the Sulṭān Abu 'Abd Allah at-Tubba'i, the particulars of which will be recounted in the history of the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Aḥmad. The death of Sa'īd al-Aḥwal took place in the year 481. That same year Jayyāsh, son of Najāḥ, together with the wazīr Khalf ibn Abi Ṭāhir the Omayyad, escaped in disguise to Aden, and

* Read 479, as in al-Janadi and Dayba'.

travelled thence to India. There they remained for six months, and then returned to Zabīd, which they conquered before the expiration of the year. At that period As'ad ibn 'Arrāf was named ruler of Zabīd, and 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm, son (read father) of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm the poet, was appointed his wazīr and private secretary, in accordance with the precedent of his former appointment under As'ad ibn Shihāb. There are persons
28 who affirm that 'Aly, son (read father) of Ḥusayn, son of 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm, ruled over Zabīd, under As'ad ibn Shihāb, before the appointment of As'ad ibn 'Arrāf.[35]

The History of the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayiddah, Daughter of Aḥmad.

Her name was Sayyidah, daughter of Aḥmad, son of Ja'far, son of Mūsa the Sulayhite, and her mother was ar-Radāḥ, daughter of al-Fāri', son of Mūsa. Ar-Radāḥ was left a widow by the death of her husband Aḥmad, father of the Lady Sayiddah, and she then married 'Āmir, son of Suleymān, son of 'Āmir, son of 'Abd Allah az-Zawāḥi, to whom she bore Suleymān, son of 'Āmir, son of 'Abd Allah the Zawāhite. The latter was therefore half brother to the Lady Sayyidah. By her authority he was appointed Dā'y of the Hāshimites,* but he was assassinated by the Amīr al-Mufaḍḍal, son of Abu 'l-Barakāt, son of Abu 'l-Walīd, who caused poison to be administered to him. May God have mercy upon him!

The Lady Sayyidah was born in the year 440 (read 444), and Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, superintended her education. It is related that she one

* Read *Fatimites.* See *infra* (chapter on the Dā'ys of Yaman).

day told Asmā that she had dreamt she held in her hand a broom with which she swept the king's palace. "It is as though I had shared thy vision," exclaimed Asmā. "By Allah! O fair-complexioned, thou shalt sweep away the dynasty of the Sulayhites and thou shalt appropriate their kingdom."

In her personal appearance, Sayyidah was of fair complexion tinged with red, tall, well proportioned, but inclined to stoutness, perfect in beauty, of a clear-sounding voice, well read and a skilful writer, her memory stored with history, with poetry and with the chronology of past times. Nothing could surpass the interlinear glosses, upon both verbal construction and interpretation, inserted in her handwriting on the pages of books. Al-Mukarram married her during the lifetime of his father 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, in the year 461. She bore him four children, Muḥammad, 'Aly, Fāṭimah, and Umm Hamdān. Muḥammad and 'Aly died in childhood at Ṣan'ā. Umm Hamdān was married to Sulṭān Aḥmad ibn Suleymān the Zawāhite, son of her maternal uncle, to whom she bore a son 'Abd al-Musta'la. Fāṭimah, daughter of the Lady Sayyidah and of al-Mukarram, married Shams al-Ma'āli 'Aly, son of the Dā'y Saba, son of Aḥmad (the Sulayhite). Umm Hamdān died in 516 (or 510?). As for Fāṭimah, her death occurred two years after that of her mother, namely in A.H. 534. I have heard more than one aged man among the natives of Dhu Jiblah affirm that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi treated Sayyidah, in her earliest years, with a degree of deference he showed to no other person. "Show her respect," he used to say to Asmā, for, by Allah, she will be the preserver of our race and the guardian of our crown unto whoso endureth of our dynasty." Much more, my informants added, was heard from him to the same effect and in different places.

The circumstances that led to al-Mukarram's removal from Ṣan'ā to the city of Dhu Jiblah were the following. Upon the death of his mother Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, he made over the superintendence of affairs to his wife, Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Aḥmad. He, on his part, gave himself up to the pleasures of music and wine. The queen remained alone in charge of the affairs of the kingdom. It is said she begged to be accorded her personal freedom, and liberty to attend to the task on which she was engaged, saying that a woman who was desired for the marriage-bed, could not be fit for the business of the state, but he would not consent.

After a time she departed from Ṣan'ā at the head of a large army, and she went forth to behold Dhu Jiblah. Jiblah was the name of a Jew who sold pottery on the spot where the first royal palace was afterwards built, and the city was named after him.[36] Its founder was 'Abd Allah, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, who was killed at al-Mahjam by Sa'īd al-Aḥwal, together with his brother the Amīr and Dā'y 'Aly. The latter had appointed him governor of the fortress of Ta'kar, a stronghold which looks down upon Dhu Jiblah. That city stands below the fortress, between two streams flowing with water both in summer and in winter. It was founded by 'Abd Allah, son of Muḥammad, in the year 458.

The people of Mikhlāf Ja'far gathered together around Sayiddah's stirrup, acknowledging her
30 authority. On her return to Ṣan'ā she said to al-Mukarram: "My lord, send notice to the people of Ṣan'ā to assemble to-morrow and to come unto this plain." On their assembling she told him to cast down his eyes upon the people and to look at what he should see. He did so, and nought met his eyes but the lightning-flashes of drawn swords

and of lance-blades. On going to Dhu Jiblah she desired al-Mukarram to assemble its people and those of the neighbourhood. They gathered together on the morning of the following day, whereupon she said: "Look down, my lord, and behold these people." He did so, and his eyes fell upon men leading rams or carrying vessels filled with ghee or with honey. "Life among these (industrious) people," she said to al-Mukarram, "is to be preferred." The Amīr al-Mukarram removed to Dhu Jiblah, and he built the second royal palace upon an uncultivated tract of land. It was surrounded by a garden and by numerous trees, and looked down upon the two streams and upon the first palace. The Queen Sayyidah ordered the latter to be converted into a cathedral mosque. It is the second cathedral mosque. It contains the tomb of the queen, which exists to this day. May God be merciful unto her! The second, the great palace, bearing (like its predecessor) the name of Dār al-'Izz (abode of majesty), was erected in the year 481. Al-Mukarram appointed as his deputies over Ṣan'ā, 'Imran ibn al-Faḍl, of the sub-tribe of Yām and of the tribe of Hamdān, and As'ad ibn Shihāb.

In that year also, the queen encompassed by a stratagem the death of Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ al-Aḥwal. She desired al-Ḥusayn ibn at-Tubba'y, Prince of Sha'ir to write to Sa'īd al-Aḥwal at Zabīd, to represent to him that al-Mukarram was afflicted with paralysis, that he had abandoned himself to the pursuit of pleasure, that the business of his government was conducted by his wife, and that Sa'īd himself was now the most powerful king in Yaman. Further, he suggested, as commanded, a joint attack upon Dhu Jiblah, by Sa'īd from Tihāmah and by al-Ḥusayn himself from the mountains. Sa'īd, he represented, could then relieve himself of his enemy and recover possession of the entire country. "If

you approve of my advice," he said, "let it be acted upon. For your rule," he continued, "is better in
31 the eyes of the Muslims than that of these heretics." When Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ read the letter of Ḥusayn ibn at-Tubba'y, he greatly approved of what was proposed, and he was filled with gladness. On the day appointed by at-Tubba'y, he set forth from Zabīd for Dhu Jiblah at the head of thirty thousand spearmen. The Queen Sayyidah had meanwhile sent orders to As'ad ibn Shihāb, and to 'Imran ibn al-Faḍl at Ṣan'ā, desiring them to march into Tihāmah in the rear of Najāḥ, with three thousand horsemen, and to follow him stage by stage. They obeyed, and upon Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ halting below the fortress of ash-Sha'ir, the two armies fell upon him from either side. He and all his followers were put to the sword, but it is also said that two thousand escaped. His head was put up below the window of the palace Dār al-'Izz, inhabited by the Queen Sayyidah. His wife Umm al-Mu'ārik was with him, and it was by her means that his head was recognized among the slain. It was set up close to the window of the apartment that was assigned to her. "O that thou hadst eyes, Lady Asmā," exclaimed the Queen, "wherewith to see the head of the squint-eyed slave below the window of Umm al-Mu'ārik!"

Al-Mukarram, son of 'Aly, died in A.H. 484, bequeathing the office of Dā'y to the Most Noble Amīr, the Unparagoned, the Victorious, the Pillar of the Khalifate, Prince of Amirs, al-Manṣur Abu Ḥimyar Saba, son of Aḥmad al-Muẓaffar, son of 'Aly the Sulayhite.[37]

History of the Dā'y Saba, son of Aḥmad, son of al-Muẓaffar, son of 'Aly the Sulayhite.

In his external appearance, the Dā'y Saba was ill-favoured [and short in stature], nor did he appear to advantage in the saddle. But he was of a benevolent and generous disposition, an accomplished poet, learned in the doctrines of the Pure Sect, well
32 acquainted with the sayings of the wise, nurtured on poetry. He requited eulogists with eulogy, as well as with substantial rewards. On that point 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm has said of him:—

When I panegyrized al-Hayzari,* the son of Aḥmad—he rewarded me and he requited me with praise for my praise.
He gave me verses for my verses, and added—gifts, those my capital in trade, these my profits.
I forced my way through the crowd until I beheld him—as one that hath pierced through darkness unto morning's light.
An evil time it were, deprived of the son of Aḥmad!—but assuredly free from evil is the age in which he liveth![38]

His residence was a stronghold called Ashyaḥ, a lofty castle equal in stateliness and strength to Masār and Ta'kar. It has been related to me by the Ḳur'ān reader, Suleymān ibn Yā-Sīn, who was a Ḥanafite, that he once spent several nights in the fortress of Ashyaḥ. In the morning, he said, he could see the sun rising in the east, but shedding no light (upon the country). Turning towards Tihāmah, so much lingering darkness still prevailed as to prevent the wayfarer from recognizing a companion walking close beside him. Ibn Yā-Sīn supposed this to be caused by clouds or mists, but he eventually determined it to be the result of a protraction of the darkness of night. He vowed, in consequence, always to reckon the hour for the performance of morning prayer according to the

* Hayzar, according to the Ḳamūs, is a proper name.

rules of the Shāfy'ites; for the followers of Abu
Hanīfah postpone the hour until the sun has almost
risen over the low-lying plains of Tihāmah. The
actual fact is simply that the eastern aspect from
33 Ashyaḥ is unimpeded by mountains, in consequence
of its own situation on a lofty summit.

The fortresses of the Banu Muẓaffar overlooked the plain of Tihāmah. They bordered closely upon the territories of Zabīd; and of all the mountains, those upon which these fortresses stand, are the nearest to Tihāmah. Among other strongholds in the possession of the family were Makr, Wuṣāb, Ḳawarīr, aẓ-Ẓarf, and ash-Sharaf. The last mentioned is the place where Ibn Mahdi rose in insurrection. The remaining places were Dhu 'r-Rassah, Ẓafār (Ẓafirān?), and Raymah, with its districts.* As his territories adjoined Tihāmah, Saba used to make Jayyāsh taste the vicissitudes of war. His Arabs, on perceiving the approach of winter, were in the habit of descending into the low country. Jayyāsh would thereupon retire, but to no great distance, and Saba would collect the revenues. He was careful, nevertheless, not to act oppressively towards the inhabitants, and on the contrary, in reckoning with the collectors, he made allowance for the sums raised by Jayyāsh during the summer and autumn months. When winter and spring passed away, the Arabs withdrew from Tihāmah to the mountains, and Jayyāsh re-entered into possession. The withdrawal of the Arabs was sometimes attended with fighting, and sometimes it was peaceful.

On the return of Jayyāsh to Zabīd, the Ḳur'āns were spread open, his subjects joined in supplications for his prosperity, the Jurists came forth, and the 'Ulama (the doctors of the law) offered up prayers for the prolongation of his reign. In

* See note 24.

reckoning with the governors and collectors, Jayyāsh likewise allowed for the sums levied by Saba during the months of winter and spring.

That situation continued until the wazīr Khalf ibn Abi Ṭāhir advised the son of Jayyāsh to imprison his father, to seize his treasure and property . . . and to appoint Muḥammad ibn al Ghifāri his wazīr. This was carried into execution. After a time, Khalf pierced an opening through the walls of his prison, and took refuge with Saba, by whom he was well received. He ceased not to urge upon Saba the invasion of Tihāmah, and indicated to him means and artifices whereby he could reduce Jayyāsh to utter ruin . . . to Saba a stated sum to stand in lieu of the half, and that he should stipulate with Saba for the banishment of the wazīr Khalf from his court. Jayyāsh followed the advice of the wazīr, but thereupon the greed with which the Arabs coveted the country increased, and they reckoned themselves to be secure . . . The Ḳā'id Rayḥān al-Kahlani, freedman of Sa'īd, son of Najāḥ,
34 at the head of ten thousand men, surprised the Arabs by night near the gate of Zabīd, where they were arrayed to the number of three thousand horse and ten thousand foot. Only a small remnant escaped. Nearly all were speared, and Saba fled on foot among a mixed and disorderly body of fugitives. Towards the end of the night a party met and rescued him. The Arabs did not thereafter return to Tihāmah.[39]

Among other passages in the life of the Dā'y Saba, son of Aḥmad, is that related to me by the Jurist Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Aly al-Bajali,* who had learned it from his father. The latter resided at Dhu Jiblah, and was one of the retainers of the Dā'y. When, he said, al-Mukarram son of 'Aly died, leaving the Queen Sayyidah daughter of

* That is to say, member of the tribe of Bajīlah.

Aḥmad a widow, the Dā'y Saba asked her in marriage. She refused, whereupon he collected troops and marched from Ashyaḥ, purposing to attack her at Dhu Jiblah. She likewise assembled a host, more numerous than his. The two armies met and the fire of war was kindled and raged for several days. The queen's half-brother, Suleymān ibn 'Āmir az-Zawāḥi, son of her mother, then said to Saba: "By Allah! she will not agree to that which thou desirest excepting by command of the Imām al-Mustanṣir billah, Prince of the Faithful." The Dā'y Saba ibn Aḥmad al-Auḥad (the Unparagoned) al-Manṣūr desisted from fighting against her troops and returned to Ashyaḥ. He despatched to the Imām al-Mustanṣir two messengers, the Ḳāḍi (Abu 'Abd Allah al-) Ḥusayn ibn Isma'īl al-Isfahāni and Abu 'Abd Allah at-Ṭayyib. In the course of the correspondence the Khalīfah wrote to the Lady three lines, commanding her to wed the Dā'y Saba, and he sent her also one of his own eunuchs, known under the designation of Hamil al-Madyah, who bore moreover the honorific surname of *Yaman ad-Da'wah* (right hand of the Ismailite Mission), empowered to enter into the presence of the queen. Al-Jabali (Bajaly) relates that he was one of the persons sent by the Dā'y Saba from the castle of Ashyaḥ to Dhu Jiblah to accompany the two envoys and the eunuch who had arrived from Cairo the Mu'izzite. Upon their entering into the presence of Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Aḥmad, in the palace, the Dār al-'Izz at Dhu Jiblah, the eunuch, surrounded, said the narrator, by her ministers, her secretaries, and the officials of the state, all standing up as he stood, addressed her in the following words: "The Prince of the Faithful returneth salutations of peace unto the Honourable Lady, the Queen Sayyidah, the Favoured, the Pure, the Unparagoned of her time, Sovereign Lady of

the Kings of Yaman, the Pillar of Islam, the Treasure of the Faith, Refuge of the truly directed, Asylum of those who seek aid, the Friend of the Prince of the Faithful, the Guardian of his favoured servants, and he saith unto her: *Unto no believer, male nor female, belongeth liberty of choice when God and His apostle have decreed a command, and whosoever opposeth God and His apostle wandereth signally astray.*[40] Our lord, the Prince of the Faithful, gives thee in marriage to the Dā'y, the Unparagoned, the Victorious, the Triumphant, the Pillar of the Khalīfate, the Prince of the Amīrs, Abu Ḥimyar Saba, son of Aḥmad, son of al-Muẓaffar 'Aly the Sulayhite, with the dowry he has provided, of one hundred thousand dinārs in money, and fifty thousand dinārs in articles of rarity and value, in perfumes and in robes." Sayiddah answered: "As for the letter of our lord, I say of it: *Verily a gracious letter hath been conveyed unto me. It is from Solomon*, and behold it saith: *In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious. Resist me not but come unto me with submission.* I say not touching the command of our lord, *O ye counsellors advise me, and nought will I determine until ye shall have spoken.*[41] But as for thee, O Ibn al Isfahāni, by Allah! *thou hast not carried unto our lord from Saba a sure and truthful message.* Ye have wrested the words from their true sense and *your souls have prompted you to commit an act of wickedness. My recourse is now to the comely virtue of patience, and God is He whose help is to be implored against the evil ye have set forth.*" * The queen's wazīr Zuray' ibn Abi 'l-Fatḥ al-Isfahāni and others of her chief officers advanced, and ceased not to speak to her in pacifying terms until she gave her consent. A marriage contract was drawn up, and Saba hastened to Dhu Jiblah, accompanied by a large retinue.

* Ḳur. xii. s. 18.

He remained for a month, during which his camp was the scene of profuse feasting, and he expended upon his soldiery a sum equal to the dowry he paid to the Princess. But the contemplation of her lofty aims, and of her noble deeds, caused the Dā'y Saba ibn Aḥmad to feel humbled in his own estimation. He perceived that his reputation was dimmed, and that no person could be fitly compared
36 with her. All her people were in the habit of saying that their Lady was their Mistress.

The Dā'y Saba secretly sent a message to the queen, requesting her to receive him in her palace, that it might be believed by the people that the marriage had been consummated, to which she consented. Some of the inhabitants of Dhu Jiblah assert that she received him in her own apartments for one night, and that in the early morning he departed. Others say that she sent him one of her female slaves who bore an exceeding resemblance to herself, that he received warning thereof, and that the girl remained standing throughout the night at the head of his couch, whilst he sat without ever raising his eyes upon her, until when day dawned, he performed his morning devotions and ordered the drums to be beat for departure. He then said to the slave girl: "Tell our lady that she is a precious pearl, to be worn only by whoever is worthy of her." He then departed, and they did not meet again.[42]

It is reported of the Da'y Saba that he never had intercourse with a slave girl, and that he never tasted intoxicating beverages. His wife al-Jumānah, daughter of Suwayd, son of Yazīd the Sulayhite, was in the habit of saying that she was undisturbed by jealousy on account of her Lord Saba, seeing that he abstained from all intercourse with concubines, and it was a common saying among the Arab women that none among the posterity of Eve had

been so privileged as al-Jumānah, with the exception only of Asmā, daughter of Shihāb.

At this period Shujā‘ ad-Daulah arrived in Yaman. He was enriched by the gifts bestowed upon him, and Shams al-Ma‘āli (son of Saba and husband of Fāṭimah daughter of al-Mukarram and of the Queen Sayyidah), who was of a most generous disposition, gave him sums of money amounting to thousands. After a time Shams al-Ma‘āli took a second wife and Fāṭimah wrote to her mother imploring her aid. The Princess sent troops to her assistance, under the command of al-Faḍl (al-Mufaḍḍal), son of Abu 'l-Barakāt. Fāṭimah, having put on the garb of a man, escaped from her husband's castle to the camp of al-Mufaḍḍal, who sent her on to her mother. He continued to besiege the Prince until an arrangement was arrived at, whereby Shams al-Ma‘āli was banished from his kingdom, under a safe conduct against all personal harm. He reached the court of al-Afḍal (at Cairo), and implored his assistance, but al-Afḍal paid no regard to his request and showed him no hospitality.[43] The Amīr Shujā‘ ad-Daulah, whom Shams al-Ma‘āli had enriched in Yaman, sent him thirty ardebs of barley, but did not supply him with a morsel of bread, nor did he admit him into his
37 society. ‘Aly Shams al-Ma‘āli son of Saba returned to Yaman, and gained possession of his father's fortresses, but the Amīr al-Mufaḍḍal employed a person who poisoned him in the year 495.

The Story of the King al-Mufaḍḍal, son of Abu 'l-Barakāt son of al-Walīd, the Himyarite, Prince of Ta‘kar.

When al-Mukarram, son of ‘Aly, built the palace of Dār al-‘Izz at Dhu Jiblah, and removed from San‘ā

to the Province of Ja'far, 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la composed the following lines:—

The gentle zephyr blew, and I spent the night as one distracted,—yearning after family and friends.
Not Cairo, nor Baghdad, neither can Tiberius—be compared to the city enclosed between two streams.
Khadid commands the north, Ḥabb overlooks the east—and to Ta'kar the lofty, belong the southern climes of Yaman.

At-Ta'kar was at that time in the hands of Sulṭān As'ad son of 'Abd Allah son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, son, therefore, of the paternal uncle of the King al-Mukarram, the same 'Abd Allah who was killed at al-Maḥjam, along with his brother the Dā'y Aly son of Muḥammad. His conduct became bad, and al-Mukarram removed him from Ta'kar, giving him in exchange the fortresses of Raymah. [He placed Abu 'l-Barakāt, son of al-Walīd, in command over Ta'kar and its dependencies, and he appointed] Abu 'l-Barakāt's brother Abu 'l-Fatḥ (read Futūḥ) son of al-Walīd, over the fortress of Ta'izz.[44] Al-Mufaḍḍal entered the service of the King al-Mukarram at Dhu Jiblah. He was one of the young pages of the palace, admitted into the presence of the Honourable Lady the Queen with messages from al-Mukarram, touching matters of business between them. Upon the death of the Amīr al-Mufaḍḍal's father Abu 'l-Barakāt, which followed that of the King al-Mukarram, the Queen appointed al-Mufaḍḍal successor to his father in the governorship of Ta'kar. That fortress was used by the Sulayhites as a depository for the treasures they had won from the kings of Yaman. The
38 Queen was in the habit of going up thither, and making it her place of residence during the summer, returning to Dhu Jiblah for the cold season. Al-Mufaḍḍal exercised the powers which the Princess delegated to him and had access unto her, along with her chief wazīrs, with the Amirs and with her

principal slaves. He was supreme administrator of affairs. In all things reliance was placed upon his judgment and upon his sword. The Queen came to no decision without his advice. He rose, consequently, to a state of great dignity, and his words were listened to with respect. He invaded Tihāmah on several occasions, with results sometimes in his favour and at others against him. He also several times made war upon Aden, and ere long no personage in Yaman could rival him in power. Having attained this exalted position, he one day said to the Queen at Ta'kar: "Consider, my lady, the treasures that are contained in this castle. Carry them away, I pray you, to the Dār al-'Izz, or remove them to some other palace, and leave this place (meaning thereby Ta'kar) entirely to me, renouncing henceforward your authority over it." "Hadst thou not spoken these words," she replied, "I would not have allowed any cause for their utterance to exist. The castle is thine. Thou art the confidential minister in my palace, and I have forbidden thee nothing in the past, in consideration of thine exalted condition." He was filled with confusion, and hung his head. The Queen went down to Dhu Jiblah, but made no change in her conduct towards al-Mufaḍḍal. He used to go down to her and entreat her to return to Ta'kar, as she had been in the habit of doing, but she never consented. She nevertheless applied herself to conciliate his good will by presents such as were most agreeable to him, of singing girls, valuable stuffs and perfumes, slaves, eunuchs, and other gifts. She would not listen to those who blamed her on his account, or who cautioned her against him. And his fame is connected with memorable battlefields, in which he defended her, and protected her territories. He fought against the Dā'y Saba ibn Aḥmad when the latter asked her in marriage. She refused, and

al-Mufaḍḍal marched against Saba with a large
army. He fought also against 'Aly ibn Saba
(Shams al-Ma'āli), Prince of Ḳaydān (Ḳayẓān),[15]
and expelled him from his province, and against
'Amru ibn Karmaṭah (read 'Arḳaṭah) al-Janbi, and
against others of the tribes of Sinḥān, of 'Ans, and
of Zubayd. He recovered for her also, from the
Banu Zuray', one half of the revenues of Aden,
39 [which amounted to] one hundred thousand dinārs
a year.

Sheykh Abu Ṭāhir al-Ḳābuni has related to me that he was on one occasion with al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, at at-Ta'kar, when half the revenues of Aden, fifty thousand dinārs, reached him. He immediately sent the money to the Queen at Dhu Jiblah, without retaining any portion of it. Sheykh Abu Ṭāhir disapproved of such scrupulous conduct, but al-Mufaḍḍal replied that he required nothing besides what the Queen gave him. When the money reached her she returned it, desiring him to retain it, "for," she said, "you have more need of it than we." Al-Mufaḍḍal, said Abu Ṭāhir, divided among the people present ten bags, and he gave me one containing one thousand dinārs.

Al-Mufaḍḍal was in the habit of secluding himself until people despaired of again seeing him. Then he would re-appear. The messengers who had gathered around his gates had to wait, whilst both weak and powerful (claimants) were admitted. He examined into the affairs of the governors and of their provinces, and answered every letter that had reached his gates. He would then again disappear, and could neither be seen, nor could any message be transmitted to him. Such was his custom from the time when he attained his exalted position.

When al-Manṣūr, son of [Fātik son of] Jayyāsh, was driven forth from Zabīd, and replaced by his brother (read uncle) 'Abd al-Wāḥid son of Jayyāsh,

he fled with his slaves to Mufaḍḍal, and they pledged themselves to deliver unto him one fourth of the country in return for his assistance. Al-Mufaḍḍal marched with them against their enemies, expelled ʻAbd al-Wāḥid from the city, and reinstated al-Manṣūr and his followers. He then, however, conceived treacherous designs against them, and purposed making himself master of Zabīd.

But al-Mufaḍḍal's absence in Tihāmah had prolonged itself, and Ta'kar, deserted by the Prince, was committed to the charge of a deputy, known by the name of al-Ḥamal. This man was held in great respect, and was strongly attached to the (orthodox) faith. Seven jurists, brethren of al-Ḥamal, went up to him at Ta'kar. Among them were Muḥammad ibn Ḳabas (Ḳays?) the Wuḥāẓite, ʻAbd Allah ibn Yaḥya and Ibrahīm ibn Muḥammad Zeydān. The latter was their acknowledged leader, and he was my uncle, the full brother of my father by both parents.[46] They received possession of the fortress from al-Ḥamal. The Sunni subjects of the Sulayhites had desired the jurists, on their gaining possession of the fortress, to kindle a fire on the summit. They did so during the darkness of night. In the morning twenty thousand men assembled at the gates of the castle in support of the jurists, who became possessed of an amount of wealth such as had never before been seen. The news reached the Amīr
40 al-Mufaḍḍal in Tihāmah. He set out and turned neither to the right nor to the left till he reached Ta'kar. He besieged the jurists, but the Banu Khaulān rose to their assistance. The siege, however, continued, and ere long the garrison perceived that the Khaulānites were prepared to abandon them. Thereupon Ibrahīm ibn Zeydān declared to his companions that he was determined not to die until he had slain al-Mufaḍḍal, after which, death, he said, would be welcome. He seized the concu-

bines of al-Mufaḍḍal, and brought them forth wearing their most magnificent apparel. Placing tabours in their hands, he set them upon the roof of the palace, whence al-Mufaḍḍal, who was in a tent at 'Azzān at Ta'kar, and all that were with him, could see and hear them. Al-Mufaḍḍal was the most jealous and sensitive of men, and it is said that he died that night. By some it is stated that he sucked the poison from a ring he wore, prepared for a case of need, and that he was found dead in the morning with the ring in his mouth. His death occurred in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 504.

The Queen thereupon ascended from Dhu Jiblah, and encamped on the open ground, near the gate of the fortress. She wrote to the jurists, and adopted with them the most conciliatory measures, even to giving them a bond under her own hand, granting them all their demands, their personal safety, and retention of the treasure they had seized. They stipulated that she should depart with her forces, that she should send them, as governor, a person whose appointment should be subject to their approval, and that they should remain with him (in occupation of the fortress) until their booty should be in a place of safety. The Queen faithfully observed the conditions agreed upon, and she appointed over Ta'kar her freedman Fatḥ ibn Miftāḥ. I have been told by Sulṭān Nāṣir ibn Manṣūr, that my uncle Ibrahīm ibn Zeydān informed him, after his withdrawal from Ta'kar, that his share of ready money amounted to twenty thousand dinārs.

Part of the tribe of Khaulān had entered and settled in Mikhlāf Ja'far before the death of al-Mufaḍḍal, to the number of six thousand souls, a mixed multitude consisting chiefly of Banu Baḥr, Banu Ḍinnah, Marrān, Rawāḥ (Rāziḥ ?), Sha'b-Ḥay, and Banu Jumā'ah.[47] Al-Mufaḍḍal dispersed them

among the strongholds of the country and made them take the oath of allegiance to the Queen. Upon the death of al-Mufaḍḍal, a man of the sub-tribe of Marrān, of the name of Muslim ibn az-Zarr,
41 attacked the fortress of Khadid, drove therefrom the Sulṭān ʻAbd Allah ibn Yaʻla the Sulayhite, the accomplished poet and learned scholar, and took possession of the stronghold. ʻAbd Allah ibn Yaʻla was possessed of great wealth, which passed into the hands of Muslim ibn az-Zarr, whose power was thereby greatly increased. He joined the Queen and her adherents, and formed hopes that she would appoint him to succeed al-Mufaḍḍal, son of Abu 'l-Barakāt.[48] He sent her his two sons, ʻImrān and Suleymān, whom she received with kindness and by her command, although they had reached the years of maturity, they were taught to read and write. Afterwards she married them to two of her slaves brought up under her care. They visited their father by turns, at Khadid, and they were protected by the tribe of Khaulān, which possessed great power and influence. Upon the death of Muslim, his son Suleymān succeeded to the fortress of Khadid. ʻImrān remained with the Queen and acquired favour with her. Fatḥ ibn Miftaḥ had, after the death of Muslim, entered into a state of opposition to the Queen his mistress, and had declared himself independent at the fortress of Taʻkar. ʻImrān made friendly advances to Fatḥ, and after his rebellion, asked his daughter in marriage. On the night of the wedding Suleymān and ʻImrān gained possession, by treachery, of the castle of Taʻkar, but ʻImrān protected his father-in-law from personal harm. Fatḥ stipulated with the two brothers for certain things, which they granted. One was that they should give him, as a free gift, a certain castle called Shār.* Thither he removed all

* Shār is mentioned by Yaḳūt as the name of a castle in Yaman.

that he held most valuable. On obtaining possession of the fortress of Ta'kar, 'Imrān sent the Honourable Lady the Queen repeated assurances of loyalty and homage, of which she took no heed. The Khaulānites stretched forth their hands against the people, whom they oppressed and plundered. The night on which they gained possession of Ta'kar was that of Sunday, the twelfth day of Rabi' al-Awwal of the year 505.

Such continued to be the condition of things between the Banu Khaulān and the Queen. When she saw their exceeding wickedness, she sent a letter to 'Amru ibn 'Arkaṭah al-Janbi (of the tribe of Janb), consisting of one or two lines in her handwriting. She ordered the country of Suleymān and 'Imrān to be occupied by an army of horse and foot, and they were not to be relieved of its presence, until they
42 humbled themselves unto her and made a request for its withdrawal. Sultān Yazīd ibn 'Īsa the Wā'ilite told me that he remembered being sent to the Queen by 'Imrān ibn az-Zarr, then facing the Arabs of 'Amru in order of battle. 'Imrān asked her assistance, and she sent him ten thousand dinārs to serve for the purchase of supplies. But the money was returned. "Does she not know," exclaimed 'Imrān, "what it is that can be of real service to me?" She thereupon wrote an order with her own hand, added Yazīd ibn 'Īsa, to 'Amru ibn 'Arfaṭah al-Jabani ('Arkaṭah al-Janbi) in the following terms: "On receiving this our command, depart from the country of the Banu Zarr, with our thanks for your services." On reading the order 'Amru immediately directed the signal for departure to be proclaimed to his people. It consisted in the utterance of the words *O Rāshid, son of Marūḥ*.[49] Before an hour had elapsed, not one of his people remained in the place. "This, by the Lord," said 'Imrān to his brother, "is truly (a receiving of) honour and obedience!"

The History of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah.

In the year 513 Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah came to Yaman, and the following is the history of al-Muwaffaḳ Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah :—

At the commencement of his career, he was custodian of the library of al-Afḍal (Shahinshah, at Cairo). He had a well-stored memory, had studied the doctrines of the Pure Sect (the Ismailites), was constant in recitations of the noble Ḳur'an, and recited it according to its various readings. His name was ‘Aly, son of Ibrahīm, son of Najīb ad-Daulah, and his titles were *al-Amīr al-Muntakhab* (the Chosen Amir), Glory of the Fatimite Khalīfate, *Fakhr ad-Daulah* (Lustre of the State), *al-Muwaffaḳ fi-'d-dīn* (Aided in the Faith), Dā‘y of the Prince of the Faithful. He started from Cairo accompanied by twenty mounted men, carefully chosen from among the *Hujarīyahs*.[50] On arriving at the Island of Dahlak, he was met by an emissary (?) from Aden, Muḥammad ibn Abi 'l-‘Arab the Dā‘y, one of the sons of Ṣā‘id ibn Ḥamīd ad-Dīn. This man instructed him in the secret politics of Yaman, the condition of the chiefs, their names, their personal appearance and their surnames, even the dates of
43 their births and particulars of marks, traces of wounds and cauterizations, concealed by their clothing. When Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah (afterwards spoke of those things and) put questions touching their occult significations, his hearers became convinced that he possessed knowledge of the invisible world.[51] The first thing he did on arrival at Dhu Jiblah was to lay hold of a Khaulānite of the name of Suleymān ibn ‘Obayd, belonging to (the subtribe or family of) the Banu ‘Amru and a kinsman of ‘Imrān ibn az-Zarr. He was a man widely

known and held in great respect. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah beat him with a stick until it caught in his clothes. The Banu Khaulān withdrew from Dhu Jiblah. Suleymān ibn Aḥmad (read Aḥmad ibn Suleymān) the Zawāhite, son of the Queen's (half) brother and husband of Umm Hamdān daughter of al-Mukarram, hurried to the spot and released the Khaulānite from the hands of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah without seeking the latter's consent. He gave the man a dress of honour and sent him back to his family. Thenceforward the Khaulānites restrained themselves from stretching forth their hands against the people.

Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah then proceeded to make war upon the inhabitants of Wādi Maytam,[52] of (Wādi) Zabīd and of the plains. Good order, together with cheapness and plenty, became prevalent throughout the country and evil-doers were repressed. He himself respected the property of its inhabitants, he dealt righteously with them and maintained the laws. Through him the Queen's fame was enhanced, and the neighbouring nations of Yaman found themselves constrained to desist from coveting the outlying provinces of her dominions. He took into his service three hundred horsemen of the Banu Ḥimās and Sinḥān, and appointed aṭ-Ṭauk the Hamdānite to command them. When al-Afḍal (Shahinshah) died in the year 515, al-Ma'mūn (al-Baṭā'iḥi) confirmed the authority of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah. He strengthened him and sent him letters delegating to him the fullest powers over the people. Al-Ma'mūn sent him four hundred Armenians and seven hundred black archers. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah established his residence at Janad, which stands in the centre of the country, and whose districts have unceasingly been trampled under the hoofs of armed men's horses.

But the authority he exercised was impatiently

endured by the kings of the time, namely, Suleymān and ʻImrān, the two sons of az-Zarr, Manṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, Saba ibn Abi Suʻūd, and Mufaḍḍal ibn Zurayʻ. In the year 518 Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah attacked Zabīd, which was then ruled by the wazīr Mann Allah the Fatikite.
44 Ten of his archers had allied themselves with the citizens, and as the two armies entered into action, one of the archers shot an arrow which struck the muzzle of the horse upon which ʻAly ibn Ibrahīm Najīb ad-Daulah was mounted. He fell to the ground and lost his horse. His army was put to flight, all his black troops were killed, and only fifty out of four hundred Armenians escaped. As to the Dāʻy (Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah), the Hamdānites fought strenuously in his defence, until one of them, a man of the name of As-Sāʻy, took him up and seated him upon his horse behind him. The Hamdānite horsemen who exerted themselves to save him were fifteen in number, and the chief, aṭ-Ṭauḳ, was one of them. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah's horse disappeared from the battle at the hour of mid-day prayer on Friday. Early on the Saturday morning he appeared in the city of Janad, situated at a distance of four days' journey from Zabīd, or of three days' at a forced pace. Before evening a report was spread at Dhu Jiblah that Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had been killed at Zabīd. He reached Janad four days after and rode to Dhu Jiblah, where he conferred with the Queen.

He suffered in health, but recovered, and for four months he carried on war in the country of Suleymān ibn az-Zarr. A truce was concluded between them and he returned to Janad. Next he made war upon the family of Zurayʻ and penetrated to al-Juwwah. He was attacked at Ḥima Bani Salmah (?) by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Zurayʻ. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah received a lance-thrust and being a bad

horseman he fell to the ground. He was attacked by a slave belonging to Mas'ūd (al-Mufaḍḍal ?) ibn Zuray' named Musāfir, but the slave was charged and killed by Ṭauḳ the Hamdānite, who stood by Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah until he remounted, whereupon the Dā'y returned to Janad. He lost his breast-plate, which fell to the ground during the struggle, and Mufaḍḍal ibn Zuray' composed the following lines upon the occasion :—

He fled forgetting his breast-plate—In terror of the Banu Yām, lest their lances should pierce him.
But flight saveth not from death—a truth held by every steadfast and believing soul.[53]

In the year 519 his conduct towards the Queen
45 assumed an evil aspect. Her mind, he said, had become weakened, and he asserted that in his opinion it was necessary to place her in seclusion. But, meanwhile, she was joined by the four (six ?) kings, Suleymān and 'Imrān, sons of az-Zarr, Saba son of Abu Su'ūd, Abu 'l-Gharāt (son of Mas'ūd), As'ad ibn Abi 'l-Futūḥ and Manṣūr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal. They asked her permission to besiege Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah at Janad, which she granted. The city was defended by walls, and Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had a force, part of the garrison, consisting of four hundred picked horsemen belonging to the tribe of Hamdān. The kings arrived with an army, consisting of three thousand horse and three thousand foot soldiers, with which they surrounded the city. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had with him certain men, each of whom was equal to one hundred horsemen. Among them were at-Ṭauḳ ibn 'Abd Allah, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Imrān ibn al-Faḍl ibn 'Aly the Yāmite, 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd Allah, who exercised the functions of Dā'y after Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah and who was a member of the family of Ṣulayḥi, also 'Aly son of Suleymān az-Zawāhi, Abu 'l-Ghayth ibn Sāmir, Muḥammad ibn al-A'azz,

who lived until he was treacherously slain by Ibn Mahdi, and al-Faridayn (?). The siege was carried on with vigour, and Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was put to great straits. The Queen, thereupon wrote, according to her custom, to ‘Amru ibn ‘Arkaṭah al-Janbi, who came to her and encamped at Dhu Jiblah. She sent also to the chiefs of the tribes and distributed among them ten thousand Egyptian dinārs, desiring her messengers at the same time to spread a report among the soldiers, to the effect that Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had distributed a sum of ten thousand Egyptian dinārs among their leaders. The soldiers thereupon demanded that a share of the Egyptian gold be granted to them, else they would depart. The kings made promises, but when night closed in they started each for his own country. Next morning the troops found themselves without leaders. They broke up their encampment and abandoned the siege.* "Perceivest thou," it was said to Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, "the artifice accomplished by her of whom thou
46 hast said that her mind is weakened?" He rode to Dhu Jiblah and strove to justify and to excuse himself to the Princess.

The Queen was the accepted representative of the Imām, upon whom be peace. . . .

The cause of this arrest[54] of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was [as follows according to what was related by] the jurist Abu ‘Abd Allah al-Husayn ibn ‘Aly al-Ḥalaby (al-Bajaly). Al-Ma'mūn (al-Baṭā'iḥy), when wazīr (in Egypt), sent an envoy to Yaman, entrusted with military power, known by the name of al-Amīr al-Kadhdhāb. On his reaching Dhu Jiblah, he was present at a crowded assembly held by Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah. The latter did not welcome him and he neither treated him as a guest, nor did he notice him. He sought to humiliate

* This, according to al-Khazraji, occurred in Muḥarram, A.H. 520.

him and asked him whether he was not superintendent of the city police at Cairo. "Yea, and indeed," answered the envoy, "they whom I smite with my hand, are amongst the most eminent of those who boast of a rabble following of ten thousand men." Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was himself humiliated by the reply he received, and his enemies thenceforward attached themselves to the envoy. They extolled his merits. He, on his part, plied them with presents and promised them the destruction of 'Aly ibn Ibrahīm (ibn Najīb ad-Daulah) by means of two expedients. He recommended them in the first place to give him letters for the Khalīfah al-Āmir, stating that Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah had invited and called upon them to recognize Nizār as supreme Imām and that they had refused. In the second place, they were to strike coins in the name of Nizār, which the envoy promised to transmit to our lord al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Illah. They followed his advice, and his return to Cairo occurred simultaneously with the arrest and imprisonment of the wazīr al-Ma'mūn. The envoy sent the letters and the coins to the Khalīfah, who commanded the Amīr al-Muwaffaḳ ibn al-Khayyāṭ to be sent to Yaman, for the arrest of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah.[55] He started from the Imperial Gate, accompanied by a hundred men belonging to the military body, *the Hujarīyahs*, all men fitted for the most arduous enterprises. Among the companions of Ibn al-Khayyāṭ were 'Izz id-dīn and his own son Sa'd al-Mulk. On hearing of the envoy's arrival at Dahlak, Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah set forth for the country of Zabīd, notwithstanding the objections and repugnance he felt to doing so. A Dā'y, he said, must not skulk away in hiding. Death, he added, was preferable to disgrace. His enemies addressed themselves to the Queen and warned her to secure his person, for, they urged, the Imām would hold her alone

responsible for his safe keeping. The Queen feigned to be ill and sent to Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah
47 the Sharīf As'ad ibn 'Abd aṣ-Ṣamad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥawwāly. This man was his most faithful friend. He overtook Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah at the distance of a night's journey from Janad and told him that the Queen, the chosen representative of the Prince of the Faithful, was on the point of death.—"She places confidence in thee alone," he added, and urged him to return to her. He did so, and she ordered him to be arrested, but she treated him with lenity and fettered him with silver chains weighing fifty ounces. The envoy arrived from Aden and demanded the surrender of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah. The Queen refused. "Thou art the bearer of a letter from our lord," she replied. "Take charge of my answer, or if thou preferrest, I will write to the Prince of the Faithful, and wait thou here until I receive his reply." But the two kings Suleymān and 'Imrān, the sons of az-Zarr, interfered. The Queen confided greatly in the judgment of 'Abd Allah ibn al-Mahdi al-Ma'mari. They offered him ten thousand dinārs, besides two castles in her dominions. He alarmed the Queen with representations of the evil consequences of rumours connecting her with the Nizārites, and directed the envoy and his companions to spread reports on the subject. The Queen yielded, but allayed the fears she entertained of the envoy, on Najīb ad-Daulah's account, by exacting many solemn oaths from Ibn al-Khayyāt. She wrote also to our lord al-Āmir bi-Aḥkam Illah, the Prince of the Faithful, interceding with the Khalīfah for Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, and she sent unto him her secretary, Muḥammad ibn al-Azraki, a man of culture, the draftsman of the council, an elegant writer, eloquent, and remarkable for his benevolence. Among the presents she sent was a suit of

armour, enriched with jewels of the value of forty thousand dinārs. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was carried forth from Dhu Jiblah in a wooden cage. The people looked on, and he said unto them: "That which ye look upon is a lion imprisoned in a cage."

On reaching the distance of a night's journey from Dhu Jiblah, his custodians attached an iron weight of one hundred pounds to his feet and they reviled him and humiliated him. He was made to sleep naked in the vestibule, although it was winter. They hurried him away from Aden in a ship belonging to the port of Sawākin. They detained the Queen's messenger, Ibn al-Azraḳi, for five days.
48 Then they sent him off and they ordered the captain to wreck the ship. The vessel was sunk with all she contained, near Bāb al-Mandeb, and Ibn al-Azraḳi was drowned.

The Queen was greatly afflicted, when regrets could no longer avail.[56] Suleyman and 'Imrān, the sons of az-Zarr, went into her presence, exulting over the fate of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah. They came forth exclaiming that the Jurist had indeed spoken the truth in reporting the words of 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abbās (cousin of the Prophet):—"We used," he said, "to listen to the traditions preserved by 'Ā'ishah (the Prophet's widow), but never left her presence without having been reminded that she was a woman." This was their last interview with the Queen.

The History of [the Dynasty of] az-Zuray', son of al-'Abbās, son of al-Karam the Yāmite, Prince of Aden.

The Banu Zuray' were descended from Hamdān, and from Jusham, son of Yām, son of Aṣghā.

Their ancestor, Ibn al-'Abbās* son of al-Karam, had gained credit by his conduct in past times, and especially by the assistance he gave to the Dā'y 'Aly, son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, when the latter was engaged in promoting the Fāṭimite Khalīfah al-Mustanṣir's supremacy over Yaman, and again by joining the Dā'y al-Mukarram, son of 'Aly, in his attack upon Zabīd and in the release of the Honourable Lady Asmā, daughter of Shihāb, from the hands of Sa'īd al-Aḥwal, son of Najāḥ.

The events that raised the family to the Principality of Aden were as follows. When 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite conquered Aden, the city was under the rule of the Banu Ma'n [who had subdued it as well as Laḥj, Abyan, Shiḥr and Ḥadramaut. He allowed them to remain in possession as governors under his authority. When al-Mukarram married the Honourable Lady Sayyidah, his father gave her Aden and its neighbourhood as her dowry. The Banu Ma'n accordingly paid her tribute so long as the Dā'y 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite lived; but when he was killed, in the year we have mentioned (A.H. 473), they declared themselves independent].[57]

The King al-Mukarram thereupon marched against them, conquered the city and put an end to the supremacy of the Banu Ma'n. He placed their country under the rule of al-'Abbās and Mas'ūd, the two sons of al-Karam. He appointed the residence of the former at Ta'kar-'Aden, which adjoins the gate of the city, and [gave him authority over] the trade with the interior. To Mas'ūd he gave the castle of al-Khaḍrā, with authority over the coast and shipping, and command of the city.[58] He made
49 them take oath to the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Aḥmad, because aṣ-Ṣulayḥi had endowed her with the city of Aden when he

* Read *Their ancestor al-'Abbās.*

married her to his son al-Mukarram in the year 461. From that year * the revenues of Aden were uninterruptedly paid to her until [the death of] al-Mukarram. The amount was one hundred thousand dinārs, occasionally somewhat more, and in other years somewhat less. On the death of al-Mukarram, al-‘Abbās and Mas‘ūd, the two sons of al-Karam, continued faithfully to fulfil their obligations to the Queen. But after their death [and that of Zuray‘ son of al-‘Abbās, Abu Su‘ūd son of] Zuray‘ and Abu ’l-Gharāt son of Mas‘ūd proclaimed their independence at Aden.† Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi ’l-Barakāt marched against them and a war took place which ended in a treaty, whereby it was agreed that half the revenues of Aden should be paid to the Queen. Upon the death of al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi ’l-Barakāt, the Princes of Aden discontinued the payment of the Queen’s half of the revenues. As‘ad ibn Abi ’l-Futuḥ, son of al-Malik al-Mufaḍḍal’s uncle, proceeded to the spot and concluded an agreement, whereby a fourth of the revenues was to belong to the Queen. When the Banu az-Zarr rebelled at Ta‘kar, the Princes of Aden again discontinued payment, and the Queen was thenceforward unable to draw anything from Aden, in consequence of the death of all her leading men. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah made no attempt to do anything in the matter.

Such were the circumstances under which the Banu ’l-Karam ruled over Aden, and I will now proceed to relate the divisions that occurred between them.

Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi ’l-Barakāt, in the course of one of his wars, attacked Zabīd. He was accom-

* Read *From the time of the appointment of al-‘Abbās and Mas‘ūd.*

† Zuray‘ and his uncle Mas‘ūd were killed, as will be seen, before the walls of Zabīd. A table showing the succession of the Zuray‘ite Princes is given in Note 113.

panied by Zuray‘, son of al-‘Abbās, and by the latter's uncle Mas‘ūd, son of al-Karam, who were at that time Princes of Aden. Both were killed at the gates of Zabīd, and they were succeeded at Aden by Abu 's-Su‘ūd son of Zuray‘, and by Abu 'l-Gharāt son of Mas‘ūd. They were succeeded in the rulership over Aden by the Dā‘y Saba, son of Abu 's-Su‘ūd, and Muḥammad, son of Abu 'l-Gharāt. Next came Saba's son ‘Aly al-A‘azz al-Murtaḍa, together with ‘Aly, son of Abi 'l-Gharāt, and then the Dā‘y Muḥammad, son of Saba.[59] ‘Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt was the last descendant of Mas‘ūd.
0 The Dā‘y Muḥammad ibn Saba was succeeded by his son ‘Imrān. He died, and after him the country remained faithful in its allegiance to the family of Zuray‘, until the Zurayites were deposed by Sulṭān al-Mu‘aẓẓam Shams ad-Daulah Turān Shah, brother of Saladin son of Ayyūb, in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳa‘dah [A.H. 569]. The Princes of Aden were at that time Muḥammad and Abu 's-Su‘ūd, the two sons of ‘Imrān, son of Muḥammad, son of Saba. Ibn Ḥurābah took a part in the events at Aden, neither the particulars nor the date of which I am able to recollect; but there have been none in the family of al-Karam nobler than ‘Imrān, son of Ḥurābah (Muḥammad?), or than Mufaḍḍal, son of Zuray‘. Nobility of character, though less than theirs, would be beyond power of description. The family of the Banu 'l-Karam are also known by the name of *adh-Dhīb*. They were, next to the Sulayhites, the most distinguished of the Arab ruling families in Yaman.

Upon the death of Muḥammad, son of Abu 'l-Gharāt, son of Mas‘ūd, son of al-Karam, he was succeeded by his brother ‘Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt. He possessed the castle of al-Khaḍrā, commanding the sea, the shipping and the city. The Dā‘y Saba, son of Abu Su‘ūd, son of Zuray‘, son of al-‘Abbās, son of al-Karam the Yāmite, who bore the

titles of the Unparagoned, the Victorious, Glory of the Empire, Honour of the Khalīfate, Right Arm of the Empire, Sword of the Imām, Crown and Chief of the Arabs, Dā'y of the Prince of the Faithful,—shared the sovereignty over Aden with the Sulṭān 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt. He held its gates and wielded authority over all that entered the city from the land side. He owned the fortress of Dumlūwah,* Ar-Ramā (?), Sāmi', Maṭrān (?), and Dhubḥān; also part of al-Ma'āfir and of Janad. His possessions in the highlands were extensive.[60] His sons were al-A'azz 'Aly, Muḥammad, al-Mufaḍḍal, Ziyād, and Rauḥ.

How the Sovereignty of 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt came to an end at Aden, and how it passed into the hands of the Dā'y Saba.

It has been related to me by the Dā'y Muḥammad son of Saba and by certain Sheykhs of Aden, that they knew Ibn al-Khazary Abu 'l-Ḳāsim as deputy of 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt over one half of Aden, and
51 Sheykh Aḥmad ibn 'Attāb al-Hadhaly as deputy of Saba son of Abu 's-Su'ūd, over the other half. Ibn al-Khazary dealt unrighteously, in the division of the revenues, with Aḥmad ibn 'Attāb, and (his friends) the dependents of 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt, stretched forth their hands oppressively over the people. They created disorder and disturbance in the city and they cavilled at the Dā'y Saba, making use of language calculated to excite anger and to offend their adversaries' pride. The Dā'y was meanwhile assiduously occupied, through

* Khazraji says (see extracts in Note 57) that Dumlūwah was captured by Zuray' in A.H. 480.

good report and through evil report, in the collection of money and corn. All who looked to him for protection were ill-treated and oppressed, the followers of ‘Aly being the more powerful party. The Dā‘y bore his injuries in silence, but when his patience seemed likely to lead to the extinction of his authority, he determined upon an open struggle with his enemies. He appointed his deputy, the Sheykh as-Sa‘īd al-Muwaffaḳ Bilāl son of Jarīr, over Aden, and ordered him to stir up the people, and to promote war in the city. Bilāl, who was a man of energy and sagacity, obeyed. Saba meanwhile collected a force of Arabs from among the Banu Hamdān, and from among the tribes of Janb ibn As‘ad (ibn Ḥurab?), ‘Anbas (‘Ans?), Khaulān, Ḥimyar, Madhhij, and others. He hurried down from the mountains, [from Dumlūwah,] and confronted his enemies in Wadi Laḥj. The Dā‘y Saba possessed in that valley a walled village, known by the name of Bany Abbah,[61] which he occupied with his brethren of the family of Zuray‘. The retainers of his kinsman Mas‘ūd possessed in the same valley a large walled city called az-Za‘āzi‘. The two parties encamped near their respective towns, and they fought one another with unexampled determination.

The cruelty of our kindred inflicts a deeper wound—than the
blows of a sharp-cutting sword.[62]

I have been told by the Dā‘y Muḥammad ibn Saba, that he was out on one occasion with a reconnoitring party for Saba. They came in sight of ‘Aly ibn Abi ’l-Gharāt and of his uncle Manī‘ ibn Mas‘ūd. No horse, said the son of Saba, ever carried braver or bolder men than these two. “We took to flight,” he continued, “but we were over-
2 taken by Manī‘ ibn Mas‘ūd.” “Tell your father, O youth,” he shouted, “to stand firm, for this evening

there shall surely be kisses bestowed upon us by the Jushamite maidens within his tents."[63] When I informed my father of these words, he rode forth in person and addressed the Banu adh-Dhīb, who were present, and who were his nearest kinsmen: "The mercenary Arab horsemen (their allies) were not equal," he said, "to the heat of battle. Fire can be mastered only by him that kindles it. Meet your kinsmen and bear the fierce heat of battle yourselves, otherwise there is nought before you but defeat and disgrace."

The two armies joined in action and one of our horsemen, charging Manī' son of Mas'ūd, dealt him a thrust with his lance, which divided his upper lip and the extremity of his nose. The battle raged on both sides with lance-thrusts, heavy blows of the sword and the destruction of horses. The assembled Arabs looked eagerly on, but the Banu Hamdān at length charged, and interposed themselves between the two parties. At the same moment, the combatants were separated by the Laḥj, which came rushing in a torrent down its bed. The two parties stood still on either bank of the stream, conversing with one another. The Dā'y Saba, or some other person, turned towards Manī' ibn Mas'ūd. "What sayest thou," he asked, "O Abu Mudāfi', of the Jushamite maidens' kisses this evening?" "I say of them," answered Manī', "as has been said by the poet al-Mutanabbi:—

Lance-thrusts to those that love them are as kisses."[64]

Manī'u's answer has ever since been greatly praised and admired, by reason of the aptness of his quotation to the circumstances.

The war at az-Za'āzi', said to me the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba, endured for two years. 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt at first distributed money without taking account thereof, whilst the Dā'y

abstained from similar liberality, and the minds of the people were nigh to being turned against him; but when ʻAly's cause gave way, the Dāʻy expended money with a liberality which it would never have entered the mind of any man to expect. I recollect, he continued, that on a certain day, a member of the tribe of Hamdān came into the presence of the Dāʻy Saba, who was then occupying a tent in his
53 camp. "Let me be a partaker of thy bounty, O Abu Ḥimyar," said the Hamdānite. No one was with them but myself. "Thou knowest," continued the man, "that war is a devouring fire, and that men and horses are its fuel. I desire of thee that thou pay me the price of my blood, which amounts to one thousand dinārs." The Dāʻy consented. "Also," continued the man, "the blood money of my son So and so, and of his brother." He received two thousand dinārs on their account. "May God preserve thee from evil, O Abu Ḥimyar," he thereupon said, "but there remains a claim for the horses that were destroyed." "Did destruction extend to the horses?" asked the Dāʻy. "Pay me the price of the horses," answered the Hamdānite, "as thou hast paid me the blood money." The Dāʻy handed over to him a purse containing five hundred dinārs. "But there is," said the man, "another thing which I think thy generosity, O Abu Ḥimyar, will not allow thee to deny me." "What is it?" "I desire to marry So and so, daughter of Such a one. Thou knowest how distinguished a family they are, and I am not possessed of sufficient wealth to approach them in a suitable manner." The Dāʻy gave one hundred dinārs. "Mayest thou prosper and increase in wealth," said the Hamdānite. "There remains but one thing more. It would ill become me to marry whilst my two sons are unable to do so." The Dāʻy gave him two hundred dinārs, for each

son one hundred. The Hamdānite arose, but on reaching the entrance of the tent, he came back and said: "By Allah! I will not, of a certainty, ask thee another thing save this one, for which I have returned. I have a daughter who has not a husband. An evil thing it were that I and her brothers should marry, whilst she remains single." "What is to be done?" asked the Dā'y. "Pay me a sum wherewith I may be able to marry her." The Dā'y gave him one hundred dinārs more and quoting the poet's saying, in the *rajaz* metre, he exclaimed :—

"Zayd's beard had to be thinned, and it was plucked out by the roots."

I was informed by the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba and by Bilāl ibn Jarīr al-Muḥammady, that Saba expended upon the war with Sulṭān 'Aly son of Abu l'-Gharāt, three hundred thousand dinārs. His means were then exhausted, and he borrowed money from the merchants of Aden who supported his cause, such as the Sharīf Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Abi 'l-'Omari, a descendant of (the second Khalīfah) 'Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, Sheykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly ibn Muḥammad ibn A'yan, Ẓāfir ibn Farāḥ and others.

54 The Dā'y Saba died at Aden, seven months after his conquest of az-Za'āzi', still owing on account of the money he had borrowed, a debt of thirty thousand dinārs, which was paid by his son, al-A'azz 'Aly ibn Saba. The Sheykh as-Sa'īd Bilāl, son of Jarīr al-Muḥammady, told me that when he took the fortress of al-Khaḍrā at Aden, and captured the Honourable Lady Bahjah, mother of Sulṭān 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt, he found treasures under her keeping which it was not possible for him to match, although the whole of Aden had been in his possession for a considerable length of time. From

Aden to Laḥj, he also said, is the distance of a night's journey, and he remembered writing from Aden with the news of the conquest of the city, and of his having captured al-Khaḍrā. He sent a messenger with the glad tidings to the Dā'y Saba ibn Abi Su'ūd. The same day on which he took al-Khaḍrā, the Dā'y captured the city of az-Za'āzi', and Bilāl's messenger met one bringing similar glad tidings from the Dā'y, a coincidence which, as he observed, was one of the most remarkable recorded in history.

'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt took refuge in the two fortresses of Munīf and al-Jabalah (?). They belonged to the people of Saba Suhayb, whose country is the higher portion of Laḥj.[65] He, Muḥammad ibn Manī' ibn Mas'ūd and Ri'yah son of Abu 'l-Gharāt, were slain by Muḥammad ibn Saba at Laḥj in the year 545.

The Dā'y Saba entered Aden, but, as we have stated, he lived in it for only seven months. He was buried at the foot of at-Ta'kar within the city. He bequeathed his crown to his son 'Aly al-A'azz. His death occurred in A.H. 533, one year after the death of the Honourable Lady, the Queen (Sayyidah).

The Amīr al-A'azz al-Murtaḍa 'Aly, son of Saba, dwelt at Dumlūwah. He meditated putting Bilāl to death at Aden, but died of consumption. He bequeathed the crown to his sons Ḥātim, 'Abbās, Manṣūr, and Mufaḍḍal, all of whom were in their infancy. He appointed Anīs al-A'azzi and the Governor Yaḥya ibn 'Aly, who was his wazīr and secretary, to be guardians of the children.

Muḥammad son of Saba, had fled from his brother, seeking refuge at Ta'izz and Ṣabir with the Amīr Manṣūr ibn Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, from whom he received protection. When 'Aly died at Dumlūwah, Bilāl sent certain Hamdānites

from Aden. They took Muḥammad ibn Saba from under the protection of Manṣūr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal,
55 and brought him down to Aden. Bilāl placed him upon the throne and made the people and officers of the government swear obedience unto him. He married him to his daughter and the wedding was celebrated with great splendour. He besieged Anīs and the Governor Yaḥya ibn 'Aly at Dumlūwah. The fortress was taken, and the whole country submitted to Bilāl. When I reproached Anīs for having surrendered Dumlūwah, a place of great strength, he answered that had he not submitted the female slaves and women would have beaten him to death with their clogs. Whilst the siege was proceeding he heard them, he said, saying to one another: "Curses be upon the slave who covets the like of what we require. Who is he to oppose one so much better for us than himself?" meaning thereby the brother of their lord, Muḥammad ibn Saba.

The Ḳāḍi ar-Rashīd Aḥmad ibn az-Zubayr had started from the Holy Gates (of the Imperial Palace at Cairo) in A.H. 534, with a charter of investment to the noble office of Dā'y, in the name of al-A'azz al-Murtaḍa 'Aly, son of Saba. On his arrival, he found that 'Aly was dead, and he invested Muḥammad son of Saba, giving him the titles of *the Most Great, the Crowned, the Mighty.* Upon Muḥammad's wazīr Bilāl son of Jarīr, he bestowed the titles of *the Auspicious Chief, the Divinely-assisted, the Righteous.*

The Dā'y Muḥammad was a man of a generous disposition, universally praised, fond of eulogy, liberal in his rewards to those who eulogized him, and himself a skilful improviser. He treated men of culture and learning with generosity and often introduced one or more verses in his conversation. I once saw him on a feast day in the Muṣalla,[66] out-

side the city of al-Juwwah (Ḥinwah?), seated on a spot where he suffered from the hot rays of the sun. Poets were present who strove with one another for liberty to recite their verses. "Tell them," he said to me, "and raise your voice so that they may hear, that they need not crowd around me, for I will not leave this place until they have finished." The poets were thirty in number and he rewarded each one.

I remember being with him one night in his palace at al-Juwwah, whence I intended proceeding to Aden. He had with him the two Ḳāḍis, Abu Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Yāfi'y the Janadite and Abu 'l-Fatḥ ibn as-Sahl, besides others of his principal courtiers, such as the two sons of Ḳāsim, Saba and Muḥammad, both of whom were shining lights, and one of the two, Muḥammad, was a physician and astrologer. Several of the eulogists I have spoken of, ten in number, had assembled at his gates. The Dā'y produced the poems and, turning to the persons assembled around him, he asked what reward he ought, in their opinion, to bestow upon the authors. His companions mentioned various sums, not one of which exceeded one hundred
56 dinārs. "Make it," he said, "three hundred dinārs. It is little enough." Thereupon he arose, and we superintended the division of the money.

We were present with him one day at the palace of al-Ḥajr, at a place known as al-Jannāt. Several poets were in his company, among others Ṣafy ad-Daulah Aḥmad ibn 'Aly al-Ḥaḳly and the chief Ḳāḍi Abu Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Yāfi'y the Janadite. He was a distinguished poet and author of extemporaneous verses, which no studied lines have ever excelled. Also the Ḳāḍi Yaḥya ibn Aḥmad ibn Abi Yaḥya, Ḳāḍi of Ṣan'ā, who, in the opinion of the people of Yaman, occupies a rank among poets equal to that of Ibn al-Ḳumm. The Dā'y

extemporized two lines of verse on a certain metre that occurred to him, and he promised to give the robes he wore and the money about his person, to him among the persons present, who should be the first to supplement his verses. The poets were slow in the accomplishment of their task and the Ḳāḍi Abu Bakr ibn Muḥammad al-Yāfi'y distanced his companions in the race. He was close to me. I stole the paper out of his hand and I contrived to have his words in readiness on my lips. I thus appropriated the two lines he had composed. Standing up, I recited them to the Dā'y, and received the Ḳāḍi's prize. His shot hit the mark, but I had purloined the arrow, and I carried off the money and the robes. The stream of the Dā'y's liberality flowed in torrents for the benefit of the talented men about him. Not one of them but received a dress of honour and was rewarded with generous gifts.

In the year 549 (read 547) the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba purchased, from the Amīr Manṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal, all the strongholds that had formerly belonged to the Sulayhites.* They consisted of twenty-eight castles and cities, among which were the cities of Dhu Jiblah, Dhu Ashraḳ, and Ibb. He bought them at the price of one hundred thousand dinārs. Manṣūr adopted his two fortresses of Ṣabir and Ta'izz as his places of residence and he divorced his wife.[67] Her name was Arwa, daughter of 'Aly, son of Abd Allah the Sulayhite. The Dā'y went up to Mikhlāf (Ja'far). He made Dhu Jiblah his place of residence and married the repudiated wife of the Amīr Manṣūr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal. He married also the Honourable Wuḥāẓite Lady, the daughter of Sulṭān As'ad ibn Wā'il ibn 'Īsa. He removed her place of residence from as-Ṣarīḥāni to the palace of Ibn Sibā'. The poets vied more

* See Note 56.

than ever with one another in eulogies and congratulations on the subject of the fortresses he had acquired, and of the guarded and hidden jewels, the two wives above mentioned. The Dā'y was intoxicated with gladness by his successes and his hands were widely opened in distributions of gifts. One morning I went up to Dhu Jiblah, accompanied by
57 the Sheykh Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn 'Aly ibn Muḥammad the Sulayhite and by the Sheykh al-Murajja al-Ḥarāni, and from Dhu Jiblah we proceeded to the fortress of Ḥabb. Every paper that was handed to the Dā'y, he marked with the words, *Honour belongeth to God alone.* On reaching the castle, we reckoned up the papers in the possession of the poets. The Dā'y's treasurers were the Sheykhs Aḥmad ibn Mūsa ibn Abi 'z-Zarr the governor and Rayḥān al-Muḥammady. The sum to be paid was found to amount to five thousand dinārs. Sheykh Aḥmad ibn Mūsa objected to it as unreasonably large and proposed that we should consult the Dā'y on the subject. Sheykh Rayḥān, however, answered that as for him, he was not wearied of his life. "By Allah!" he said, "if you speak to him on the subject, you will not leave his presence without undergoing the effects of his anger." The entire sum was paid that same day. The Ḳāḍi Yaḥya ibn Aḥmad ibn Abi Yaḥya eulogized the Dā'y at Dhu Jiblah in an ode, for which he was rewarded with a donation of five hundred dinārs and with a dress of honour.

I arrived from Tihāmah at a time when I was indebted to the Prince for a sum he had confided to me for certain purposes of his own. I received a letter at Zabīd, sent from Dhu Jiblah, in which he invited me to join him, which I did. When I stood before him, he asked me what I had brought him. I answered enumerating the things I had procured for him, to which he replied that he wanted nought

but verses. "By Allah!" I said to him, "I have not composed a word of poetry, nor can I do so for fear of the people of Zabīd, who make my verses a subject of reproach to me." He, however, desisted not from pressing me until he put me to shame and I improvized lines on the same metre as that upon which the Ḳāḍi Yaḥya ibn Aḥmad ibn Abi Yaḥya composed his verses. When I recited them he exclaimed: "I rewarded the Ḳāḍi with five hundred dinārs and a dress of honour. I reward you with a like sum out of the amount in your hands, but in bestowing upon you a dress of honour, I will distinguish you over him, by giving you the robes I have on at this moment." I received the money and the robes, and the circumstance was one of the causes of the hatred the Abyssinians entertained against me, and of their desire to kill me, a design from which I was preserved by God Most High.[68]

The generous deeds performed by the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba are more than it is possible to enumerate. He died in the year 548,* and was suc-
58 ceeded by his son 'Imrān ibn Muḥammad ibn Saba. The people of Zabīd prohibited me from going to him, and God decreed my journey to Egypt in A.H. 551, as envoy from the prince of the two great and holy cities. I obtained, on returning to Yaman, a letter from Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ (Ṭalāi' ibn Ruzayk) to the Dā'y 'Imrān son of Muḥammad, asking him for a settlement of the account of moneys, for which, at the time of his father's death, I was still indebted and which amounted to three thousand dinārs. "What is the purport of Malik aṣ-Ṣāliḥ's letter," inquired the Dā'y. The Ḳāḍi ar-Rashīd informed him in reply that it asked for a settlement of the account. "Let 'Omārah offer us two lines of verse," answered the Dā'y, "in which he shall strictly observe the

* See Note 70.

laws of rhyme, and the account shall be regulated." Then he asked for paper, and wrote as follows :—

"In the name of God, the Merciful, the Gracious. I hereby declare, and I am 'Imrān, son of the Mighty Dā'y Muḥammad, son of the Most Noble Dā'y Saba, son of Abu Su'ūd, son of Zuray', son of 'Abbās the Yāmite, that the Jurist 'Omārah, son of al-Ḥasan * the Ḥakamite, is exempt from all liability for the money he owed and was unable to pay to our lord the Dā'y Muḥammad son of Saba, amounting to two thousand seven hundred Malikīyah dinārs."

I again departed from Arabia in the year 552. Travellers arriving in Egypt from Yaman never ceased relating, touching the strength of character of the Dā'y and his generosity, things fit to humble Fortune when it shapes the course of events and the rain of heaven, when its copious and beneficent showers water the thirsty soil.

He died in the year 560, leaving three sons, Muḥammad, Abu Su'ūd and Manṣūr, none of whom has yet attained the years of manhood at the present time, namely the month of Muḥarram of the year 564 of the Hijrah, the blessings of God and His peace be upon its originator.[69]

The following is a slight sketch (a supplement to the foregoing particulars), poor and inadequate as the residue of liquid at the bottom of a cup, of the history of the Auspicious, the Divinely-assisted, the Righteous Chief, Abu 'n-Nadi Jarīr son of Bilāl (read Bilāl son of Jarīr) al-Muḥammady.

We have already mentioned that he governed
59 Aden on behalf of his master Saba. 'Aly al-A'azz allowed him to remain, and the city continued under his rule from the year 534 until 546 or 547, when he died. Worldly greatness is surely vanity ! [70]

I have been told by Sheykh Ma'mar ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Attāb, and by the learned scholar Abu Bakr ibn Aḥmad al-'Abdi, both of whom possessed

* Son of Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly ?

special knowledge of all that relates to Bilāl, that he left in money alone six hundred and fifty thousand Maliki dinārs and upwards of three hundred thousand dinārs in Egyptian coin. He left also several *buhārs* weight [71] of silver plate, consisting of ornaments, horses' and mules' trappings, swords and lances, inkstands, basins and ewers, candlesticks, *Ma'āsh* (?) articles for presents, bath-basins, drinking-cups, cloaks (?), silver lace, utensils encrusted with gold, Sulayḥi daggers, silver goblets and *ba'liyat* (?), weighing altogether five buhārs and two hundred pounds. As to clothing and merchandise, stores and warehouses were filled with them. Thus it was also in the matter of perfumes and such like. Also accoutrements and arms, rarities from India and beautiful objects from China, from North Africa and from 'Irāk, variegated stuffs (?) from Egypt, from 'Omān and from Kirmān, all in quantities which it is impossible to reckon. All passed over by his bequest into the possession of his master the Dā'y Muḥammad, son of Saba. The latter in the course of two years spent the whole in works of piety and benevolence.

Bilāl died leaving several sons, grown up men. Among them were the Sheykh Mudāfi' son of Bilāl, who succeeded him in the office of wazīr. He died, and the wazīr Abu 'l-Faraj Yāsir, son of Bilāl al-Muḥammady, assumed the guardianship of the two young Amīrs, the sons of 'Imrān ibn Muḥammad, as well as that of their brother Manṣūr.* Yāsir is not inferior to his father in resolution and strength of character, or in bravery. As for the virtue of generosity, he is renowned for it, he is celebrated for it, and he is surnamed after it.

* The above is the nearest sense I can give to the much mutilated sentence in our MS. But there is practically no room for doubt that a version, which represents Yāsir as the guardian of 'Imrān's children, is substantially incorrect. See Note 69.

60 History of the Family of Najāḥ, the Abyssinian Kings of Zabīd.

Al-Mu'ayyad Nāṣir ad-dīn Najāḥ continued to rule over Tihāmah, from the dominions of Ibn Ṭarf to Aden, the kings of the highlands showing respect for his dynasty, and dreading his power. This endured until the Dā'y 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite brought about his death, by means of a slave girl, whom he sent to Najāḥ as a present, in the year 452. The sons of Najāḥ retained possession of Tihāmah for two years after their father's death, and during that period affairs were conducted by one of their freedmen, of the name of Kahlān. They were men of resolute character, but some members of the family were still in their youth.

Ere long the Dā'y 'Aly the Sulayhite dispossessed them of their kingdom (in A.H. 455), and after their arrival in the Island of Dahlak they became dispersed. Mu'ārik, the eldest of the family, in an access of folly committed suicide. As for adh-Dhakhīrah, she had barely attained the age of puberty. Sa'īd al-Aḥwal, who afterwards slew the Sulayhite, (and Jayyāsh) were the two manliest characters of their house. Each cultivated literature, and enjoyed a prolonged life and great power. But their father Najāḥ brought up their elder brother Mu'ārik to succeed him.

Jayyāsh disguised himself and entered the city of Zabīd. Having recovered possession of certain deposits due to him by 'Abd ar-Rahman ibn Ṭāhir al-Ḳaybi, he returned to Dahlak, where he remained for a certain length of time, in the days of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, applying himself with distinguished success to the acquisition of learning. Sa'īd al-Aḥwal and he were born of the same mother, but Sa'īd was

the elder, and the adventures he met with are the strangest that ever were recorded.

He departed from Dahlak for Zabīd in anger with his brother Jayyāsh, who had prevented him from practising treachery against the Prince of Dahlak. Sa'īd concealed himself at Zabīd in the house of the Ra'is Mulā'ib the Khaulānite. This man belonged to the lower orders of the people, but he was more than any other person attached to the family of Najāḥ. Sa'īd dug for himself a refuge in the grounds occupied by the dwelling-places of Mulā'ib, and he generally abode therein. He then wrote to his brother Jayyāsh at Dahlak, ordering him to come to Zabīd, and announcing the speedy downfall of the Sulayhites and the restoration of their own family. On Jayyāsh's arrival, Sa'īd openly rose against his enemies at the head of a band of seventy men. Not one of them possessed a horse, nor had they any other weapon than iron
61 nails mounted on palm-sticks. Aḥmad ibn Falāḥ, chief of the Office of Control * at Zabīd, has told me that when Sa'īd went forth from the city, he and his followers met a mounted soldier. They killed him, and Sa'īd appropriated the horse he was riding. Sa'īd started from Zabīd, on his way to attack aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, at the close of the ninth day of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah, of the year 473.

"We set forth," says Jayyāsh son of Najāḥ, "by the sea-board road, avoiding the royal highway for fear of being intercepted by the enemy. By forced marches the distance to al-Mahjam could be performed in three days. The news of our insurrection had preceded us and had reached aṣ-Ṣulayḥi. Both the highlands and the plains were, at the time, filled with rumours.† The time had come, it was

* Diwān at-Taḥḳīḳ. See Maḳrīzi's *Khiṭaṭ*, vol. ii. p. 401.

† The conjunction *thumma*, which occurs at this point, perhaps indicates an omission in the MS.

said, for the uprising of Sa'īd al-Aḥwal son of Najāḥ, and there was hardly a mosque or place of assembly, a college, or market, or public road, in which the matter was not discussed, though we endeavoured, from motives of prudence, to act secretly. But Sa'īd openly made oath by God Most High, that he would slay his enemy, that he was the destined master of the day, and he spoke in that tone to most people.

"Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, on hearing of our revolt, despatched against us a detachment of his army, consisting of five thousand Abyssinian spearmen, most of whom were our own servants and kinsmen, and he ordered them to bring him the heads of the squint-eyed Sa'īd, of his brother, and of his other companions.

"By adopting the sea-board road, we avoided the troops. I remember that when night closed in upon us at al-Murāwi'ah,* in the province of al-Kadrā, a man stepped forward from behind the hillocks in the valley, and addressing us, said that we had doubtless strayed from our way. We replied that it was so, whereupon he desired us to follow him, and he walked before us until day broke, when we lost sight of him. We underwent great fatigue and suffering from travelling barefooted by day and by night. Sa'īd, walking in our midst whilst the horse was led, continually exclaimed: 'O morning of prosperity, of triumph, and of happiness! Make ye haste unto the man, lest to-morrow he die otherwise than by our hands. By Allah! to-morrow's sun shall not rise and he still in this world!" We continued our march without intermission, until we at length entered the borders of the camp.

* Al-Murāwi'ah is mentioned in the Tāj al-'Arūs as the name of a village in Yaman, the burial-place of a member of the family of al-Ahdal.

"We were mistaken for servants and followers of as-Ṣulayḥi, and none heeded us, saving 'Abd Allah son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, who, mounting his charger, suddenly called to his brother: 'To horse, my lord! for this, by Allah, is al-Aḥwal son of Najāḥ, with his armed following, of whom we have received warning by As'ad ibn Shihāb's letter from Zabīd.' As-Ṣulayhi, in reply to his brother, exclaimed that he was destined to die at no other place but ad-Duhaym and Bīr (the well of) Umm Ma'bad. He believed that the well (referred to in the prediction) was that bearing the same name, at which the Apostle of God (upon whom be blessings and salutations of peace) halted, on the occasion of his flight in company with Abu Bekr. But Mash'al the 'Akkite exclaimed: 'Defend thyself, for this, by Allah, is the well of Duhaym ibn 'Abs, and that mosque stands on the site of the tent of Umm (the mother of) Ma'bad, son of al-Ḥārith the 'Absite.' On hearing these words," says Jayyāsh, "as-Ṣulayhi was overcome with despair, and he urined into his chain-armoured tunic. He never moved from the place where he stood, until we struck off his head with his own sword. I was the first to strike him, but one of Najāḥ's slaves took part with me in the deed. He it was that pierced as-Ṣulayḥi with his spear, and I struck off his head with my own hand and mounted it upon the shaft of the royal umbrella. I ordered the drums to be beat and the trumpets to be sounded, and I mounted Sulayḥi's Ḥadramauti horse named adh-Dhabbāl. As for 'Abd Allah son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite, the bravest of Arab horsemen, he charged us and killed several of our people. One of our men grappled him, and both fell to the ground. 'Kill us both,' cried the man, 'for my people will rejoice at my not having perished at the hands of the vile.' Sa'īd thereupon," says Jayyāsh, "transfixed both with a spear at one blow.

He then struck off the head of ‘Abd Allah, imagining him to be his brother ‘Aly the Sulayhite.

"Sa‘īd mounted the horse of ‘Abd Allah, and with the two heads borne aloft before him he proceeded to the door of the mosque, in which the Lady Asmā, daughter of Shihāb and wife of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, was. ‘Come forth,’ he said to her, and offer thy morning greeting unto the two Sulṭāns!’ ‘May God never bestow upon thee the greeting of his favours, O Aḥwal!’ she replied. And, with her face uncovered, she recited the line composed by Imru ’l-Ḳais the Kindite,—

3 Verily none so insolently trample upon thee as—the feeble boaster.
None so arrogant in humbling as he that hath been abased.[72]

"Sa‘īd sent a messenger to the five thousand, whom aṣ-Ṣulayḥi had despatched on the previous night with orders to slay him. ‘Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi,’ he said, ‘has suffered death. I am a man of your own race, and the honours I gain are acquired by you.’ He remained at the gate of the mosque, the two heads set up before him, and the air filled with the sound of the beating of drums, until the men arrived. They saluted him, and with their aid he plundered and captured and massacred the soldiers of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi. Sa‘īd," continues Jayyāsh, "became intoxicated with pride, and assumed a haughty demeanour even towards me his brother, son both of his father and of his mother. I advised him to show kindness to the Lady Asmā, and to grant an amnesty to the Princes of the Sulayhite family who accompanied her. They were one hundred and seventy in number, all mistrusted by Ṣulayḥi, who feared lest, in his absence, they should betray him. I advised him also to spare the Ḳaḥṭānite chieftains, who were likewise with her, thirty-five in number, to send, through the Princess, a letter to her son al-Mukarram son of ‘Aly, to write that his blood

feud was satisfied, that he had won back his kingdom, that in kindness to al-Mukarram he sent him his mother, guarded and protected, and that he had granted an amnesty to al-Mukarram's kinspeople. 'By Allah, my lord,' I said to him, 'if thou do this, the Banu Ḳaḥṭān will not dispute thy sovereignty over Tihāmah, and if thou decline my advice, their sense of wounded honour will to a certainty stir and impel them to invade thy country.' Sa'īd answered me in the words of the ancient poet,—

Beware of sparing the viper, after crushing her tail.—If thou art wise, her head shall share the fate of her tail.

"He then ordered the Sulayhites to be brought forth, and they were slain to the last man. The mercy of God be upon them! I saw an old man among them, who sought to protect himself behind his son, and the spear passed through the bodies of both. May God preserve us from the grievous pressure of calamity! I shall never forget," continues Jayyāsh, "the sight of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi's head mounted upon the shaft of the royal umbrella, nor the voice of the Ḳur'ān reader: *Say, O God, Lord of Empire, Thou givest sovereignty unto whom Thou willest, and Thou takest it from whom Thou willest. Thou raisest whom Thou willest, and Thou abasest whom Thou willest. In Thy hands is all good, and*
64 *Thy boundless power is over all things.** Neither can I forget the words of the poet al-'Othmāni, part of an ode which he improvized on the spot, and in which he described the royal canopy:—

How unsightly was his face under its shade!—How comely his his head upon its stem!"

Three days after the battle, Sa'īd departed for Zabīd, carrying the two heads with him. The vain possession of a kingdom was one of the spoils of his

* Ḳur'ān, S. iii. v. 25.

victory, together with a large amount of booty. It comprised two thousand horses and three thousand camels, with their harness and furniture. He entered Zabīd on the sixteenth day of the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah of the year 473, with the heads of aṣ-Sulayḥi and his brother borne before the litter of the Honourable Lady Asmā daughter of Shihāb. He placed her in the house of Shaḥār, and the two heads were set up opposite her casement.

As'ad ibn Shihāb fled from Zabīd, and took refuge with al-Mukarram at Ṣan'ā. The death of aṣ-Sulayḥi filled the hearts of all men with dread of Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ. The governors of the (mountain) fortresses seized possession of the places confided to their rule, and the authority of al-Mukarram was all but destroyed. That of Sa'īd in Tihāmah, on the contrary, acquired great strength, and he sent persons to Abyssinia to purchase for him twenty (thousand) spearmen. Al-Mukarram continued deprived of all knowledge of his mother, the Honourable Lady Asmā daughter of Shihāb, until he attacked Zabīd, and rescued her in the manner we have already related. Sa'īd subsequently returned,* recaptured the city, and expelled the governors appointed by al-Mukarram. He continued to rule over it until he was killed in A.H. 481, in the battle of the castle of Sha'ir, the result of a stratagem contrived by Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Aḥmad, and wife of the King al-Mukarram, as has likewise been mentioned.

* From Dahlak, in A.H. 479 (*Khi.*).

How Jayyash son of Najāḥ went to India, accompanied by the wazīr Kasīm al-Mulk Abu Sa'īd Khalf son of Abu Ṭāhir the Omayyad, descendant of Suleymān ibn Hishām son of 'Abd al-Malik.

Jayyāsh proceeds with his relation as follows:—"After these events I disguised myself, and I went to Aden, accompanied by the wazīr Khalf, son of
65 Abu Ṭāhir. We proceeded to India in the year 481, and after remaining in that country for six months, we returned the same year to Yaman. One of the most wonderful things I experienced in India was on the occasion of our meeting a man who came from Sarandīb. Everyone rejoiced at his presence, and it was believed that he possessed knowledge of the future. Upon our questioning him respecting our affairs, he gladdened us with predictions, not one word of which failed to be accomplished. I bought an Indian slave girl, and she arrived with me in Yaman, being at that time in her fifth month of pregnancy. On landing at Aden, I sent the wazīr Khalf in advance of me to Zabīd, by the sea-board road, and I ordered him to spread reports of my having died in India, to apply for a personal amnesty, to acquaint me with the actual situation of our affairs, and to inform me who of our people remained with the Abyssinians. I myself went to Dhu Jiblah, where I fully acquainted myself with the condition of al-Mukarram ibn 'Aly, how he had given himself over to the pursuit of pleasure, how he had become physically weakened, and how he had abandoned the direction of affairs to his wife, Queen Sayyidah daughter of Aḥmad, From the highlands I descended to Zabīd, where I joined the wazīr Ibn Khalf, and received from him

intelligence respecting our friends, our kinsmen and our servants, which filled me with satisfaction. He told me that they were in great numbers in the country, but that they wanted a leader. I assumed the guise of an Indian, allowed my beard to spread over my face, my hair and nails to grow long, and I covered one of my eyes with a black cloth. I dwelt close to the royal palace, and when people went forth in the morning, I used to proceed to the maṣṭabah (bench at the outer gate) of 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm, who was wazīr to the governor appointed by the King al-Mukarram ibn 'Aly. I heard him say one day (as he went past?), 'By Allah, if I could find a dog of the family of Najāḥ, of a certainty I would make him King of Zabīd.' This was said in consequence of some cause of offence that had arisen between him and the governor As'ad ibn Shihāb. Ḥusayn, son of 'Aly the Ḳummite, the poet came forth on a certain day. He was at that time the most skilful chess-player of all the inhabitants of Zabīd. 'Indian,' he asked me, 'art thou a good chess-player?' I answered that I was. We played, and I beat him at the game, whereupon he barely restrained himself from violence against me. He went in to his father and told him that he had been
56 beaten at chess. His father replied that there had never been a person at Zabīd who could overcome him, excepting only Jayyāsh the son of Najāḥ, and he, he continued, has died in India. 'Aly, the father of Ḥusayn, then came forth to me. He was an exceedingly skilful player and we played together. I was unwilling to defeat him, and the match ended in a drawn game. He was greatly pleased with me, and admitted me to his intimacy. Every day and every evening he used to say: 'God speed you unto us, O family of Najāḥ!' At night I used to join the wazīr Khalf, and we were parted during the day. I occupied myself, meanwhile, in writing to

the Abyssinians who were scattered in the provinces, bidding them to be in readiness. When five thousand spearmen had assembled, dispersed in the outskirts of the city and within its walls, I told the wazīr Khalf that a certain sum was due to me by 'Omar ibn Suḥaym. I desired him to receive ten thousand dinārs and to distribute the money among the men who had assembled, which he did. I (again) saw the wazīr at night, and informed him that my Lord the Kā'id Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah had appeared to me in my sleep. He had promised me that the kingdom we desired to regain would return unto us, and that the event would occur on the night of the delivery of the Indian slave girl. Ḥusayn, I moreover told him, after speaking these words, had turned to a man on his right hand and had asked: 'Is it not so, O Prince of the Faithful?' and the man so addressed replied: 'Yea verily, and sovereignty will belong to the descendants of the child for a long period of time.'[73]

"I remember that on a certain day," continues Jayyāsh, "'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm returned from the palace to his own house, in a state of extreme anger. On becoming calmer he said to me: 'Come up, Indian, that I may play chess with thee.' Whilst we were playing, his son Ḥusayn entered and beat one of his slaves with a whip. I was struck by the end of the whip, and I heedlessly uttered an exclamation such as habitually escaped me whenever anything startled me. The words I used were: 'I am Abu 't-Ṭāmi!' 'Indian,' asked the old man, 'what is thy name?' I answered, '*Baḥr*.' 'Baḥr!' he said, 'by Allah! the epithet Abu 't-Ṭāmi is well suited to that name.'[74] I repented," continues Jayyāsh, "of what I had said, and I began to mistrust my companions.

"When the time had come for the recovery of our

possessions, in accordance with God's decree, it
happened that I played chess with Ḥusayn, the
poet, son of al-Ḳumm. No person was present but
67 his father 'Aly, who sat on a raised seat, giving
directions to his son. He promised Ḥusayn that
if he defeated me, he would send him to al-Mukar-
ram and to Queen Sayyidah, in charge of the
revenues of that year, and that he would give him
the present that would, as customary, be offered
to the Governor of Tihāmah, a sum amounting to
several thousand dinārs. I purposely played a care-
less game with Ḥusayn, desiring to conciliate his
father, and I allowed him to win. Ḥusayn became
intoxicated with joy and gave vent to his feelings
in foolish words, with which he exulted over me. I
bore with him for his father's sake, but he stretched
forth his hand and snatched away the black cloth
that covered one of my eyes. His father stood up
reprobating the act, whilst I arose in extreme anger.
An involuntary exclamation escaped me according
to the habit I had contracted, and I uttered the
words: 'I am Jayyāsh!' It was not possible
for me to remain, but 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm sprang
after me, bare-footed and trailing his cloak. He
overtook and stopped me, and then bringing forth
a copy of the Holy Volume, he swore an oath upon
it, which completely tranquillized me. No person
was present, and I also took oath unto him. He
ordered the palace of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, the Dār al-'Izz,
to be vacated. It was carpeted and hung with
curtains and the Indian slave girl was removed
thither, together with male and female servants,
provisions and furniture. He retained me in his
house until night had set in, when he allowed me
to depart. I entered the palace and found that the
slave girl had given birth to my son al-Fātik, between
sunset and the hour of evening prayer. 'Aly ibn
al-Ḳumm came to me that night. He warned

me that what had occurred could not long remain concealed from As‘ad ibn Shihāb, and in reply I informed him that I had five thousand spearmen in the city. ‘Victory is in thy hands,’ replied ‘Aly; ‘declare thyself publicly.’ I told ‘Aly I was unwilling that harm should befall As‘ad ibn Shihāb, who had done all he could for our family and children, and through whose influence they had been spared and treated with kindness. Ibn al-Ḳumm. desired me, in reply, to act therein as I thought proper.”

Jayyāsh ordered the drums and trumpets to be sounded. The people of the city and five thousand Abyssinians rose in arms along with him. Ibn Shihāb was taken prisoner. “Naught can defend us against you, O family of Najāḥ,” he said to Jayyāsh, “for man’s fortunes are as the buckets of a well (which rise full of water for the benefit now of one, then of another). But such as I ask not for mercy.” “And such as thou, O Abu Hassān,”
68 answered Jayyāsh, “shall not suffer harm.” Jayyāsh treated As‘ad and his children with kindness, and sent him forth with all the property he possessed, and with all his family.

“I took possession,” says Jayyāsh, “of the Government House and of its contents, in the morning that followed the night on which my son Fātik was born, and the promises made to me by Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah were exactly fulfilled.

“Ere a month had elapsed, I was at the head of twenty thousand spearmen, men who were our servants and kinsmen and who were hitherto dispersed in the provinces.* Praised be He who exalteth them that were abased, and giveth abundance unto them that were in want!”

* I have suggested in a note to the Arabic text, the substitution—though not altogether satisfactory—of مستضافين for مستضعفين. The word متضعضعين has since then occurred to me as a more probable reading.

Thenceforward Jayyāsh suffered no material harm at the hands of al-Mukarram, none greater than incursions into the territories of Zabīd. It was in this condition of affairs that Ḥusayn ibn al-Kumm composed the following line, addressed to Jayyāsh upon his slaying the chief Ḳāḍi al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn?) ibn Abi ʻAḳāmah:—

Dost thou flee when al-Mukarram poiseth his lance?—And dost thou display thy bravery against one who neither sought favour nor excited hostility?[75]

He alluded also to the same subject in an ode which will be mentioned hereafter.

Thou hast dealt unrighteously, O Jayyāsh, in slaying al-Ḥasan.—By his wicked slaughter, thou hast destroyed (lit. trans-pierced) the glory (the eye) of his age.

Jayyāsh continued ruler of Tihāmah from 482 until the year 498, when he died, in the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah (the last month of the year). The children he left were al-Fātik son of the Indian concubine, Manṣūr, Ibrahīm, ʻAbd al-Wāḥid, adh-Dhakhīrah and Muʻārik. It is also said that Jayyāsh died in the month of Ramaḍān of the year 500, but the first-mentioned date is the more probable one.

He was succeeded by his son al-Fātik, who however was opposed by his brothers Ibrahīm and ʻAbd al-Wāḥid. The former was a perfect horseman as well as benevolent, cultured and generous, whilst ʻAbd al-Wāḥid was beloved and trusted by the army. They fought with one another, their father's slaves taking part in their divisions, but eventually al-Fātik son of Jayyāsh triumphed over his brother ʻAbd al-Wāḥid. He pardoned him, treated him
69 with kindness, enriched him and conciliated him. As for Ibrahīm, he took refuge with Asʻad ibn Wā'il ibn ʻIsa the Wuhāẓite, who received him with such hospitality as has never been surpassed. The slaves of Fātik had meanwhile increased in number and had waxed in power.

Fātik died in the year 503, leaving a son Manṣūr, below the age of maturity. His father's slaves placed him upon the throne, but Ibrahīm son of Jayyāsh, upon the death of his brother Fātik, collected troops and invaded Tihāmah. He was confronted by the slaves of Jayyāsh, and the two parties halted opposite one another near a village named [Huwayb, in Wādi Zabīd]. The city having been vacated by the officials of Fātik, who held the power of Ibrahīm son of Jayyāsh in small estimation, 'Abd al-Wāḥid, Ibrahīm's brother, arose in arms, took possession of Zabīd and seized the Government House. The eunuchs and servants came forth by night with their master Manṣūr, and fearing 'Abd al-Wāḥid on his account, they enabled him to escape by letting him down by means of a rope, from the walls of the city. Manṣūr took refuge with the retainers of his father Fātik, but the people turned away from him and from his supporters, and attached themselves to 'Abd al-Wāḥid on his becoming master of Zabīd, he being beloved by the troops.

When Ibrahīm son of Jayyāsh beheld that his brother had forestalled him in the attainment of supreme power at Zabīd and in the possession of the country's strongholds, he joined Ḥusayn ibn Abi 'l-Ḥafāt al-Hajūry, who was at that time at al-Jurayb. The Banu Abi 'l-Ḥafāt belong to the family of the Banu Jurayb son of Sharaḥbīl, and they are regarded as descendants of Hamdān.[76] As for al-Manṣūr son of Fātik and his father's slaves, they sought refuge with the King al-Mufaḍḍal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt the Himyarite Prince of Ta'kar, and at Dhu Jiblah, with the Honourable Lady the Queen Sayyidah, daughter of Aḥmad the Sulayhite, at whose hands they met with a hospitable reception. After a time the slaves of Fatik bound themselves by an agreement with al-Mufaḍḍal to relin-

quish in his favour one fourth of their country, in return for his alliance and for his aid against ‘Abd al-Wāḥid son of Jayyāsh. Al-Mufaḍḍal accordingly drove ‘Abd al-Wāḥid out of Zabīd and placed the supporters of Manṣūr in possession of the city. [This was in the year 504.] He then, however, formed a design to act treacherously towards the family of Fātik and to take possession of the country. But he received intelligence that the fortress of Ta‘kar had been seized by certain Jurists and that they had possessed themselves of an amount of wealth such as no person had ever known. Al-Mufaḍḍal hastily left Zabīd, turning himself unto no one, and there happened that which we have already related, how he inflicted death upon himself by poison, on beholding his concubines in the midst of men, and clad in bright coloured apparel, singing with tabours in their hands.

Thenceforward supreme power was held by Manṣūr, son of Fātik and by his father's retainers. The descendants of Fātik occupied the throne as Princes of the country, and the wazīrs were selected from among the descendants of his slaves. Of these princes there was Manṣūr son of Fātik. Next was Fātik son of Manṣūr, whose mother was the Honourable and virtuous Lady, the distinguished Pilgrim [‘Alam]. When Fātik son of Manṣūr died without issue, the succession passed on to the son of his paternal uncle, who bore likewise the name of Fātik, and who was son of Muḥammad son of Manṣūr, son of Fātik son of Jayyāsh (read son of Muḥammad son of Fātik son of Jayyāsh). His accession took place in the year 553 (read in 531, and he perished in 553). With him the dynasty came to an end, and in the year 554 its power passed into the hands of ‘Aly ibn Mahdy, who had rebelled in Yaman.

The descendants of Fātik son of Jayyāsh pos-

sessed none but the outward attributes of royalty. The Khutbah was recited in their names next after that of the Abbasside Khalīfah, the coinage bore their titles, they rode forth under the royal umbrella on festival days, and they ratified the decisions of the Council. But all actual power, that of commanding and forbidding, the conduct of affairs, the defence of the frontiers and the accrediting of envoys, belonged to their slaves the wazīrs, the slaves of Fātik son of Jayyāsh and of Manṣūr his son. Although these wazīrs were Abyssinians, no Arab king surpassed them in personal merit or in aught but in nobility of lineage. They were noted for generosity, for their brilliant estate, and for combining renown in war with celebrated achievements in times of peace.

The first to hold the office of wazīr was Anīs al-Fātiki, who was member of an Abyssinian tribe named the *Jazalis*, to which the kings of the dynasty of Najāḥ themselves belonged. Anīs was stern and harsh, greatly feared, but brave, celebrated among the people, and just. He fought against the Arabs
71 with the result that they were effectually deterred from making attacks upon Tihāmah. After a time he became arrogant and tyrannical, and raised for himself a vast and strongly-built palace, the halls of which measured thirty cubits in width, and which contained saloons of the width of forty cubits. He adopted also the use of the royal umbrella, and struck coins in his own name. He formed at length treasonable designs against his master al-Manṣūr; but knowledge of his intentions was divulged, through his favourites, to the slaves of Fātik, who contrived a plan for his overthrow. Their master Manṣūr son of Fātik [who had attained the years of discretion], prepared a feast in the Government House, to which he invited Anīs, and on the arrival of the wazīr he struck off his

head. He made a selection from the goods and harīm of the wazīr. Among that which Manṣūr acquired by purchase out of the heritage of Anīs, was a slave girl, an accomplished singer, named ‘Alam, who bore him a son of the name of Fātik. She was the Honourable and pious Lady, the assiduous performer of the pilgrimage by land and by sea, attended by natives of Yaman, whom she protected from the dangers of the journey and against unjust taxation and exactions.

Among other wazīrs, after Anīs, was the Sheykh Mann Allah al-Fātiki, the next after Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah to build walls around Zabīd. In his life are combined things that were creditable to him and others that were discreditable. Of the former were his splendid generosity, his bravery and his gravity of character. He it was who defeated Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah near the gate of Zabīd, and killed of his followers one hundred Arabs, three hundred Armenian archers and five hundred Blacks. [This was at the end of the year 518.] He fought another battle with As‘ad ibn Abi ’l-Futūḥ, in which upwards of one thousand Arabs were killed. He also granted endowments to the Hanafite and Shāfi‘ite Jurists’ Colleges, which enriched them beyond all other similar establishments, with lands, articles of utility and convenience, and houses. He liberally rewarded his eulogists. I was told by the Jurist Abu ‘Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn ‘Aly as-Sahhāmi (the mercy of God be upon him!), who was tutor to the wazīr Mann Allah’s sons, that he could remember having bound eulogistic verses in praise
2 of the wazīr, and that they formed ten large volumes, the compositions of excellent, celebrated and well-known poets. It was Mann Allah who expelled Aḥmad ibn Mas‘ūd al-Jazali and Mufliḥ al-Fātiki. They were the two leaders of the Abyssinian cavalry, and possessed the power of binding and loosing at

Zabīd. The fears they entertained of Mann Allah compelled them to fly, and they sought refuge in the highlands. He thereby acquired absolute power, and his voice became supreme.

Other circumstances in the life of Mann Allah, such as here follow, must be remembered to his discredit. His first act, on being appointed wazīr after the slaying of Anīs, by Manṣūr son of Fātik son of Jayyāsh in the year 517, was to bring about the death of his master Manṣūr by poison, and to set upon the throne the Prince's son Fātik ibn Manṣūr, at that time a young child.[77]

Manṣūr, his father Fātik and others of the family of Jayyāsh left at their death more than a thousand concubines. Every one of these fell into the hands of the wazīr Mann Allah, with the exception of ten women, favourites of Manṣūr son of Fātik. Among these was the Honourable Lady, the Queen, mother of Fātik son of Manṣūr. She forsook the palace and built unto herself a house outside the city, wherein the wazīr could not penetrate by night, either under a false pretence or with valid reason. Such was her position, notwithstanding that her son was King; but she guarded herself from danger by abandoning her son's palace, and she confided the care of the Prince to the eunuchs, his father's slaves. Another of these women was Umm Abi 'l-Jaysh (mother of Abu 'l-Jaysh), a native by birthplace and breeding. She had a daughter by Manṣūr, and received the name of Umm Abi 'l-Jaysh on account of the disorders we are relating.[78] She was of surpassing beauty and an accomplished singer. Her life was prolonged down to my time. I was in the habit of entering into her presence and of sitting before her, being trusted with the care of letters that passed between her and Sulṭān 'Abd Allah ibn As'ad ibn Wā'il the Wuḥāẓite, who had married the daughter she had borne to Manṣūr son

of Fātik. Another was the Honourable Lady Riyāḍ. Also the Ladies Umm Abīha, Jinān al-Kubra and Tamanni. The mother of Fātik had no fellow-
3 wife but the last-mentioned.

God having decreed the destruction of Mann Allah al-Fātiki, the wazīr fixed his desires upon the daughter of Mu'ārik son of Jayyāsh, who was celebrated for her beauty, and he asked her to surrender herself to him. She offered to ransom herself with forty virgins chosen from among her slaves, but he refused. She made complaint to the adherents of her uncle Fātik and of her cousin Manṣūr son of Fātik, but they dreaded the wazīr and could not help her. Thereupon the Honourable Lady Umm Abi 'l-Jaysh said: "I will protect you against him." She brought the daughter of Mu'ārik son of Jayyāsh from the royal Palace to her own dwelling, and she then sent a message to Mann Allah:—"You have given rise to reports by your manner of acting," she said to him, "injurious both to yourself and to us. If you had addressed yourself to me, I would have served you effectually and no person would have known." The wazīr was overjoyed and letters passed between him and the Lady, until at length he sent to tell the Princess that he would visit her at her house, in disguise, on the ensuing night. "God," she answered to the messenger, "hath raised the wazīr to an exalted rank, which forbids his doing as he proposes. I myself will visit him at his house." When it was night she accordingly came. She sang to him and he drank, and he was intoxicated with delight. She yielded herself to him, but she then brought about his death by means of a cloth impregnated with a deadly poison. His flesh mouldered away and he died that same night. The son of Manṣūr buried the body in his stables. The earth was levelled and smoothed over the grave, and its site continues

unknown unto this day. Mann Allah's death occurred on the night of Saturday, the fifteenth of Jamādi 'l-Awwal of the year 524.[79]

He was succeeded in the office of wazīr to Fātik son of Manṣūr, by Ruzayḳ al-Fātiki, a brave and generous man.

As to his bravery, it has been related to me by Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allah the Yāfi'ite and Ḥimyarite, who was secretary to the wazīr, that he saw Ruzayḳ al-Fātiki one Friday, a memorable day of rivalry between him and Mufliḥ. Seven spears were pointed against him, he wearing a double suit of mail. He cut through the greater number of the spears with his sword, and although two struck him, he retained a firm seat in his saddle. Mufliḥ
74 called out: "Cut down the horse, or the rider will not fall to the ground!" Ruzayḳ thereupon charged Mufliḥ, and with one blow aimed at the horse's back behind the saddle, he divided the animal into two separate parts. Mufliḥ fell to the ground, and the Banu Mash'al, who are an Arab tribe,* interposed for his protection. As to his generosity, it was chiefly shown to poets.

No man could eat so much as he, and his power to devour large quantities of food was such, that it became proverbial. He had thirty children, male and female. [After his death], the claims of the heirs to his estate and of those among his children and his children's children who died before the division, passed from one to another. The rights to the succession became subdivided and the problem of the division so complicated, that not one among the Doctors of the law was able to undertake its solution. The wazīr Mufliḥ, and the Ḳā'ids Iḳbāl and Mas'ūd, retainers of Fātik, were each desirous of making purchases of land and houses from the estate, but were unable to do so in consequence of

* See Note 90.

the impossibility of determining the portion belonging to each heir.

In the year 539 I found at Aden an old man, a native of Ḥaḍramaut, of the name of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ḥāsib (the Reckoner). He was an accountant, skilled in the laws of inheritance, upwards of eighty years of age, and he was on his way to perform the pilgrimage. He was extremely poor and had never, since God created him, possessed so much as two dinārs. He disbelieved the statement of any person who asserted he had seen a sum of one thousand dinārs, for he had been brought up in a part of the country of Kindah adjoining ar-Raml. A ship was wrecked on the neighbouring sea-shore, and one of the persons on board, a learned and pious man, was cast on shore on the sands of ar-Raml, in the country of Kindah. This was the Sheykh Aḥmad al-Faraḍy the Jurist.*

I took him to my dwelling-place at Aden, I clothed him and gave orders that he should be hospitably treated and fed, that he be cleansed and that his beard and his hands and feet be stained with henna. Having thus provided for his comfort, we travelled together on the same camel from Aden to Zabīd, balancing one another's weight in the litter on either side. I promised that he should accompany me on the pilgrimage and that I would
75 supply him with all his requirements. He rejoiced thereat, and relying upon my promises, his mind was set at ease.

I spoke to him one night, as we were riding, on the subject of the succession of the family of Ruzayḳ, in which there were fifty-one separate interests. He rehearsed the particulars as if he were learning them by rote, and continued thus until dawn. Sleep

* The above and the foregoing passages are printed as they stand in the MS. They have suffered greatly at the hands of the copyists, but the general sense is sufficiently plain.

did not take possession of me, owing to my exceeding rejoicing over his learning. He then said to me that if I would consent to halt at the well we had reached, foregoing our journey for that day, he would undertake not to recite his midday prayers without having first solved the problems of the division and acquainted me with the share of each heir, one by one. I agreed to his proposal, and at the hour of the midday meal he handed over to me a complete statement of the division, written by his hand. And, by Allah! a long period of time had been spent, in combined efforts to solve the problem, by 'Othmān ibn eṣ-Ṣaffār, by Muḥammad ibn 'Aly as-Sahhāmi, and by other experts in the laws of succession, each one of whom affected to regard Ibn al-Labbān[80] as a mere learner and follower of his own, in all matters relating to the laws of inheritance, to wills and bequests, to astronomical calculations (?), and to the science of integration and compensation (*al-Jabar wa 'l-Muḳābilah*, i.e. Algebra). For a long period of time, the wazīrs had been in the habit of inviting these men to banquets and of rewarding them with presents, which were fruitlessly divided amongst them.

On our arrival at Zabīd I lodged the Jurist in the inner part of the house, so that none but myself should see him. At night I studied under him the laws of inheritance, and by day the reading of the noble Ḳur'ān, according to the teaching of Abu 'Amru ibn al-'Alā,[81] the seven readings being one of the subjects upon which the Jurist gave instruction. I next devoted myself to the problem relating to the heirs of Ruzayḳ, until I was able to repeat all the particulars to myself by rote. I then presented myself to the Ḳā'id Surūr al-Fātiki, and asserted my ability to solve the problem. He was one of the persons most keenly desirous of making purchases from the estate, and he promised that if my

assertions proved correct, he would give me a certain sum of money, the amount of which I have forgotten. Upon the statement being prepared, he brought forth the money and handed it over to the Jurist Abu Muḥammad 'Abd Allah ibn al-Ḳāsim al-Abbār. Ibn al-Ḳāsim was at that time chief of the Shāfi'ites at Zabīd, and it was under him that I studied the Shāfi'ite doctrines. Surūr then assembled the Jurists in rooms, the floors of which were spread with fine sand, and each one sat down apart from the other, tracing his calculations in
76 the sand. Whenever the amount of a share was substantiated, it was transferred from the sand to paper, until the division of the entire estate was completed and proved to be correct. Surūr never moved from the spot until he had divided the money among the Jurists, and he gave me a large share. I returned to my house and placed the gold before the Ḥaḍramauti Jurist. "I ask forgiveness of God, O my son," he said, "for whosoever told me that he had beheld one hundred dinārs, I used to treat as a liar." He then gave me the money, saying he had no use for it, since I provided him with all that he required. I took him with me, and he died (may God have mercy upon him), after having completed the pilgrimage. When the Abyssinians of Zabīd sought to kill me in the year 550, the Kā'id Surūr said unto them, "Is he not the person who solved the problem of the estate of Ruzayḳ? By Allah! he shall not be slain!"

Ruzayḳ was not skilled in military administration, neither was he possessed of experience in the management of public business. Ere long he resigned the office of wazīr, and Abu Manṣūr Mufliḥ al-Fātiki, who was then absent in the highlands, was called upon to fill his place.

Wazīrate of Mufliḥ al-Fātiki.

Mufliḥ belonged to an Abyssinian tribe known by the name of *Saḥrat*. He bore the surname of Abu Manṣūr (father of Manṣūr), the latter being the name of one of his sons. (Abu) Manṣūr was noted among the most distinguished of his contemporaries for his righteousness, and was remarkable also for his knowledge of affairs, for his skill as a Jurist, for his literary culture, for his handsome appearance, his bravery, his clemency, and for the perfection of his talents as a leader. People were in the habit of saying that, had his lineage been that of Ḳuraysh, every condition required to fit him for the office of Khalīfah would have been combined in his person. The retainers of Fātik nicknamed him *al-Baghl*, the mule. He was called Mufliḥ al-Baghl, and he showed no displeasure nor anger thereat. I was told by his secretary, Ḥimyar ibn As'ad, that he was so named on account of a physical conformation, in which he resembled a muele.

He was distinguished for continence, and was never known to have been the prey of passion, either in his youth or in his mature age. Ḥimyar related in illustration of his master's self-control, that Mufliḥ, when holding the office of wazīr, sent for him one day, and complained that life had become a weari-
77 ness unto him through the reports he continually heard respecting the singing of Wardah, the slave girl of the Amīr 'Othmān al-Ghuzzi, and the descriptions he received of her beauty. He was bent, he said, upon contriving means whereby she might be brought to him. "I answered," said Ḥimyar, "that if the wazīr sought her society for the satisfaction to his desires, my best faculties would be used in his service. 'By Allah!' he replied, 'I have never yet, since the day of my creation, allowed my passions to make me sin against God.' 'At

what price,' I asked, 'will then the wazīr purchase her?' 'At whatever price her master demands,' he answered."

Her master was a distinguished leader, a man of high rank in the service of the state, greatly respected and considered. He was commander of the Ghuzz (Turkish or Northern soldiery), whom Jayyāsh had brought to the country to fight against Saba ibn Aḥmad the Sulayhite. 'Othmān was their leader and chief. They numbered four hundred mounted archers, and with their assistance the Abyssinian dynasty defended itself against the Arabs. The body of troops, as originally enlisted by Jayyāsh, numbered three thousand bows, but when two thousand marched from Mecca for Zabīd, Jayyāsh repented of his design, perceiving that they would drive him out of the country and seek to take possession of it. In anticipation of their arrival, he sent orders to the officers he had placed in command of the Ghuzz at Mecca, to cast poison into their food, into their drink, and into their raiment. A great number died, and only one thousand horsemen, or less, reached Zabīd. Jayyāsh sent five hundred to the highlands, and they conquered the districts trodden by the hoofs of their horses. When they reached the province of Ṣan'ā, Jayyāsh employed a person to spread death among them by poison. They were finally exterminated through the effects of war and of other calamities, and there remained with Jayyāsh in Tihāmah only four hundred and fifty horsemen. He made them a grant of a wide tract of land, extending to a valley (or river) known by the name of Dhu'āl, a district inhabited by the 'Akkites and Ash'arites. These lands occupied a width of one day's journey, and in length, from the mountains to the sea, a space of two days or less. They were distant one day's journey from Zabīd.[82] The Ghuzz continued to collect the

78 revenues of the valley from the year 486 to 524. They were respected and increased in wealth, and ruled over the country. The chieftainship was lastly held by Shat (Suli ?), by Ṭayṭās, and by 'Othmān the above mentioned. The former two died, and 'Othmān remained alone; but the number of the Ghuzz was now reduced to one hundred horsemen, all aged men. As to their children, born in Zabīd, they did not prosper. They had neither the strength of character that inspires fear, nor the benevolence that gives rise to hope.

The wazīr's secretary Sheykh Ḥimyar ibn As'ad, continuing his narrative, said that he reflected over the means whereby he might succeed in gratifying the wishes of the wazīr, and he found that of which he was in quest. Addressing Mufliḥ, he indicated the means whereby the old distribution of the lands could be annulled. The men, he said, whose services were formerly prized by the state, were now dead, and valuable grants of land had passed into the possession of their children, who were useless. He advised the wazīr to act in the matter with firmness, to order all holders of fiefs to leave their estates and assemble at Zabīd, and to transfer the owners to other districts. Upon that policy being carried into execution by the wazīr, it occasioned, said Ḥimyar, great hardship to the great officials of the government, but to none so great as to 'Othmān, for the property of those of his companions who had died, had passed into his possession.

"When he was about to depart from Zabīd with his people, and the matter on the point of being irretrievable settled, I went," said Ḥimyar, "to his house. We drank together, and Wardah, as well as other slave girls, sang to him."

None of the people of Tihāmah were in the habit of secluding either their singers or the freed women,

mothers of their children,[83] from Ibn Ḥimyar's presence, for most of their concubines and singers were supplied by him and educated in his house. He had served several of the highland kings, then he had come down to Tihāmah and occupied a confidential position under Aḥmad ibn Mas'ūd ibn Faraj al-Mu'taman (the Trusted), governor of Ḥays. After that he became secretary to Mann Allah al-Fātiki, and then to the Sheykh Abu Manṣūr Mufliḥ al-Fātiki. It was from this same Ḥimyar that the kings purchased the poison they used for destroying their enemies. He had brothers and uncles in the
79 country of Bakīl and Ḥāshid, and the tree that produces the poison is grown exclusively on a farm attached to a building, one of their strongholds. The owners carefully preserve the plant, precisely as, in Egypt, that which produces balsam is tended, and they do so with even greater care. All the members of the dynasty of Najāḥ and all those of their wazīrs, who died (by poison), were victims to the drug supplied by Ḥimyar ibn As'ad.* People of rank, when in his society, used to say to him, "We eat and we drink, O Abu Sabā, and we are in your power," whereupon he would laugh and say, "Just so." He was quick with pleasant repartees, possessed a well-stored memory; he was witty, and moreover liberal in bestowing his substance in the service of God and in works of charity. He frequently acted as envoy between the Abyssinian Princes, he repaired breaches of friendship, and grave disputes became, in his hands, matter of easy settlement. He subsequently dwelt at al-Kadrā with the Ḳā'id Isḥaḳ ibn Marzūḳ as-Saḥrati (the Sahratite), from whom he received a liberal welcome, and who took

* Yaḳut copies this passage in his account of the country of Bakīl (vol. i. p. 706-7). Instead of لبيت he writes ليست probably the correct reading, and one which requires the subsequent word الّا to be retained.

him into his confidence. He died at al-Kadrā in the year 553, at the age of upwards of seventy years. When he visited Zabīd, where he had no kinsfolk, he used to take up his abode with me and with other friends, and he was in consequence on terms of familiarity and unreserve with me.

Ḥimyar, proceeding with his narrative, said, "When the wine began to produce its effects upon 'Othmān, he spoke to me as follows: 'I have longed,' he began, 'to meet you, being desirous of settling matters with that tyrannical slave Mufliḥ, and of finding means to be left in peaceful possession of our fiefs and of our property, which we did not acquire in his days and for the possesion of which we are not indebted to his liberality.' I answered that notwithstanding the wazīr's self-sufficiency and pride, he was in reality of a kind disposition and quick to turn back from harsh measures. I promised that on the following day, when Mufliḥ returned from his morning visit to the King, I would, God willing, strive to prevail upon the wazīr to act indulgently. 'I know,' I continued, 'that if he eat at your table and drink of your wine, and if your slave girls sing to him, he will feel shame and will renounce his design.' 'Othmān was almost beside himself with joy, though he could not believe that the wazīr would visit him. I advised
80 him to come on the following night, uninvited, to the house of the wazīr, and to announce himself as a guest who desired to be honoured by being allowed to share in the pleasures of music and wine. On the following night, when 'Othmān came to us, I advised the wazīr to bring forth the singing girls and female cup-bearers. He did so, and he promised 'Othmān that he would, on the next day, be his guest. A large sum of money was that night by 'Othmān's orders brought to his house. On the following day, after the usual morning

attendance at the Prince's palace, we rode to 'Othmān's place of abode. We found sumptuous banquets spread out (for the several classes of guests). For one party alone I counted thirty roasted sheep and thirty vessels of sweetmeats. The banquet at which the wazīr was seated, occupied the front of 'Othmān's garden, from one end to the other, a length of fifty cubits. The wazīr on beholding the sight was filled with envious anger against 'Othmān, for the arrogance he attributed to him and for the promptitude with which he was able to provide so splendid a feast, composed of four separate banquets. 'Othmān next distributed among the members of the wazīr's suite three *buhārs* of sweetmeats, a quantity equal to nine kanṭars (nine hundred pounds).* We then withdrew to the wine-room, seven in number, [besides myself, the eighth. I acted as cup-bearer and contrived to produce intoxication in five members of our company, who soon withdrew].[84] Thereupon, addressing 'Othmān, I said: 'Truly thou art as one of a herd of cattle, deprived of sense. Thinkest thou that the wazīr hath visited thee for the sake of meat or drink? What hath happened to abridge thine understanding and to blind thine eyesight?' 'Instruct me then how to act,' he replied. I desired him to enumerate his possessions. He spoke of horses and accoutrements, camels and articles of curiosity and of value. I objected to all these things, and I affected to depreciate them. He begged me to advise him. I desired him, in reply, to think of a present such as would not be hidden away in a treasury, and which would never be out of the recipient's sight. 'What is wanted,' I added, 'is that the present should, whenever he sees it, remind him of you.' After consideration he
31 said: 'I have nought else but Wardah, and she is

* See Note 71.

dear to me as my soul. But if she be suitable, I will part with her, even though I die.' 'If the wazīr consent to accept of her,' I replied, 'she is such as will be a suitable present.' 'Speak then of her to the wazīr,' he answered, 'and if he accept her, I will reward thee with one thousand dinārs.'

"We then ordered Wardah to be brought into our presence, together with nine other slave girls. They kissed the wazīr's hand and commenced singing before him, with uncovered faces. I advised the wazīr to pay no heed to Wardah and to pretend admiration of the others. He did so, with the effect of stimulating her master's desire that he should accept of her. After a time 'Othmān became intoxicated and slept. The women likewise were overcome with wine, all but Wardah, who, I desired, should retain her faculties. I made use of a pretext to leave the room, and sending for Wardah, I informed her of the facts of the case. 'I have no desire,' she replied, 'but to my lord.' I then requested the wazīr to enter a sitting-room, in which I joined him along with Wardah. He flattered her with promises and coaxed her. I wanted to leave, but he stopped me, saying: 'By Allah, this shall not be.' We returned to the public room, and I swear that the wazīr did not even satiate his eyesight, nor did he allow the girl to kiss his hand when bidding farewell. When her master recovered, we took leave of him. It was near the latest hour for evening prayer, and before it had lapsed, Wardah stood before us. In the morning I went back to 'Othmān. I restored the thousand dinārs he had given me, and I questioned him touching a farm in the valley of Dhu'āl.[85] The wazīr sent for me in the evening and gave me a dress of honour. 'Your daughter Wardah,' he said, 'has sworn that I shall not approach her until I have satisfied you. What, therefore, will content you?' 'The lands

of 'Abāda,' I replied, 'with all the contents of the farm, its growing crops and its cattle.' The wazīr ordered the lands to be conveyed to me; and they are a possession," added Ḥimyar, "which has the property of never occasioning loss to its proprietor." *

To return to the stories told of the wazīr Mufliḥ. Among them is that related by the Sheykh Abu 'ṭ-Ṭāmi Jayyāsh, son of Isma'īl, son of Albūḳa. At
2 an early period of the wazirate of the Sheykh and Ḳā'id Mufliḥ, Abu 'l-Ma'āli ibn al Ḥabbāb arrived at Zabīd from Egypt. He purchased an Abyssinian slave to attend upon him. The Abyssinian escaped from his master [and attached himself to certain of the wazīr's dependants. Abu 'l-Ma'āli thereupon wrote to the wazīr] two lines of verse as follows :—[86]

Thou art the cloud whose beneficent floods fertilize the outspread earth.—Its bounty, a fortuitous obstacle has withheld from me.

But if its ample and generous showers do not refresh me—Even so its consuming thunderbolts will not come near me.

Mufliḥ, on reading the lines, perceived their veiled meaning, and he awoke to the merits of Abu 'l-Ma'āli. He sent for the youth and returned him to his master accompanied by a gift of four other slaves of the same nation. He invited Abu 'l-Ma'āli to his court and commanded him to compose a eulogistic ode. Abu 'l-Ma'āli obeyed, and recited it in the presence of the wazīr, who rewarded him with five hundred dinārs. Manṣūr son of Mufliḥ gave him likewise three hundred dinārs for another ode written in his own praise, and he took him to Mecca, may God guard it.

I will now relate what occurred to Mufliḥ with the soldiery. Certain men among the slaves of the

* I need perhaps hardly say that the combination of jingle and pun, which I have here endeavoured to imitate, is a thing much appreciated by Arab readers.

Honourable Lady the Queen, ('Alam) the mother of Fātik, were brought up in the palace of al-Fātik son of Manṣūr. Their names were Sawāb, Rayḥān, Yumn, ['Anbar ?] and Rayḥān the elder. They were the leading personages, and holders of the highest rank in the state. Besides these there were certain powerful men, likewise educated in the palace, namely Ikbāl, Masrūr (or Burhān ?), Bārih (?) and Surūr. The last mentioned was the chief of both parties, the foremost in influence and in ability. These men spoke in the name of the Sulṭān. The wazīr, in all the affairs of the kingdom, became as a stranger among them, and by their aid, the authority of the Queen was greatly increased. They contrived also to attach to themselves a large portion of the troops, both horsemen and foot soldiers, and they began to concert measures for the expulsion of Mufliḥ from Zabīd. Surūr advised them to address themselves to the wazīr on the subject of a pilgrimage, to be performed by the Queen to Mecca, and to ask him to provide her with a sum of thirty thousand dinārs for her expenses. On application
83 being made to the wazīr, he refused, saying that the money could be spent more worthily on the defence of the state against its enemies than in the indulgence of such foolish whims. "Our Lady," he added, "has ample occupation with her spindle and distaff and in the privacy of her own house." They continued to press the matter upon him until he exclaimed : "Our Lady wants a totally different thing ! See that ye find it for her and it will satisfy her." "What then does she want ?" they asked. Mufliḥ's reply and the gesture by which it was accompanied, caused such deep offence, that he could repair the evil only by consenting to the Lady's pilgrimage, by supplying her with the thirty thousand dinārs and by sending his son Manṣūr to accompany her to Mecca.

In pursuance of his purpose for the expulsion of Mufliḥ, Surūr then sent the wazīr to Aden, to make war upon Sabā son of Abu Su'ūd and upon 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt, the Zuray'ites. When he had reached the distance of a night's journey from Zabīd, Muḥammad son of Fātik son of Jayyāsh suddenly rose in rebellion against the Queen and her son, and thereby obliged Mufliḥ to return.

Surūr then sought to bring about the departure of Mufliḥ by writing to the Arab tribes of Zi'l and 'Imrān to join in the invasion of the district of al-Mahjam, then occupied by the Ḳā'id Mas'ūd the Zaydite.* Mufliḥ was thereby compelled to start for al-Mahjam, a distance from Zabīd of three days' journey. He had not accomplished more than one night's journey, when his troops secretly deserted him and returned to the city. He was left with only his personal dependants and marched with them to the mountains of Burā'. He took possession of the fortress of al-Mukarrishah (al-Karish?)[87] and he attacked Tihāmah, harassing it with raids, in the early morning and late at eve, whilst the retainers of Fātik attacked him in his encampments. Then leaving his women in the fortress, he joined the Arabs of al-Mahjam, members of the tribes of
84 Mash'al, 'Imrān and Zi'l, accomplished and valiant horsemen. They gave him, as place of residence, a fortress which belonged to them, situated at a distance from al-Mahjam of half a day's journey or less, known by the name of Dabsān. Mufliḥ despatched depredating parties into the territories of al-Mahjam, and he entered into correspondence with the Amīr and Sharīf Ghānim son of Yaḥya the Suleymānite and Ḥasanite, who then ruled over the province of Ibn Ṭarf.[88] Mufliḥ entered into a pledge with the Sharīf and his kinsmen to abolish the tribute they rendered to the Prince of Zabīd,

* Or, according to Khazraji, Surūr al-Kurandi.

for which Ghānim was yearly liable and which amounted to sixty thousand dinārs. He also engaged to add to their territories the wide district of al-Wādiyāni. The Sharīf marched with one thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry, to the aid of Mufliḥ against the people of Zabīd. The allies were encountered by the Ḳā'id Surūr, who defeated Mufliḥ, the Sharīfs and the Arabs, near al-Mahjam. Whilst Surūr was at that place, he received from Zabīd a deed of investiture, granting him the territories and dependencies of al-Mahjam, consisting of Maur and al-Wādiyāni. Surūr established his residence in the province, and Mufliḥ returned to the fortress of al-Karish, where he died in the year 529.*

His son Manṣūr succeeded him and continued the war with his father's enemies, making them taste of its calamities in many forms. But after a time his followers began to desert him, and their numbers gradually diminished. They were wearied with the sufferings of war and with separation from their homes.

Manṣūr surrendered [himself to the Ḳā'id Surūr, claiming his protection, and accompanied him to Zabīd, where Iḳbāl was then wazīr. The young Amīr received a dress of honour] and his father's house was given him as a place of residence. On the following morning he was seized, and at night he was slain in the house of the wazīr Iḳbāl. The King Fātik [and the Ḳā'id Surūr] denounced the act, and the King meditated putting Iḳbāl to death, but he resolved to spare his life for a time. I was told by Ḥimyar ibn As'ad, that a messenger from the wazīr Iḳbāl bought poison of him. For whom it was destined, Ḥimyar swore he knew not. Iḳbāl, by ingratiating himself with the Prince, succeeded in administering the poison to his master Fātik son

* In A.H. 527, according to al-Janadi.

of the Lady ʻAlam, and the Prince died in the month of Shaʻbān [A.H. 531].[89]

Wardah, the slave girl of the wazīr Mufliḥ, relates
85 that when her master died in the highlands, at the castle named al-Karish, or al-Mukarrishah, she was asked in marriage by the wazīr Iḳbāl, by the Ḳā'id Surūr, by the Ḳā'id Isḥāḳ ibn Marzūḳ and by the Ḳā'id ʻAly ibn Masʻūd, Prince of Ḥays. "I made flattering promises to the messenger of each," she said, "but I consulted on the subject my lord Manṣūr son of Mufliḥ. He indicated his preference for Surūr, but recommended me to seek advice of Ḥimyar ibn Asʻad. I accordingly sent for him to Tihāmah. 'As for ʻAly ibn Masʻūd,' said Ḥimyar, 'he has ninety concubines and four wives. As for Iḳbāl, he has twenty singing girls; he has moreover Nājiyah, who has been carefully educated by the slave dealers, and the love he bears her son Manṣūr is carried to an extreme. As for the Ḳā'id Isḥāḳ ibn Marzūḳ, he has the daughter of ʻUwayd, mother of his son Faraj, and also Uḥdūla, the daughter of his uncle. By Allah, none equal to her treads the ground of Tihāmah. I recommend to you the Ḳā'id Abu Muḥammad Surūr al-Fātiki. He is a man of a prudent disposition, and he was reared by the King Fātik son of Manṣūr (by Manṣūr?) and by our Lady the mother of Fātik.' I was married," continued Wardah, "to the Ḳā'id Abu Muḥammad Surūr al-Fātiki. I found him to be one whose thoughts were diverted from the world, from the society of women and from pleasure, by his absorption in affairs of supreme importance. But ere long I made him feel his dependence upon me. I contrived to make myself his intimate companion, and I finally obtained complete ascendency over him. With all his roughness and severity of character, and the shrinking fear with which his female slaves regarded him, he never

opposed my wishes, and if I happened to be displeased with him, he seemed as if about to part with his life.”

An illustration of the above is to be found in an anecdote related by Sheykh Muslim ibn Yashjub, wazīr of the Prince and Sharīf Ghānim son of Yaḥya the Ḥasanite. “I came,” he said, “from my country as an envoy to Surūr al-Fātiki, to negotiate a truce between ourselves and him. His wazīr ‘Obayd ibn Baḥr said to me: ‘Would that thine arrival had happened either sooner or later! Thou hast come to the Ḳā'id at a moment when his mind is greatly disturbed.’ I waited two or three days without being able to see the Prince, but then Ḥim-
86 yar ibn As‘ad arrived. ‘Now,’ said ‘Obayd ibn Baḥr, ‘Ḥimyar having come, the knot that caused thy trouble is unloosed!’ ‘How is that?’ I inquired. ‘Wardah, mother of ‘Amru,’ he answered, ‘is angry with the Ḳā'id, and has sworn that she will not speak to him nor allow him to approach her, until her father shall come to her’—meaning thereby Sheykh Ḥimyar ibn As‘ad. That same night,” continued Muslim, “we were invited to an assembly, for which were prepared wine and music and perfumes. We had hardly sat down, when the Ḳā'id approached and we saluted him. We then heard behind a curtain a confused sound of voices and a jingling of gold ornaments, such as never was before. And behold it was Wardah, who, a reconciliation having been effected by Ḥimyar between her and her master, now came to sing to him. An unfavourable impression was produced upon me by the sight of the helplessness and weakness of Surūr. He seemed to guess what was passing in my mind, and he recited the words of the poet:—

We are a people whom a woman's large and lustrous eyes will melt—And we are men to whom iron must yield.”

Among the slaves of Fātik was he with the mention of whom I conclude this account of the Abyssinian dynasty, and whose mention I have postponed to the last, although in order of merit he unquestionably ranks first. He of whom I speak was the noble Ḳā'id Abu Muḥammad Surūr Amḥarah al-Fātiki. He belonged to the Abyssinian tribe of *Amḥarah*, and all I can relate of him is but as a drop in the sea of his great merits.

Of his early history it may be recorded that Manṣūr ibn Fātik, having slain the wazīr Anīs, purchased from his estate the Honourable and pious Lady, the Pilgrim and Lady of Zabīd, by whom he had a son, whom he named Fātik ibn Manṣūr. She bought for her son certain young Abyssinian slaves, of whom Surūr was one. He was brought up under her immediate care, and ere long, as he advanced in years, he became distinguished for his superior merits and great qualities. She placed him in charge of the Mamlūks, and appointed him chief over all who abode in the palace. He became ruler and director, with the power of showing indulgence and of exercising severity. He was next appointed to the command of a division of the army, and he won popularity among the troops by his kindness and indulgence. He continued to advance in dignity, and became the intermediary between the
87 principal wazīrs and the Sultān, who thenceforward dispensed with the services of the stewards of the palace. The Chief Steward at that time was the Sheykh Ṣawāb, a religious man, who devoted himself exclusively to the worship of God. Whenever he was reproached for his disregard of what had occurred, he would answer that the Ḳā'id Abu Muḥammad Surūr was the authorized holder of the right to command and to forbid, over himself, over his censors, and over the Queen herself, and that in no wise should Surūr's authority be curtailed, he

being the most worthy to direct the affairs of the people, to reward and to punish, to bind and to loose. Surūr continued to advance in power and dignity. He eventually succeeded in driving Mufliḥ out of Zabīd, and he made war upon him until his adversary died in the highlands, after prolonged fighting, in which large numbers of men perished on both sides. The final result was the triumph of Surūr, and he became possessed of supreme authority.

It has been related to me by Sheykh 'Abd al-Muḥsin ibn Isma'īl, secretary of the Ḳā'id Surūr, that he remembered the occasion when the Amīr and Sharīf Ghānim, son of Yaḥya the Ḥasanite, marched to the assistance of Mufliḥ. "Ghānim," he said, "had a thousand horsemen and ten thousand infantry, all of whom combined with the troops of Mufliḥ. They were joined also by certain Arabs, in great numbers, by the Banu Mash'al, men who spent their lives in the saddle and who were the champions of their age, by the Banu 'Imrān, the Banu Zi'l, the Banu Ḥarām and the Ḥakamites.[90] All gathered together into one body and advanced against us. Our troops were few in number, and the Ḳā'id Surūr had written to the people of Zabīd for re-inforcements. The battle was fought at al-Mahjam, which is three days' journey from Zabīd." 'Abd al-Muḥsin said he pointed out to Surūr, that to attack these people would surely be rashness, his forces being in comparison to theirs as a drop in the sea, or as a morsel between the jaws of a ravenous animal. "Be silent," answered Surūr, "for, by Allah, death will be lighter unto me than
88 defeat." The two armies engaged, and the fortunes of the day went against Mufliḥ and Ghānim and their allies. Thenceforward conviction of the high destinies reserved for Surūr acquired double strength in the minds both of his friends and of his opponents.

It was previous to these events that Mufliḥ started from Zabīd for Aden, and that when he had reached the distance of half a day's journey, Muḥammad son of Fātik son of Jayyāsh, seeing the town denuded of troops, rose in insurrection, and gained possession of the Government House. The Ḳur'ān readers came into his presence and the people of the city flocked unto him, offering their congratulations. His wazīr was Manṣūr son of Mann Allah al-Fātiki. The Queen took refuge, along with her son, in the upper apartments of the palace. The news was brought to the Ḳā'id Surūr, who commanded the rearguard of the army. He turned back, and having scaled the walls, he entered the town. He proceeded to the back of the Government House, and calling to his mistress, he made himself known unto her, and desired her servants to let down a rope for him. The eunuchs and women pulled him up with ropes, and entering into the presence of his mistress, he saluted her and quieted her fears. His troops, he told her, were following him. Having selected one hundred slave girls and fifty eunuchs, he habited them in the garb of men and supplied them with armour and weapons. The casements were then thrown open, and the women and eunuchs cried aloud with one voice: *Fātik son of Manṣūr!* Muḥammad son of Fātik was at that moment occupying a raised seat below the windows of the palace. The Ḳā'id cast a stone which unerringly hit the mark, and striking Muḥammad ibn Fātik, bruised his face at the same instant of time when the cry was uttered. He, the wazīrs and their followers instantly fled, and in the evening they left the city by one of its gates. The soldiers did not reach Zabīd until noon of the following day. These were some of the circumstances which necessarily operated to bring about Surūr's advancement over all other members of the government.

He next acquired rule over al-Mahjam, a royal seat of government. The Arabs, the Banu 'Imrān,
89 the Banu Zi'l and the Ḥakamites, dispersed themselves, and the Amīr Ghānim ibn Yaḥya the Ḥasanite, whose dynasty has acquired great renown, separated himself from his allies.

The Ḳā'id Surūr used to inhabit Zabīd from the beginning of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah (the eleventh month) until the end of Sha'bān (the eighth). Then he would leave Zabīd and spend Ramaḍān at al-Mahjam, occupying himself with the affairs of his province. His expenditure and charities in the month of Ramaḍān, amounted to a large sum. Sheykh 'Obayd ibn Baḥr, his wazīr, informed me that the allowances for his kitchen expenses, in the month of Ramaḍān, amounted to one thousand dinārs a day. I witnessed for several years the ceremonial attending his entrance into Zabīd. The people, on his arrival from al-Mahjam, used to go forth from the city in crowds to meet him. They divided themselves into classes and stood on a lofty hill awaiting his arrival. The first to salute him were the Jurists of the Mālikite, the Ḥanafite and the Shāfi'ite schools. The Prince used to dismount in token of respect, a thing he did for no other class. They were followed by the merchants, after whose departure the soldiery came forth in crowds. On entering the city, after saluting and paying due honour to the Sulṭān, he proceeded to the palace of the Honourable Lady his mistress. On his entering, all who were present, young and old, withdrew, with the exception only of the Lady's slave girl Ghazāl, who was his wife's sister, and of two slave girls formerly belonging to her Lord Manṣūr ibn Fātik. These women conducted themselves according to her pious example and imitated her in her good works. On his approach, the Princess would rise from her seat in token of welcome and of

respect for his exalted rank, and she would say unto him : "Thou, O Abu Muḥammad, art not simply our wazīr, but our master and the manly ruler of the kingdom, one whose authority it is not in aught lawful unto us to disregard."[91] He would weep aloud in her presence and bend down his face to the dust, until she would raise him from the ground with her own hands. The women would then withdraw to a short distance at the end of the saloon, whilst he reported to her the measures he desired to be put into execution that year, appointments, supersessions, rewards and sentences of death. He would remain seated before the Princess,[92] with the
90 three women standing near him, until he arose for midday prayer. He used to repair for the purpose to his mosque, which stood close to the gates of his palace. It was then impossible to follow him on account of the crowds that surrounded him, composed of people who had been unable to go forth from the city to meet him on his arrival.

A Paragraph describing what I have seen in the Handwriting of his Secretaries.

I have seen a list of the gratifications which Surūr was in the habit of conferring, on his arrival at Zabīd, upon the Jurists, Ḳāḍis, and upon the most distinguished scholars, learned in the traditions, in grammar, glossology, theology, and jurisprudence. The whole amounted each year to twelve thousand dinārs, besides gratuities to the military classes, notwithstanding their great numbers.

I have been told by 'Obayd ibn Baḥr and others, that the presents he made each year to the Sulṭān's officials, to the King's nobles, stewards and personal retainers, amounted to twenty thousand dinārs, in addition to the fixed emoluments of each person's office. Others have told me that the sums transferred from his province to the public treasury

of the King, amounted each year to sixty thousand dinārs, and that he used to pay over to the household of his mistress the Princess, to her retainers and companions and to the persons under her protection, in the form of presents, fifteen thousand dinārs.

ANOTHER PARAGRAPH.—The Ḳā'id Abu Muḥammad Surūr al-Fātiki—May God have mercy upon him!—was in the habit of going forth unto his mosque, after the expiration of half or one third of the night. He was better acquainted than any other person with the places of abode and habitations of the principal people. He used to say that he went forth at that hour, lest any persons spending their nights in anxiety or grief, or others devoted to religious practices, were unable to come into his presence by day, either on account of the crowd or by reason of their bashfulness. After morning prayer he used to go either on a visit to a Jurist, to the bedside of some sick person, to a house where there was mourning for the dead, to a feast or to a wed-
91 ding. He did not confine his visits to the great military chiefs, to the learned and to merchants, and neglect those of a humbler rank. Whosoever, on the contrary, appealed to him was attended to. People who believed themselves to be oppressed came into his presence, and stated their case in bold and even in unseemly language. Such a person was safe from all danger of awakening his sense of dignity and pride, or of provoking his anger. If sent for by the Judges, he attended in person, not deputing another to take his place [as is done by men puffed up with pride, even though of inferior rank]. He would seat himself opposite the Judge in token of respect, and in testimony of his willing obedience to the ordinances of divine law. [On returning to the palace, after accompanying the Sulṭān's procession, he would enter,

and after rendering obeisance, he would stop at the royal gate, where he dispensed justice to the people with perfect judgment. (Next he would occupy himself in the transaction of military) business, and at the hour of the midday meal, he returned to his house. There he would rest until the sun began to decline, when he would proceed to the mosque.][93] From that time until the hour of afternoon prayer, he occupied himself exclusively in hearing the authentic traditions of the Apostle of God, whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace! He would then withdraw to his palace, but before sunset he would come forth to the mosque, and after sunset prayer, the Jurists would engage in debates before him until the end of the latest hour for evening prayer, sometimes, however, prolonging their discussions to a later hour. He used then, riding an ass and with only one servant before him, to proceed to the palace of the Queen, to take counsel with her upon public affairs.

Such was his mode of life from the year 529 until he was slain in his mosque at Zabīd (May God be merciful unto him!), whilst performing the third prostrations of afternoon prayer, on Friday the 12th of Rajab [A.H. 551]. He was killed by a man of the name of Mujrim, one of the followers of ʻAly ibn Mahdy. The murderer was put to death that same evening, after killing several persons.[94] The Abyssinian dynasty did not long endure after the death of Surūr. It was subverted by ʻAly ibn Mahdy, who conquered Zabīd and its dependencies, in the year 554.

92 I will now proceed with an account of ʻAly ibn Mahdy in Yaman. In that chapter I will set forth a summary comprising the outset and the close of his career.

The Insurrection of 'Aly ibn Mahdy in Yaman.

As to his lineage, he was a descendant of Ḥimyar, and his name was 'Aly ibn Mahdy, native of a village named al-'Anbarah, situated on the coast near Zabīd. His father was a virtuous and pure-hearted man, whose son 'Aly was brought up in his religious tenets and followed his examples, in his devotion to religious exercises and to the practice of good works. After a time 'Aly went on the pilgrimage and visited the holy places. He met the pilgrims, the doctors and preachers of 'Irāk, and he became filled with the knowledge they imparted to him. On his return to Yaman he led a life of retirement, but he exhorted the people, warning them against association with the soldiery.* He was an eloquent man, of prepossessing appearance, dark complexioned, with sunken cheeks, bearded, tall, of a spare figure, and marked between his eyes with the traces of his prostrations.[95] He had an agreeable voice, which he skilfully modulated in chanting, and a winning manner of imparting instruction. He possessed a well-stored memory, was constant in exhorting, and in expounding the Ḳur'ān and the teaching of the Ṣūfis. He used to speak of things that were reserved to him in the future, and the accurate fulfilment of his predictions became one of the most powerful means by which he won the hearts of the people.

His career commenced on the coast of Zabīd, in the village of al-'Anbarah, in that of Wāsit, that of Ḳuḍayb, at al-Ahwāb, al-Mu'tafi (?) and the shores of al-Farah (al-'Ārah ?). He used to journey thence, and the respect in which he was held ever increased with the lapse of time. I had at that

* Janadi and Khazraji here add that Ibn Mahdy's public career commenced in A.H. 531.

period devoted myself to him, and for the space of a year I was in almost constant attendance upon him. But my father heard that I had abandoned the study of Jurisprudence and that I had given myself up to a religious life. He came from his home, took me from the society of 'Aly Mahdy and replaced me at the college of Zabīd. I used to visit 'Aly Mahdy once every month, but when his
93 power waxed great throughout the country, I detached myself from him, out of fear of the people of Zabīd. From the year 531 until 536, he continued to preach to the people in the open plains, and on the approach of the pilgrimage season he used to go forth to Mecca, mounted on a dromedary. The Lady, the mother of Fātik son of Manṣūr, then relieved him, his brethren, his kindred and those under his protection, from payment of the assessment (kharāj) on their lands. In a brief period of time they became prosperous and rich, they rode horses and were such as are described by the poet al-Mutanabby :—

It seemed as though their horses were foaled beneath them—
And as though the riders were born mounted upon their horses' backs.[96]

Certain persons, inhabitants of the highlands, were brought to 'Aly ibn Mahdy and an alliance sworn between them. He went to these people in the year 538 and assembled an army, which attained the number of forty thousand men, wherewith he marched to attack the city of al-Kadrā. He was met by the Ḳā'id Isḥāḳ ibn Marzūk as-Saḥrati at the head of his people. Ibn Mahdy's army was defeated. Many of his people were killed, but the greater number were spared. He returned to the highlands, where he remained until the year 541. He then wrote to the Queen at Zabīd and asked protection for himself and for his followers, and permission to return to his country. Notwith-

standing the disapproval of the officials of her government and of the Jurists of her time, she granted his request, *that God should (thereby) accomplish the things that were ordained.** 'Aly ibn Mahdy applied himself for several years to the cultivation of his property, which he held free of all assessment, and he thus amassed considerable wealth. When preaching he used to say: "O ye people, the time approacheth. The event draweth nigh! Almost ye may behold with your own eyes the things I have foretold unto you."

The Queen died in the year 545, and hardly had that event occurred, when 'Aly Mahdy appeared in the highlands, at a place named ad-Dāshir, subject to the Khaulānites [where he remained for a time].[97] Thence he ascended to a fortress named ash-Sharaf, which belonged to a tribe of the sept of Khaulān known by the name of Banu Ḥaywan (Ḥaydan?), a word which is pronounced with a
94 quiescent *y*. These people he surnamed (in imitation of the Prophet) *al-Anṣār* (the Auxilaries), and those who had accompanied him from the low country, he distinguished by the title *al-Muhājirūn*, (the Emigrants). But he then began to mistrust all his companions and to fear for his own safety. He appointed over the Anṣār a Khaulānite of the name of Saba ibn Yūsuf, to whom he gave the title of Sheykh al-Islām, and over the Muhājirūn a man [of the tribe of 'Imrān], named an-Nūby, who received the same title. He appointed them to be chiefs over the two parties, and none but these two persons was allowed to speak to him, or even to approach him. At times he secluded himself even from them, and they would organize military expeditions into the neighbouring country, on their own authority. This they continued to do, and to harass the people of Tihāmah with raids, both

* Ḳur. viii. v. 43, 46.

in the early mornings and late at eve, until the country bordering upon the highlands was utterly ruined. The Abyssinians at that time sent liberal supplies to their military stations, but their troops were unable to cope with their enemy for several reasons. Among others, because ash-Sharaf, besides being defended by large numbers of Khaulānites, was in itself an exceedingly strong fortress. Also, because a person desiring to reach the stronghold had to perform a day's journey, or part of a day's journey, through a narrow valley enclosed between two mountains. On reaching the foot of that upon which the fortress stood, the traveller had to ascend a torrent for half a day, ere he could attain the summit. Another reason was, that the torrent which occupied the valley flowed past great gorges, commencing near the low country, in which armies, with large quantities of stores and baggage, might lie hidden for a month before their presence could be suspected. Ibn Mahdy's raiders, when they entered a district in the low country, plundered and burnt, and on daylight appearing, they withdrew to the valley in which were these gorges. There they remained, where none could reach them or venture to attack them.

Thus he continued to act with the people of
95 Zabīd, until the country was forsaken by its inhabitants. The land ceased to be ploughed, and the roads were deserted. His orders to his people were, to drive away the cattle and slaves, and to kill the prisoners and animals incapable of marching. They obeyed his commands, which stimulated their own greed, struck terror into their enemies, and accomplished the ruin of the country.

I met ʻAly ibn Mahdy in A.H. 549, at the Court of the Dāʻy Muhammad ibn Saba Prince of Aden, in the city of Dhu Jiblah. He was seeking aid against

the people of Zabīd, which the Dā'y, however, would not consent to give. Ibn Mahdy tendered me his friendship and offered to place me at the head of all his followers.

On his return that same year from Dhu Jiblah to ash-Sharaf, he occupied himself in contriving the death of the Ḳā'id Surūr al-Fātiki. The Ḳā'id was slain in Rajab of the year 551. Among the causes that contributed to the success of Ibn Mahdy against the people of Zabīd, was the circumstance that their chiefs were filled with jealousy and envy, at the sight of the eminence attained by the Ḳā'id Surūr. After his death, the closed gates of evil were thrown open against the Abyssinian dynasty, and the bonds of its stability were unloosed. Ibn Mahdy left the fortress of ash-Sharaf and came down to ad-Dāshir, distant less than half a day's journey from Zabīd. The people and Arabs of the district, subjects of the Abyssinians, strove to conciliate him. And whenever one of Ibn Mahdy's people came in contact with a brother or a kinsman, living among the Abyssinians, a tiller of the soil, or a camel driver or cattle-herd in their service, he perverted him.

Thus matters continued until Ibn Mahdy penetrated, with an innumerable host, to the gates of Zabīd. I have been assured by several natives of Yaman, who witnessed the siege of the town, that no people ever withstood their enemies with so much firmness, or fought so bravely as the citizens of Zabīd. They fought Ibn Mahdy in seventy-two
96 engagements, heedless of the slaughter by which their numbers were reduced. They suffered from hunger until their misery constrained them to the necessity of eating carrion. They at length implored assistance of the Zaydite and Rassite Sharīf Aḥmad ibn Suleymān, Prince of Ṣa'dah. He gave them aid, impelled thereto by his eagerness to

acquire sovereign power over the city and people. They pledged themselves to appoint him their King, and the Sharīf promised that if they slew their Lord Fātik, he would bind himself unto them by oath. The slaves thereupon rose against their master.

(They were the slaves of Fātik) son of Jayyāsh son of Najāḥ. This Najāḥ was the freedman of Marjān, who was the freedman of Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah, and Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah was the freedman of Rushd the steward, who was the freedman of *Ziyād son of Ibrahīm son of* Abu 'l-Jaysh Isḥāk *son of Muḥammad* son of Ibrahīm *son of 'Abdallah* (son of Muḥammad) ibn Ziyād.[98]

The slaves above mentioned slew Fātik in the year 553. But the Sharīf found himself unable to defend the people of Zabīd against 'Aly ibn Mahdy. The war continued between them and Ibn Mahdy. Several battles were fought and the citizens sheltered themselves behind their walls, but he at length succeeded in capturing the town. The Abyssinian dynasty came to an end and Ibn Mahdy established himself in the Government House, on Friday the 14th of Rajab of the year 554.

'Aly ibn Mahdy survived the event through the remainder of that month and throughout Sha'bān and Ramaḍān. He died in the following month of Shawwāl. He held possession of the city for two months and twenty-one days. He was succeeded by his son al-Mahdy and next by his son 'Abd an-Naby. The latter was deposed, and was replaced by 'Aly ibn Mahdy's son 'Abd Allah, but he was afterwards re-instated, and at the present day he is ruler of the whole of Yaman, with the exception only of Aden, whose people have entered into a treaty with him, under the conditions of which they pay him an annual tribute.

'Abd an-Naby is sovereign both of the Highlands

and Lowlands, and all the kingdoms and treasures of the Kings of Yaman have passed into his hands. Muḥammad ibn 'Aly, a citizen of Dhu Jiblah, has
97 informed me that the riches of twenty-five Yamanite dynasties have been absorbed into the treasury of Ibn Mahdy. Therein is included the wealth of the nobles of Zabīd. None of the slaves of Fatik, the Princesses of his family or the nobles of his dynasty died, but left a large amount of wealth including great sums of money. [All was acquired by Ibn Mahdy]; for he became possessed of their children and women, who revealed to him where their masters' treasures were to be found, their gold and silver ware and ornaments, their pearls, jewels, precious stones and splendid apparel of all kinds. These nobles were as they of whom God Most High hath said: *How much they have left! Gardens and springs of water, corn-lands and splendid places of abode and wealth, wherein they spent a life of enjoyment! Thus have we dealt with them, and we have made these things to be an heritage unto another people.**

The dynasty of Ibn Mahdy acquired the kingdom of the Suleymanite Sharīfs, that of the Banu Wa'il Sulṭāns of Wuhāẓah, a ruling family of ancient and noble race, likewise the fortresses of the surviving members of the Sulayḥite family, unto each of whose strongholds a wide extent of territory and large revenues were attached. As to the possessions of the King Manṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt son of al-Walīd, the Himyarite, he lost all his strongholds, which it is unnecessary to enumerate, also all his treasures, in which were comprised those of the Dā'y 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayḥite, those of al-Mukarram Aḥmad son of 'Aly, husband of the Honourable Lady the

* Kur. ṣ. xliv. v. 25-27.

Queen Sayyidah, and those of the Queen herself. The whole of her predecessors' wealth became the property of the Lady Sayyidah. She deposited it in the fortress of Ta'kar, and al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt gained possession of the castle and of its contents. They were inherited by his son Manṣūr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal. For it is believed that Manṣūr reigned for thirty years and that he died in the decade of his hundredth or of his ninetieth year.[99]

Among other places that passed into the posses-
sion of Ibn Mahdy, were the fortresses of al-Maj-
ma'ah and of Ta'kar, including, it is said, the wealth
they contained; also the city of Dhu Jiblah, the
chief centre for the propagation of the Fāṭimite
supremacy and capital of the Ṣulayḥites, likewise
the city of al-Janad and its dependencies, and in
8 like manner Thālithah and Sharyāḳ, and Dhakhir
together with its dependencies. And the possessions
of that chieftain, 'Aly ibn Muḥammad Prince of
Dhakhir, were not inferior to those of Manṣūr ibn
al-Mufaḍḍal. Ibn Mahdy next acquired the kingdom
of the Banu 'z-Zarr and the cities of Dhu Jiblah, of
Dhu Ashraḳ and of Ibb, the fortresses and country
of the Banu Khaulān, the fortresses of the Banu
Rabī'ah, namely 'Azzan, Ḥabb and ash-Shamākhi.
He captured Sulṭān Abu 'n-Nurayn Abu 'l Fatḥ,
and the fortress of as-Sawā remained in the pos-
session of Ibn as-Sabā'i (the Khaulānite). Ibn
Mahdy next conquered the strongholds of the Dā'y
'Imrān ibn Muḥammad, that is to say, the fortresses
of Sāmi' and Maṭrān [and Numayr] situated in the
district of al-Ma'āfir. He became possessed also of
the chief stronghold of Yaman, that which has no
equals other than Ta'kar and Ḥabb, that is to say,
the fortress of Samadān, the strength of which has
become proverbial. No created being can prevail
against that stronghold, unless aided by the executors
of the Creator's decrees. This enumeration is that

which I have styled a *drop from the ocean of Ibn Mahdy's conquests.* And in the foregoing I have not mentioned the country of the Banu Muzaffar, Saba son of Ahmad the Sulayhite, nor the districts of Harān (Haraz ?), nor Bura', nor the country of Bakīl, nor that of Hāshid, nor Jublah (Jublān Raymah ?) with its fortresses and provinces, nor Wādi 'Unnah nor Wādi Zabīd, nor other places, such as the valleys of Rim'a and of Raymat al-Ashā'ir, their castles and their villages, Mudhaykhirah and its dependencies, which are several days' journey in extent, Damt and Wādi Tahlah (Nakhlah ?).[100]

Now, as to the sect to which Ibn Mahdy belonged and the doctrines he held; he followed the rules of the Hanafite school in the interpretation of religious law, but he added to its fundamental articles of faith, the doctrine that regards sin as infidelity and punishable with death. He held in like manner that the penalty of death was to be inflicted upon all pro-
99 fessing Muslims who opposed his teaching, that it was lawful to reduce their captured women to the condition of concubines, their children to slavery, and to treat their country as a land of infidels (Dār al-Harb). I have been told, but the responsibility for truth rests upon the original narrator, that Ibn Mahdy did not implicitly trust the faith of a Muhājir, excepting he proved his sincerity by slaying his own son or his father or his brother. He used to recite the following passage:—*Thou shalt not find people who believe in God and in the Day of Judgment, bearing love unto them that oppose God and His apostle, even though such be their fathers, their sons, their brethren or their kinsfolk. He hath inscribed faith in the hearts (of the true believers), and He aideth them with a Spirit proceeding from Himself.** I knew (added the narrator ?) a youth among them, who was my neighbour and a student of Juris-

* Kur'ān, s. lviii. v. 22.

prudence. His mother went on a visit to him and he slew her.

As to the faith which his followers placed in him, it was beyond what is commonly held in respect of the Prophets, the blessings of God and His peace be upon them. One of the family of Ibn Mahdy might think fit to kill several of his soldiers, and even though (the latter's comrades were ?) able to prevail against the slayer, they abstained, through submission and religious conviction, from killing him. If Ibn Mahdy were moved to anger against one of their greatest chiefs or leaders, the person who had incurred his displeasure would confine himself to a spot exposed to the rays of the sun. He would neither be fed nor given to drink, neither his son nor his wife could approach him, nor durst any person intercede for him, until Ibn Mahdy pardoned him of his own free will. Their perfect submission was such that every man carried to the public Treasury the woollen yarn which his wife or daughters had spun. Ibn Mahdy supplied him and his family with clothing. Not one of the soldiers possessed a horse his own property, or could keep one in a stable attached to his dwelling, neither did he possess accoutrements, or weapons, or aught else. Horses were kept in Ibn Mahdy's stables, and arms were stored in his arsenals. If necessity arose, he distributed among his men the horses and weapons they required. A soldier who fled from the enemy was beheaded. By no means could his life be spared. Whoso drank intoxicating liquors suffered death, and death was the penalty for listening to songs, for adultery, and for absence from the Fridays' prayers or from the two assemblies at which he preached to the people, on Thursdays and Mondays. Anyone who neglected to visit his father's grave on these two days suffered death. To these laws the soldiery alone were subject.

Those applicable to the people were of a more lenient character, and I am informed at the present time, that is to say, in the year 553 (read 563 or 564), that the severity with which these laws were carried into effect has been relaxed.[101]

Chapter in which are enumerated the Persons who have held in Yaman the Office of Dā'y for the Fāṭimites.

Of their number was the Dā'y 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Ṣulayḥite, who combined the office of Dā'y with supreme power as temporal sovereign. Next was his son al-Mukarram Aḥmad the Ṣulayḥite, who likewise combined both offices. After him Sulṭān Suleymān az-Zawāḥi exercised the functions of Dā'y, but did not hold sovereign rule. Then the Ḳāḍi . . . . . .* ibn Mālik the Ṣulayḥite combined the office of Dā'y with that of Judge, but did not exercise sovereign rule. Next 'Aly son of Ibrahīm al- Muwaffaḳ fi 'd-dīn, son of Najīb ad-Daulah, held the office of Dā'y and exercised sovereign rule, under the authority of the Honourable Lady Queen Sayyidah, over part of her dominions.[102]

Then, when the official notification was received from our Lord the Imām al-Āmir bi-Aḥkam Illah, Prince of the faithful—upon whom be peace—bringing to the Queen, his accepted Representative in the country of Yaman, the glad tidings of the birth of his son, our Lord the Imām aṭ-Ṭayyib Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, and of the new-born Prince's designation

* Lacuna in the MS.

as successor to the Imāmate, (it was) conceived in the following terms :—

In the name of God the Merciful, the Gracious.

From the servant of God and His beloved, al-Manṣūr Abu 'Aly al-Āmir bi-Aḥkam Illah, Prince of the Faithful,

Unto the Honourable Lady, the Queen, the highly esteemed, the pure, the stainless, the unparagoned of her age, Sovereign Lady of the Kings of Yaman, the Pillar of Islām, the Special friend of the Imām, Treasure of the Faith, Support of the true believers, Refuge unto them that seek aid, Protectress of the truly directed, Favourite of the Prince of the Faithful, Guardian of his favoured servants. May God perpetuate her power and prosperity, and grant her increasing support and assistance. Peace be with thee!

The Prince of the Faithful praiseth God, than whom there is none other God but He, and prayeth Him to bless his
101 ancestor Muhammad, the seal of the Prophets and Lord of the Apostles. May God bless him and his pure family the truly directed Imāms, and hail them with salutations of peace.

And after. Verily the favours of God unto the Prince of the Faithful cannot be reckoned. Their magnitude is beyond all power of measurement and their limit cannot be defined. The mind of man cannot encompass them. For they are even as the clouds in the heavens, of which one departeth and another ever cometh, as the flashing rays of the sun that perpetually issue forth and envelop the earth, and as the lion whose visits are unceasing, who cometh in the morning and returneth in the shadows of evening.

But God's noblest gift to the Prince of the Faithful, the greatest and the most widely renowned, the most brilliant in honour and distinction, is that recently conferred upon him by the birth of a child, pure and highly prized, virtuous and pious, on the night that ushered in the dawn of Sunday the fourth of the month of Rabī'u 'l-Ākhir of the year 524. The pulpits of the world have exhaled fragrance on the proclamation (therefrom) of his name, and the hopes of all men, of the people of the plains and of the dwellers in cities, are directed to the wealth-imparting clouds of his beneficence. The darkness of night hath been illumined by the light of his noble presence and by the shining beauty of his countenance, and through him the necklace of disjointed precious jewels are strung, to add increased lustre to the brilliant

dynasty of the Fāṭimites. God hath brought him forth from the lineage of the Prophet, like as light is brought forth from light, and the Prince of the Faithful hath obtained, through his birth, showers of brilliant sparks proceeding from the flint and steel of felicity. He hath named him aṭ-Ṭayyib, for the sweetness of his nature, and he hath surnamed him Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, the surname of his ancestor the Prophet of true guidance, from whose substance his substance hath sprung.

The Prince of the Faithful praiseth God Most High for the grace he hath bestowed upon him by raising a shining star in the firmament of the Imperial dynasty and a light-giving orb in the empyrean of its glory, and for filling him with the thankfulness that tendeth to the continuance of God's mercies, and to an abundant downflow from the beneficent clouds of His indulgence and goodness.

He prayeth that God may grant unto him, through the birth of this child, the accomplishment of his furthest hopes, that he may through him be linked with the Imāmate as long as day continues to be joined unto night; that God may make this child a refuge for the truly directed, a living proof against them that deny, a help unto them that are under constraint, a succourer unto them that seek assistance, an asylum to them that are in fear, and a source of happiness
102 to the patient; that the world through him may attain its most abundant happiness and prosperity, and that each day, as it ariseth, may disclose its pearly teeth in smiles.

By reason of the lofty rank bestowed upon thee by the Prince of the Faithful and of thy position unequalled and unmatched, I make known unto thee these auspicious tidings, glorious and important and widely celebrated, that thou mayest abundantly rejoice thereat, and that thou mayest spread them among thy servants and divinely favoured people, that they may be equally known to them that are distant and to them that are near, that by knowledge of these tidings the necklace of happiness be strung, and that their sweet fragrance be exhaled as that of fresh aloes-wood from Mandal and of camphor.* Be this known unto thee and make it known, with the permission of God Most High.

Written on the day above mentioned. May God bless his Apostle our Lord Muḥammad and his family the pure Imāms, hail them with salutations of peace, exalt them and honour them unto the last day ![103]

* Mandal is said to be the name of a place in India (the Indian Archipelago ?), celebrated for its aloes-wood.

Soon after the sceptre departed from the hands of our Lord al-Āmir, and al-Ḥāfiẓ succeeded. The first edict that reached the Queen from him purported to proceed from the appointed heir to the Empire of the Muslims.

In the second year of the Prince of the Faithful, the Queen appointed the noble Dā'y Ibrahīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidi.

She next transferred the office of Dā'y on behalf of the Khalīfah al-Ḥāfiẓ to the family of Zuray'. "Sufficient," said the Queen, "for the Banu aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, is that which they know respecting (the fate of?) our Lord at-Tayyib." *

Then the office was held by his son Ḥātim ibn Ibrahīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidi, until that time.

It was transferred under the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ to the family of Zuray'. One of them (or, the first) was the unparagoned Amīr Saba son of Abu Su'ūd, son of Zuray' son of al-'Abbas the Yāmite, who combined the office of Dā'y with sovereign rule. He was succeeded by his son, the great, the crowned, the powerful Dā'y, Dā'y of the Prince of the Faithful, Muḥammad son of Saba, in whose hands likewise the functions of Dā'y and the royal office were combined.

We have now, in this abridgment, supplied an abstract of the history of the kings of the country of Yaman and of the Dā'ys.

End of the auspicious history. Praise be to God, by whose grace all good works are brought to completion.

* See Note 102. It will be noticed that in Janadi we find the verb عمل *to do* instead of علم *to know.*

103 # THE HISTORY OF YAMAN

EXTRACTED FROM THE GENERAL HISTORY OF

‘ABD AR-RAḤMAN IBN KHALDŪN.

The History of Yaman and of the Islamitic States that have existed therein subject to the ‘Abbāsides and ‘Obaydites, and of all its Arab Kings, a general Account of their Rise and Vicissitudes, followed by separate Historical Notices, under the heading of each City and Kingdom of the Country, one by one.

We have related, in the latter part of the Prophetical History, how Yaman became part of the Islamitic Empire, through the submission of Badhān, its governor under Kisra (Chosroes), to Islām. The people were converted along with him, and the Prophet appointed him Amīr over all its provinces. His residence was at Ṣan‘ā, the seat of government of the ancient kings, the Tubbas. When the Prince died, after the Farewell Pilgrimage, the Prophet (may God bless him and hail him with salutations of peace) divided Yaman among provincial governors, subject to himself, and appointed Shahr son of Badhān over Ṣan‘ā.

We have likewise related the story of al-Aswad

al-'Ansi (the 'Ansite), how he drove the governors of the Prophet out of Yaman, how he marched upon Ṣan'ā, possessed himself of the city, how he slew Shahr son of Badhān, took his wife in marriage, made himself master of the greater part of Yaman, and how most of its people apostatized. The Prophet wrote to his followers and deputies, as also to all who had steadfastly adhered to the faith. Through the medium of Fayrūz son of her uncle, they entered into communication with the wife of Shahr, whom al-Aswad had married. The leading part, in these occurrences, was taken by Ḳays ibn 'Abd Yaghūth,* the Murādite. He, Fayrūz and Dādhwayh came to al-Aswad by night, with the concurrence of his wife, and slew him. The governors of the Prophet returned to their provinces, and this occurred shortly before the Prophet's death.

Ḳays became sole ruler at Ṣan'ā and he collected together the scattered soldiery of al-Aswad. Abu Bakr appointed Fayrūz and the Abnas who owned his authority, over Yaman, and commanded the
4 people to obey him. Fayrūz attacked Ḳays ibn Makshūḥ and put him to flight.[104]

Abu Bakr then appointed al-Muhājir ibn Abi Umayyah to be commander in the war against the apostates of Yaman, and likewise 'Ukrimah ibn Abi Jahl, who was ordered to commence by operating against the apostates of 'Omān, and then to join al-Muhājir. At a later date, Yaman was placed under the government of Ya'la ibn Munyah. He afterwards joined 'Ā'ishah at Mecca, whence he accompanied her and took part in the battle of the Camel.[105]

'Aly appointed over Yaman 'Obayd Allah ibn 'Abbās, and then 'Obayd Allah's brother 'Abd Allah. Afterwards Mu'awiyah appointed over

* Also known as Ibn Makshūḥ.

Ṣan'ā Fayrūz the Daylamite, who died A.H. 53. In A.H. 72, when 'Abd al-Malik sent al-Ḥajjāj against Ibn Zubayr, he named him governor of Yaman. When the dynasty of the 'Abbasides was established (the Khalīfah Abu 'l-'Abbas 'Abd Allah) as-Saffāḥ appointed over the province his uncle Dā-ūd ibn 'Aly, and upon Dā-ūd's death, in A.H. 133, he replaced him by Muḥammad, son of his maternal uncle Yazid (read Ziyād), son of 'Obayd Allah son (descendant) of 'Abd al-Madān.

Thenceforward the governorship passed successively from one ruler to another, all of whom established their residence at Ṣan'ā, until the accession of al-Ma'mūn to the Khalīfate. The missionaries of the Ṭālibites appeared in the provinces, and Abu 's-Sarāya, of the Banu Shaybān, proclaimed in 'Irāḳ the supremacy of Muḥammad ibn Ibrahīm Ṭabāṭabā, son of Isma'īl, son of Ibrahīm, the latter, brother (read uncle) of the Mahdi, *an-Nafs az-Zakīyah* (the pure in spirit), Muḥammad, son of 'Abd Allah son of Ḥasan (son of Ḥasan son of 'Aly son of Abu Ṭālib). Disturbances increased in violence and Muḥammad ibn Ṭabāṭabā appointed rulers over the various provinces. He was eventually killed, and Muḥammad son of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiḳ was proclaimed in the Ḥijāz, whilst in Yaman, Ibrahīm son of Mūsa al-Kāẓim rebelled in A.H. 200.* He did not succeed in his designs, and he was surnamed *al-Jazzār* (the Butcher), by reason of his blood-shedding disposition. Al-Ma'mūn sent troops to Yaman, who subdued the country. They removed large numbers of the leading men, and Yaman acquired a settled condition, in the manner we will proceed to relate.

* See Genealogical Table of Imāms, Note 107.

The Dynasty of Ziyād under the supremacy of the Abbasides.

Among the leading men of Yaman sent up to al-Ma'mūn there was one, Muḥammad son of Ziyād, a descendant of ‘Obayd Allah son of Ziyād son of Abu Sufyān. He propitiated the Khalīfah, and
05 having engaged to protect Yaman against the Alides, he won his favour and was appointed to the government of the province, where he arrived in A.H. 203. He conquered the Tihāmah of Yaman, that is to say, the western country adjoining the sea-coast, and founded there the city of Zabīd, which became his place of residence and the capital of his kingdom. He appointed over the highlands his freedman Ja‘far. Tihāmah was conquered after a struggle with the Arab tribes, and they were subjected to a stipulation that they should not make use of riding horses. Ibn Ziyād became sovereign of the whole of Yaman. His authority was recognized in the provinces of Ḥaḍramaut, ash-Shihr and Diyār (the country of the) Banu Kindah, and he acquired the power and dignity formerly enjoyed by the Tubbas (the ancient Kings of Yaman).

There existed at Ṣan‘ā, the chief city of Yaman, the Banu Ya‘fur, descendants of Ḥimyar, one of the noblest families that had survived the rule of the Tubbas. They exercised supreme authority over the city and owned allegiance to the Abbasides. Besides Ṣan‘ā they possessed Bayḥān, Najrān,* and Jurash. The last of the family were As‘ad ibn Ya‘fur and, next after him, his brother Muḥammad. The Banu Ya‘fur recognized the supremacy of Ibn Ziyād.

‘Aththar, likewise one of the kingdoms of Yaman,

* See *infra*, p. 172, and ‘Omārah, *supra*, p. 6. The Paris MS. writes *Tajrāt*.

was under the rule of Suleymān ibn Ṭarf, who also submitted.

Muḥammad ibn Ziyād perished, and he was succeeded by his son Ibrahīm. Then followed Ziyād son of Ibrahīm, then the brother of Ziyād, Abu 'l-Jaysh Isḥāḳ son of Ibrahīm. His reign endured for a long period, until he attained the age of eighty years. 'Omārah says that he reigned eighty years over Yaman, Ḥaḍramaut and the maritime islands. When Abu 'l-Jaysh heard of the assassination of the Khalīfah al-Mutawakkil and afterwards of the abdication of al-Musta'īn (A.H. 252) and of the subjection of the Khalīfate to the Turkish freedmen, he discontinued the payment of tribute, and when riding forth, he caused a canopy to be borne over his head, according to the usage of the independent Persian kings.[106]

Under his reign Yaḥya son of al-Ḥusayn son of al-Ḳāsim ar-Rassy son of Ibrahīm Ṭabāṭabā arose in Yaman proclaiming the supremacy of the Zaydites.[107] He came from Sind, whither his grandfather al-Ḳāsim had fled, upon the suppression of the insurrection led by his brother Muḥammad and by Abu 's-Sarāya, of which we have related the history.

Al-Ḳāsim sought refuge in Sind and there his son Ḥusayn and his grandson Yaḥya were born. Yaḥya appeared in Yaman in A.H. 288 and proceeded to
106 Ṣa'dah, where he made open profession of the doctrines of the Zaydites. He then marched upon San'ā and wrested it from the hands of As'ad ibn Ya'fur, but the Banu Ya'fur recaptured the city and Yaḥya returned to Ṣa'dah. His followers gave him the title of Imām and his descendants occupy the country at the present day. We have herein before related their history.*

It was likewise in the days of Abu 'l-Jaysh, that the claims of the 'Obaydites were proclaimed in

* *Infra*, p. 184.

Yaman. Muḥammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Faḍl established his authority in their name, in A.H. 340, over Aden Lā'ah and over the highlands of Yaman, as far as Mount Mudhaykhirah.

The country that remained subject to Abu 'l-Jaysh extended from ash-Sharjah to Aden, twenty days' journey, and from his own province to San'ā, five days' journey. When Muḥammad ('Aly) ibn al-Faḍl overcame him by spreading recognition of the 'Obaydite supremacy in Yaman, the rulers of the outlying provinces cast off their allegiance to Abu 'l-Jaysh. Among them were the Banu As'ad ibn Ya'fur at Ṣan'ā, Suleyman ibn Ṭarf at 'Aththar and the Imām ar-Rassy at Ṣa'dah. Abu 'l-Jaysh adopted a conciliatory policy with them.

He perished in A.H. 371. He had extended his kingdom and had increased its revenues. Ibn Sa'īd says that he had examined a statement according to which the revenues of Abu 'l-Jaysh amounted to 1,366,000 'Asharīyah dinārs,* besides duties levied upon the shipping from Sind, upon ambergris arriving at Bāb al-Mandeb and at Aden-Abyan, on the pearl fisheries, and besides the taxes collected in the Island of Dahlak, which included one thousand slaves. The Kings of Abyssinia, on the opposite shores, were in the habit of offering him presents, and sought his friendship.

At his death he left a young child of the name of 'Abd Allah or Ibrahīm or, as is also said, of the name of Ziyād. His sister and his freedman Rashīd the Abyssinian became the guardians of the child. Rashīd appointed over the highlands his mamluk Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah the Nubian. Thenceforth the office of wazīr passed from one Abyssinian

* Read: Amounted in A.H. 366 to one million 'Aththarīyah dinārs. It will be observed that Ibn Sa'īd's statement is simply appropriated from 'Omārah, who, as we have seen, borrowed his information from Ibn Ḥauḳal. (Note 12.)

or Nubian freedman to another. They acquired absolute control over the state, and the Ziyādite dynasty at length came to an end in A.H. 407 (read 409).

The child died and was succeeded by another, also of the family of the Banu Ziyād, younger than his predecessor. Ibn Sa'īd remarks that
107 'Omārah knew not his name, in consequence of the absolute control exercised over the Prince by the chamberlains. He means 'Omārah, the historian of Yaman. It is, however, said that this second child bore the name of Ibrahīm. He was placed under the guardianship of his aunt and of Marjān one of the freedmen of Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah. Marjān became possessed of supreme power. He had two freedmen, Ḳays * and Najāḥ. He placed the infant Prince, the nominal King, under the care of Ḳays (Nafīs), who was appointed to reside at Zabīd along with the child. Najāḥ he appointed over all the provinces other than Zabīd, including the cities of al-Kadrā and al-Mahjam. Marjān preferred Ḳays (Nafīs) to Najāḥ, between whom jealousy consequently arose. It was stated to Ḳays (Nafīs) that the child's aunt favoured Najāḥ, and was in secret correspondence with him. He seized her (and the child), with the concurrence of his master Marjān, and buried them alive. He assumed exclusive and supreme power, adopted the use of the royal umbrella, and put his own name on the coinage.

In extreme anger at what had occurred, Najaḥ placed himself at the head of an army, and marched against Ḳays (Nafīs), who came forth to meet him. Several engagements and battles took place and Ḳays (Nafīs) was eventually defeated and killed, along with five thousand men of his army. Najāḥ gained possession of Zabīd in A.H. 412, and buried

* See Note 13, last par.

Ḳays (Nafīs) and his master Marjān in the place of the child and its aunt. He assumed paramount authority and the coinage was struck in his name. He wrote to the supreme council of the Khalīfah at Baghdad, and was formally appointed to rule over Yaman. He continued to exercise absolute sway over Tihāmah and the highlands, and he abolished in the mountain districts, the authority of the rulers appointed by Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah. The neighbouring kings dreaded his power, and he continued in the enjoyment of that high estate until his assassination by ʻAly aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, the representative of the ʻObaydites, who encompassed his death, in A.H. 452, by means of poison administered by a female slave he sent to the King.

Najāḥ was succeeded at Zabīd by his freedman Kahlān. Afterwards aṣ-Ṣulayḥi possessed himself of the city and ruled over it, as will be related.

The History of the Banu 'ṣ-Ṣulayḥi, who ruled under the authority of the ʻObaydites, and propagated their supremacy in Yaman.

The Ḳāḍi Muḥammad ibn ʻAly the Hamdānite, surnamed aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, was the chief of Ḥarāz in the country of the Hamdānites. He was descended from the tribe of the Banu Yām, and there grew up unto him a son named ʻAly. The office of Dāʻy for the ʻObaydites was at that time held by ʻĀmir son of ʻAbd Allah az-Zawāḥi (the Zawāḥite), so named after a village in Ḥarāz. It was said that he possessed the book *al-Jafr*, one of the treasures, it was represented, of the ʻObaydite Imāms, and it was pretended that the name of ʻAly, son of the Ḳāḍi Muḥammad, was mentioned in the book.

'Aly studied under the directions of the Dā'y and received his teaching. When the youth's merits and talent became manifest, the Dā'y showed him his name and particulars describing him, set forth in the book. "Take care of your son," he said to the Ḳāḍi, "for he will be ruler over the whole of Yaman."

'Aly grew up a Jurist noted for piety. For fifteen years he was leader of the pilgrimage by way of Ṭā'if and the Sarawāt. He attained a great reputation, his name became widely known, and people commonly spoke of him as Sulṭān of Yaman. The Dā'y 'Āmir az-Zawāḥi died bequeathing to him his writings and appointing him his successor. 'Aly led the caravan of pilgrims in A.H. 428, according to his previous custom, and during the celebration of the ceremonies of the *Mausim*,* he assembled certain men belonging to his tribe, that of Hamdān, who had accompanied him, and called upon them for their assistance and support. They consented and swore allegiance to him. They were sixty in number, ranking among the most manly members of the tribe.

On his return, he established himself at Masār, a fortress on the summit of one of the mountains of Ḥarāz, which he strengthened. His power waxed great, and he wrote to al-Mustanṣir, then ruling in Egypt, requesting to be allowed to make open proclamation of the 'Obaydite doctrines. He received the desired permission and carried his design into effect. He made himself master of the whole of Yaman, and took up his residence at Ṣan'ā, where he built palaces and made the Yamanite Kings, whom he had conquered, take up their abode beside him. He drove forth the Banu Ṭarf, Kings of 'Aththar and Tihāmah, and in A.H. 452, as we

* Between the 8th and 13th of the month of Dhu 'l-Ḥijjah.

have mentioned, he brought about the death of Najāḥ, freedman of the Ziyādites and King of Zabīd, by means of a slave girl, he sent as a present to the Prince.

He then proceeded to Mecca by command of al-Mustanṣir the ruler of Egypt, for the purpose of putting an end to the 'Abbaside supremacy and to the rulership of the Ḥasanites. He appointed his son, al-Mukarram Aḥmad, his deputy at Ṣan'ā, and he took with him his wife Asmā daughter of Shihāb, as also the kings who had their abode with him, such as Ibn al-Kurandi, Ibn Ya'fur at-Tubba'y, Wā'il ibn 'Isa al-Wuḥāẓy, and others. Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ made a night attack upon him at al-Mahjam and killed him. This happened in A.H. 463 (read 473).

He was succeeded by his son al-Mukarram Aḥmad, who possessed himself of supreme power and established himself at Ṣan'ā. His mother, Asmā daughter of Shihāb, had been captured by Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ, on the night of the attack. She sent a letter to her son al-Mukarram. "I am with child," she wrote, "by the squint-eyed slave Sa'īd, *al-Aḥwal*. Come to me before my delivery, or disgrace will ensue, such as time will never efface." Al-Mukarram started from Ṣan'ā in the year 475, at the head of three thousand men. The Abyssinians numbered twenty thousand, but he routed them. Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ fled to the Island of Dahlak. Al-Mukarram presented himself to his mother, who was seated in the archway (or casement) near which the heads of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi and of his brother were displayed. He took them down and buried them, and unsheathed the sword in vengeance against the city. He re-instated his maternal uncle As'ad ibn Shihāb over Tihāmah as before, giving him Zabīd for his place of residence, and he then departed with his mother for Ṣan'ā.

She conducted the affairs of his kingdom. After a time, As'ad ibn Shihāb having collected the tribute of Tihāmah, transmitted it under the charge of his wazīr Aḥmad ibn Sālim, and Asmā distributed the money among the envoys from the Arab tribes. She died in A.H. 477,* and in 479, al-Mukarram lost possession of Zabīd, which was recovered by Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ. Al-Mukarram removed to Dhu Jiblah in 480 and appointed over Ṣan'ā 'Imrān ibn al-Faḍl the Hamdānite.

'Imrān became independent and transmitted the sovereignty to his descendants. His son Aḥmad assumed the title of Sulṭān, under which he acquired great celebrity. He was succeeded by his son Ḥātim son of Aḥmad, but after him there was at Ṣan'ā no Prince of any renown, until the city was conquered by the Suleymānites, upon that family being overcome at Mecca by the Ḥāshimites, as is mentioned in their history.† Dhu Jiblah is a city founded by 'Abd Allah son of Muḥammad aṣ-Sulayḥi in the year 458. Al-Mukarram removed thither by the advice of his wife Sayyidah daughter of Aḥmad, who acquired the direction of the affairs of his kingdom, after the death of his mother Asmā. He made Dhu Jiblah his place of residence and built in that city the *Dār al-'Izz* (the abode of Majesty). He applied himself to contrive the death of Sa'īd ibn Najāḥ and succeeded in his design, as we will relate in the history of Ibn Najāḥ.

Al-Mukarram became absorbed in the pursuit of

* Read 479. See *supra*, p. 37.

† See *infra*, p. 187 and Note 130. It is hardly necessary to add that the Suleymānites never conquered Ṣan'ā. Ibn Khaldūn, misled, it would appear by Ibn Sa'īd, has hopelessly confused the Suleymānites and Rassites. But it will indeed be seen that the Rassite Imāms themselves did not at the period referred to, nor for long after it, become permanently possessed of Ṣan'ā. And Ibn Khaldūn's statement touching 'Imrān ibn al-Faḍl and his descendants, is likewise incorrect. See Note 8, the latter part.

pleasure, living in a state of seclusion with his wife. When on the point of death in 484, he bequeathed his dignities to the son of his paternal uncle, al-Manṣūr Saba son of Aḥmad son of al-Muẓaffar son of 'Aly aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, Lord of the fortress of Ashyaḥ.[108] He was invested by al-Mustanṣir the 'Obaydite and made that fortress his place of residence, whilst Sayyidah daughter of Aḥmad remained at Dhu Jiblah. He sought her in marriage, but she refused, whereupon he laid siege to the castle she inhabited. Her uterine brother Suleymān ibn 'Āmir az-Zawāḥi assured him that she would not consent, unless commanded by al-Mustanṣir the Egyptian Khalīfah. Al-Manṣūr accordingly made application to al-Mustanṣir, who complied with his request. A eunuch arrived from the Court of the Khalīfah, and acquainted the Princess with the purpose of his mission. He recited to her the verse: *Unto no believer, male nor female, belongeth liberty of choice when the decree of God and of His Apostle hath gone forth.** "The Prince of the Faithful," he continued, "marries thee to the Dā'y Manṣūr Abu Ḥimyar Saba son of Aḥmad son of al-Muẓaffar, and appoints unto thee a dowry of one hundred thousand dinārs in money and fifty thousand dinārs in articles of rarity and value." The contract of marriage was entered into and Saba proceeded from the fortress of Ashyaḥ to Dhu Jiblah, and joined his wife in the Dār al-'Izz. It is said that she sent him a slave girl who bore an exceeding resemblance to herself, that the girl stood at the head of his couch, and that he never raised his eyes unto her until morning, when he returned to Ashyaḥ, whilst the Princess remained at Dhu Jiblah.

The person possessed of paramount influence over the Queen was al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt

* Ḳur'ān, S. xxxiii. v. 36

of the Banu Yām, the tribe to which the Sulayhites belonged.* He invited his allies of the tribe of Janb to join him. He appointed an abode for them at Dhu Jiblah, close to his own place of residence, and they supported him in warlike enterprises.

Sayyidah was in the habit of spending the summer at Ta'kar, where she kept her treasury and valuables. On the approach of winter she returned to Dhu Jiblah. After a time al-Mufaḍḍal remained alone in possession at Ta'kar, without interruption to their friendly intercourse. He departed to make war upon the family of Najāḥ. A Jurist, who bore the surname of al-Jamal, seized the opportunity to raise an insurrection in the castle of Ta'kar, assisted by several (or seven) other men of his profession, one of whom was Ibrahīm ibn Zeydān, paternal uncle of 'Omārah the poet. They swore allegiance to al-Jamal, on the condition that he should put an end to the supremacy of the Imāmites. Al-Mufaḍdal hastening back besieged them, and the Banu Khaulān came to the assistance of the rebels. Al-Mufaḍḍal adopted a conciliatory and temporizing policy towards the Khaulānites, but perished in the course of the siege, in A.H. 504.

The Lady Sayyidah thereupon came to the spot and prevailed upon the Khaulānites to enter into an alliance, the terms of which she faithfully
111 observed. She constituted herself guardian of the family and son of al-Mufaḍḍal. The castle of Ta'kar passed into the hands of 'Imrān ibn az-Zarr the Khaulānite and of his brother Suleymān, and 'Imrān acquired the influence formerly exercised by al-Mufaḍḍal over the Lady Sayyidah. At her death, he and his brother remained sole masters of the castle of Ta'kar.

* 'Omārah speaks of Abu 'l-Barakāt as a Ḥimyarite.

Manṣūr, the son of al-Mufaḍḍal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt, became possessed of Dhu Jiblah, and held the fortress until he sold it to the Zuray'ite Dā'y, the ruler of Aden, as will hereafter be related. He established his residence in the stronghold of Ashyaḥ, which had formerly belonged to the Dā'y al-Manṣūr Sabā son of Aḥmad.

Al-Manṣūr Sabā had died in A.H. 486 (read 492), after which discord arose among his children. His son 'Aly succeeded in gaining possession of the castle of Ashyaḥ. He gave annoyance to al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt and to the Lady Sayyidah, and they felt themselves helpless against him, until al-Mufaḍḍal at length contrived, by means of poison concealed in a quince, to bring about the death of his enemy.

The family of Abu 'l-Barakāt possessed itself of the fortresses of the Banu Muẓaffar, and al-Mufaḍḍal died soon afterwards, as has been related. Sayyidah undertook the guardianship of his son Manṣūr, who did not hold independent authority. But upon his advancing in years, he became possessed of the dominion held by his father over the fortress of Ta'kar and its castles, over Dhu Jiblah and its fortresses, and of that formerly exercised by the Banu Muẓaffar over Ashyaḥ and its fortresses. After a time he sold the castle of Dhu Jiblah to the Zuray'ite Dā'y, the Prince of Aden, for 100,000 dinārs, and he continued to sell his fortresses, one after the other, until none remained unto him but that of Ta'izz, of which he was deprived by 'Aly son of Mahdy, after he had reigned for eighty years and had attained the age of one hundred.* And God, be He magnified and exalted, possesseth supreme knowledge of the truth.

* See Note 56, the latter part, and Note 99.

The History of the dominion, at Zabīd, of the Banu Najāḥ, freedmen of the Banu Ziyād, their early career and the vicissitudes they underwent.

'Aly aṣ-Sulayḥi, as has been related, gained possession of Zabīd from the hands of Kahlan, after having destroyed him (read Najāḥ) by poison in a.h. 452 with the assistance of the slave girl he had sent him.

112 Najāḥ had three sons, Mu'ārik, Sa'īd and Jayyāsh. Mu'ārik committed suicide, and the two remaining brother stook refuge in the Island of Dahlak, where they abode, occupying themselves in the study of the Ḳur'ān and of literature. After a time Sa'īd departed, in anger with his brother Jayyāsh, and returned to Zabīd, where he concealed himself in a cave, which he dug for himself in the ground. He then sent for his brother Jayyāsh, who joined him and they remained together in concealment.

It next happened that the Hāshimite Amīr of Mecca, Muḥammad ibn Ja'far, having renounced the supremacy of the 'Obaydite Khalīfah of Egypt al-Mustanṣir, the latter wrote to aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, commanding him to make war upon the Amīr and to compel him to maintain the Alide supremacy at Mecca. 'Aly aṣ-Ṣulayḥi accordingly marched from Ṣan'ā, and thereupon Sa'īd and his brother issued forth from their hiding-place. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi obtaining intelligence thereof, despatched against them a force of about five thousand horsemen,* with orders to put the two brothers to death. But Sa'īd and Jayyāsh avoided the troops and went in pursuit of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi and his army. They made a night attack upon him at al-Mahjam, which he had reached on his way to Mecca. He had with him five thousand Abyssinians†

* Read Abyssinians. See *supra*, p. 83.

† See *supra*, p. 30.

who, however, made no attempt to defend him. His troops were scattered and as-Ṣulayḥi was killed, falling, it is said, at the hands of Jayyāsh. This occurred in the year 473. ‘Abd Allah as-Ṣulayḥi brother of ‘Aly, was likewise killed, as well as one hundred and seventy men of the family of Ṣulayḥi, and ‘Aly's wife Asmā, daughter of his uncle Shihāb, was captured together with thirty-five Ḳaḥṭānite kings, who had been deprived of their dominion in Yaman. Sa‘īd sent to the troops that had been despatched against himself and against his brother, granted them an amnesty and took them into his own service. He then marched upon Zabīd, which was ruled by As‘ad ibn Shihāb the brother of Asmā, wife of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi. As‘ad fled to Ṣan‘ā, and Sa‘īd made his entrance into Zabīd with Asmā, the wife of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, borne in front of him in a litter, close to which were carried the heads of ‘Aly and of his brother. He placed Asmā in the palace of Zabīd, and set up the two heads opposite the casement of her apartment. The hearts of the people were filled with dread, and Sa‘īd assumed the title of *Naṣīr ad-*
.3 *Daulah* (Defender of the State).

The commanders of the fortresses made themselves masters of the places that had been entrusted to them. At Ṣan‘ā, al-Mukarram son of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, was thrown into a state of stupor and all but utter helplessness.

His mother Asmā wrote to him from Zabīd, stimulating and inciting him: "I am great with child," she wrote, "by Sa‘īd. Come therefore unto me, before disgrace light upon thee and upon the whole Arab nation." Al-Mukarram thereupon contrived to instigate Sa‘īd son of Najāḥ into an attack upon Ṣan‘ā, employing as his medium one of the commanders on the frontier, and flattering Sa‘īd with promises of victory.[109]

Sa‘īd consequently advanced at the head of

twenty thousand Abyssinians. Al-Mukarram issued forth from Ṣan'ā, and put the enemy to flight. He turned their position so as to intercept the road to Zabīd, and Sa'īd fled to the Island of Dahlak.

Al-Mukarram entered Zabīd and proceeded to his mother, whom he found seated at the casement near which were exposed the heads of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi and of his brother. He took them down and buried them. And he appointed over Zabīd his maternal uncle As'ad in the year 497 (read 475). He then departed for Ṣan'ā, but Sa'īd subsequently returned to Zabīd in A.H. 479.

Al-Mukarram wrote to Abu 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'fur (read Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn), Lord of the fortress of Sha'ir, desiring him to incite Sa'īd against himself, to urge upon him the capture of Dhu Jiblah and to represent, as the motive of his action, that al-Mukarram was absorbed in the pursuit of pleasure, that he lived in a state of subjection to his wife Sayyidah daughter of Aḥmad, and that he was afflicted with paralysis. The artifice was crowned with success. Sa'īd came forth at the head of thirty thousand Abyssinians, and al-Mukarram prepared an ambush for him below the castle of Sha'ir. Sa'īd fell a victim to treachery. His troops were routed and he himself killed. His head was put up at Zabīd on the spot, close to the casement, where the head of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi was formerly exposed. Al-Mukarram became master of the city of Zabīd, and its subjection to the Abyssinians ceased. Jayyāsh fled accompanied by his brother's wazīr Khalf son of Abu Ṭāhir the Marwānite. They entered Aden in disguise and thence they proceeded to India, where they remained for six months. They met in that country a diviner, who came from (the island of) Sarandīb and who cheered them with happy predictions concerning their future fortunes. They returned to Yaman

and the wazīr Khalf proceeded in advance to Zabīd, where he spread a report of the death of Jayyāsh, and obtained an amnesty for himself. Jayyāsh also came to Zabīd, but remained in concealment.

The Governor of Zabīd at that time was As'ad ibn Shihāb, the maternal uncle of al-Mukarram,
14 and along with him 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm, wazīr of al-Mukarram. This man entertained feelings of intense hatred against al-Mukarram and his dynasty. The wazīr Khalf contrived to win his confidence and played chess with Ḥusayn the son of 'Aly. After a time he played with the father. He won his favour and then revealed to him the plans he had conceived touching the government, informing him that he was an adherent of the family of Najāḥ. Whilst playing, Khalf was one day speaking in a manner calculated to stimulate the dislike of his hosts to the Sulayhites,* when 'Aly ibn al-Ḳumm overheard him. 'Aly questioned him and Khalf revealed his purpose, swearing him to secrecy. During that time Jayyāsh was collecting his Abyssinian followers and spending money upon them, until they gathered to the number of five thousand men. He then suddenly, in the year 482, rose in insurrection at Zabīd. He seized the Government House, but treated As'ad ibn Shihāb with kindness, in consideration of the infirmities with which he was afflicted, and set him at liberty. Jayyāsh became King of Zabīd and of Tihāmah and instituted the Khutbah in the name of the 'Abbasides, whilst the Sulayhites recited it in the name of the 'Obaydites. Al-Mukarram unceasingly sent the Arabs on predatory expeditions against Zabīd, until Jayyāsh died at the commencement (read at the end) of the fifth century. He bore the surname

* I have read انتمّ instead of انتمى, but Ibn Khaldūn's story, it will be observed, is not perfectly clear, nor is it consistent with 'Omārah's narrative.

of Abu 't-Ṭāmi (the Exalted), and was celebrated for his justice.

He was succeeded by his son al-Fātik, who, however, was opposed by his two brothers, Ibrahīm and 'Abd al-Wāḥid. A struggle took place between him and his two brothers, in which he eventually triumphed. He perished in the year 503.

His slaves raised to the throne his son Manṣūr ibn Fātik, a boy below the age of puberty, and they conducted the affairs of his kingdom; but the Prince's uncle Ibrahīm came forth to attack him, and the slaves prepared troops to defend their own and the young Prince's authority. His other uncle 'Abd al-Wāḥid thereupon rose in the city. Manṣūr sent to al-Mufaḍḍal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt Prince of Ta'kar, who came professedly to his assistance, but concealing treacherous designs. He heard that the people of Ta'kar had revolted against him, and turned back.

Manṣūr remained king of Zabīd until one of his slaves, Abu Manṣūr Mann Allah, was appointed his wazīr and poisoned him, in the year 517.

Mann Allah raised to the throne the Prince's son Fātik, a young child, in whose name he governed the kingdom. The wazīr was accused of attempting the honour of the women of the family of Najaḥ, so that even the mother of the infant king Fātik fled from him, and took up her residence outside the city. Mann Allah was enterprising and brave, and he is celebrated for his wars with the enemy. He was
115 attacked by Ibn Najīb (ad-Daulah), the Dā'y of the Alides, against whom he successfully defended himself. It is he who erected stately colleges at Zabīd for the study of Jurisprudence. He also applied himself to the protection of the pilgrims and it was he that built the walls of the city. But after a time he addressed solicitations to the daughter of Mu'ārik son of Jayyāsh. Perceiving no means of escape

from him, she consented, but having surrendered herself to him, she brought about his death by means of a cloth saturated with poison, which caused his flesh to waste away. This occurred in the year 524. He was succeeded in the guardianship of the young Prince, by Zurayḳ (or Ruzayḳ), a freedman of the family of Najāḥ.

'Omārah says of Zurayḳ that he was a sagacious man, remarkable for his bravery and fitness to command, and father of many children. After a time he became enfeebled, but no one succeeded to a firm hold of his office until the appointment, as wazīr, of Surūr the Abyssinian, who was surnamed al-Fātiki, and who was one of the freedmen in the personal service of the mother of Fātik.

According to 'Omārah, Fātik son of Manṣūr died in A.H. 531. He was succeeded by the son of his paternal uncle, Fātik son of Muḥammad son of Fātik, with Surūr as his wazīr, the conductor of the affairs of the realm and of the wars with his enemies. Surūr was a constant attendant at the Mosque, where he was at length slain by an assassin, whom 'Aly ibn Mahdy the Khārijite employed for the purpose, and who killed him whilst he was engaged in the afternoon prayer on Friday, 12th Ṣafar, 551. The people rose to attack the impious murderer. He killed several attendants of the mosque, but was overpowered and slain. The freedmen of the family of Najāḥ were thrown into a state of consternation. They were attacked by 'Aly ibn Mahdy the Khārijite, who fought many battles with them and besieged them for a long period of time. They besought assistance of the Sharīf al-Manṣūr Aḥmad ibn Ḥamzah the Suleymānite, who ruled over Ṣa'dah.* He consented to help them, on condition of their raising him to the throne after killing their master Fātik ibn Muḥammad. They agreed to his

* See Note 130.

conditions. The Prince was slain in A.H. 553 and the Sharīf Aḥmad was proclaimed King. But he was unable to withstand ibn Mahdy and fled under cover of night. ‘Aly ibn Mahdy possessed himself of the city in 554, and the dynasty of Najāḥ came to an end. Perpetuity belongeth unto God !

116 Abu l'-Jaysh ibn Ziyād.

Rashīd the Abyssinian, his freedman.

Ḥasan (read Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah the Nubian, his freedman.

Marjān, his freedman.

I. Najāḥ, his freedman.

II. Sa‘īd. — III. Jayyāsh.

(sons of III. Jayyāsh:) ‘Abd al-Wāḥid. — Ibrahīm. — IV. Fātik. — Mu‘ārik.

(sons of IV. Fātik:) Muḥammad. — V. Manṣūr.

Muḥammad → VII. Fātik.

V. Manṣūr → VI. Fātik.

The History of the Dynasty of the Banu Zuray‘ at Aden, Dā‘ys of the ‘Obaydites in Yaman, of its Rise and Progress.

Aden is one of the strongest cities of Yaman. It is situated on the shores of the Indian Ocean, and has ever been a city of trade since the days of the Tubbas. Most of its inhabitants' houses are constructed of reeds, and in consequence thereof fires frequently break out at night.

In the early years of Islām it was the seat of government of the Banu Ma‘n, who according to

al-Bayhaḳi claim to be descended from Ma'n ibn Zā'idah, and who possessed themselves of the city in the days of al-Ma'mūn.[110] They refused submission to the Banu Ziyād, who were obliged to content themselves with having the Khutbah and coinage in their names.

When the Dā'y 'Aly ibn Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣulayḥi conquered Yaman, he maintained in favour of the Banu Ma'n the protection due to them as Arabs, and imposed upon them the payment of a fixed tribute. But his son Aḥmad al-Mukarram expelled the Banu Ma'n from the city and appointed over it
7 the Banu 'l-Karam, a family belonging to his tribe, that of Jusham ibn Yām, a subdivision of the Banu Hamdān. That family was the most nearly related to him in the tribe. The province remained under their rule for a time, but discord arose among them and they became divided into two parties, the family of Mas'ūd son of al-Karam, and the descendants of Zuray' son of al-'Abbās son of al-Karam. The latter after severe fighting prevailed over their opponents.

Ibn Sa'īd says that the member of the dynasty who first attained celebrity, was the Dā'y Saba son of Abu Su'ūd son of az-Zuray'. He was the first to exercise undivided power over the State, after the disappearance of the Sulayhite supremacy, and his children inherited the throne. Saba was attacked by the son of his uncle, 'Aly son of Abu 'l Gharāt son of Mas'ūd son of al-Karam, lord of Za'āzi'. He (Saba) wrested Aden from his ('Aly's) hands, after the infliction of much suffering and at the cost of a heavy expenditure of money on the desert Arabs. He died in A.H. 533, seven months after the capture of the city. He was succeeded by his son al-A'azz, whose place of abode was the castle of ad-Dumlūwah, the fortress, which (by reason of its great strength) no enemy ever desires to

attack.[111] Bilāl ibn Jarīr, a freedman of the Banu Zuray', opposed al-A'azz at Aden and desired to transfer the authority exercised over the city by the retainers of the Prince, to Muḥammad son of Sabā son of Abu Su'ūd son of Zuray'. Muḥammad ibn Sabā, in fear for his own safety, fled to Dhu Jiblah and placed himself under the protection of Manṣūr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal, the Sulayhite King of the Highlands of Yaman.

Al-A'azz died shortly after, and Bilāl sent for Muḥammad ibn Sabā, who thereupon came to Aden. A deed of investure had come from Egypt in the name of al-A'azz. The name of Muḥammad ibn Saba was substituted for that of his predecessor. Among the titles of honour which the charter conferred were those of *the Great, the Crowned, the Mighty Dā'y, the Sword of the Prince of the Faithful*, all which were assumed by Muḥammad. Bilāl gave him his daughter in marriage and placed at his disposal the wealth he had accumulated in his treasury. After a time Bilāl died leaving immense riches, which were inherited by Muḥammad ibn Sabā and which he devoted to great and benevolent objects. He purchased the fortress of Dhu Jiblah, the residence of the Sulayhite kings, from Manṣūr ibn al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, as we have already mentioned, and he married Sayyidah (read Arwa) the daughter of ('Aly son of ?) 'Abd Allah the Sulayhite. Muḥammad died in A.H. 548 and was succeeded by his son 'Imrān son of Muḥammad son of Sabā. The affairs of his government were conducted by Yāsir son of Bilāl, and 'Imrān died in
118 A.H. 560, leaving two infant sons, Muḥammad and Abu Su'ūd. Yāsir confined them to the palace, and exercised supreme power over the State.

He was greatly eulogized and was liberal in his rewards to the poets. Among those who came to his court and wrote in his praise, was Ibn Ḳalāḳis

the poet of Alexandria. The following line is from an ode he wrote in praise of Yāsir :—

Abandon thy home if thou desirest greatness—The crescent, having travelled, becomes a full moon.[112]

Yāsir was the last sovereign of the Zuray'ite dynasty. When Shams ad-Daulah Sayf al-Islām (read Turān Shah), brother of Saladin, invaded and conquered Yaman in A.H. 666 (read 569) he came to Aden, took possession of the city and laid hands upon Yāsir ibn Bilāl. The dynasty of the Zuray'ites came to an end, and Yaman became subject to the Ghuzz (Turks, Kurds, Circassians, etc.), and to their chiefs, of the dynasty of Ayyūb, as we will relate in their history. The city of al-Juwwah, near Aden, was founded by the Zuray'ite kings. The Ayyubite princes, when they became supreme, forsook that city and established their residence at Ta'izz in the mountains, as will hereafter be set forth.[113]

The History of Ibn Mahdy the Khārijite and of his sons, their Rule in Yaman, its Rise and its Fall.

This man was a native of al-'Anbarah on the borders of the sea near Zabīd. His name was 'Aly ibn Mahdy, the Ḥimyarite. His father Mahdy was noted for his virtue and piety. 'Aly was brought up in the religious opinions of his father, and he lived in retirement, devoting himself to a religious life. After a time he went on the pilgrimage. He met and became acquainted with certain doctors of 'Irāḳ, and he learnt from their preachers the art of warning and exhorting the people. He returned to Yaman, where he withdrew himself from society

and occupied himself in preaching. He was an eloquent expounder of the Kur'ān, and he foretold events about to occur in his career. His predictions were followed by their fulfilment. The people listened to him with favour and he acquired popularity.

From the year 561 he travelled to and fro on the pilgrimage, preaching to the people in the deserts. At the season of the *Mausim* he attended it mounted on a dromedary he possessed. When the mother of Fātik gained paramount influence over the Banu Jayyāsh, in the days of her son Fātik son of Manṣūr, she became a firm believer in him, and she released him, his kindred and the families with which he was allied by marriage, from payment of the imposts on their lands. They prospered and were held in honour, they made use of riding horses, and the
119 party they formed became powerful. It became 'Aly's habit to say in the course of his sermons, that the time was near, meaning thereby the time of his manifestation, a thing that was widely spoken of throughout the country. The mother of Fātik, until she died in A.H. 545, restrained the state officials from molesting him.

The people of the highlands had induced Ibn Mahdy to bind himself by oath to support them, and in 538 he came forth from (into?) Tihāmah and reached al-Kadrā; but he was defeated and returned to the mountains, where he remained until 541. After that, the Lady the mother of Fātik restored him to his home, and she died in 545. Thereupon he departed and joined the Banu Khaulān, taking up his abode with one of their tribes known by the name of Ḥaywan (Ḥaydān?), the owners of a fortress named ash-Sharaf. The ascent to the castle is of exceeding difficulty and extends a distance of a day's journey from the foot of the mountain, over a painfully laborious road, and through a narrow and

steep pass. ‘Aly Mahdy gave these people the designation of *Anṣār*, and upon his companions, who had accompanied him from Tihāmah, he bestowed the name *al-Muhājirūn*. He appointed a chief over the *Anṣār*, of the name of Sabā, and another over the Muhājirūn to whom he gave the title of Sheykh al-Islām, and whose name was an-Nūbah. With the exception of these two men, ‘Aly Mahdy allowed no one to penetrate into his presence.

He now despatched depredating parties into the province of Tihāmah, and his success was promoted by the deserted condition of the country adjoining Zabīd. He stopped the traffic on the public roads, spread ruin throughout the district, and he penetrated to the castle of ad-Dāthir (read Dāshir), half a stage from Zabīd. He plotted the assassination of the Regent Surūr and succeeded in his design, as has already been related. He now began to harass the city with repeated attacks. ‘Omārah says that he attacked it on seventy occasions and besieged it for a long period of time. At length the citizens besought assistance of the Sharīf Aḥmad ibn Ḥamzah, the Suleymānite Prince of Ṣa‘dah. He gave them aid, but stipulated that they should slay their master Fātik son of Muḥammad, and they accordingly killed him in the year 553. The Sharīf was proclaimed sovereign, but was unable to withstand his enemies and took to flight. Thereupon ‘Aly Mahdy seized the city in Rajab 554, but he died three months after his conquest.

He had assumed in the Khuṭbah the titles of *the Imām, the Mahdy, Prince of the Faithful, Subjugator of infidels and of the wicked.* He followed the doctrines of the Khārijites, denying the authority both of ‘Aly and of ‘Othmān, and treated sin as infidelity. He established rules and laws for his sect, which it would be tedious to describe. He

punished the use of wine with death. According to 'Omārah, the penalty of death was likewise inflicted upon any Muslim, of whatever sect, who opposed him, and the wives and children of the condemned were reduced to slavery. His people believed him to be under Divine protection. Their property was in his hands. He supplied their wants and they possessed nothing, neither money, nor horses, nor weapons. He slew any one of his followers who fled from the field of battle. The fornicator, the drinker of wine, the listener to songs, were put to death, and death also was the punishment of any person who absented himself from the Friday prayers, or from the sermon he delivered on Mondays and Thursdays. In matters of Jurisprudence he was a Ḥanafite.

'Aly ibn Mahdy was succeeded by his son 'Abd an-Naby. The latter's brother 'Abd Allah rebelled against him and obtained possession of Zabīd, where the Khuṭbah, in which he received the title of Imām, was recited in his name. But 'Abd an-Naby succeeded after a time in overcoming him. He expelled him from the city, and made himself master of the whole of Yaman. There were at that time twenty-five separate governments in the country, all of which he conquered. Aden alone remained unconquered, and 'Abd an-Naby subjected it solely to the payment of tribute.

When Shams ad-Daulah Turān Shah ibn Ayyūb, brother of Saladin, invaded the country in A.H. 566 (read 569) and overthrew the government of Yaman, he seized 'Abd an-Naby, extorted from him such information as he required, and took from him a great amount of riches. He carried him to Aden, which he captured. Then he went to Zabīd and made it the seat of government. Conceiving ere long an unfavourable opinion of its salubrity, he made a journey to the mountains, accompanied by

his physicians, for the purpose of selecting a spot with a healthy atmosphere and wholesome water, in which to establish his place of residence. Their choice fell upon the site of Ta'izz, where Turān Shah founded the city, which became the seat of government to himself, to his descendants (read to his successors of the Ayyubite family), and to their freedmen, the Banu Rasūl (who followed the Ayyubites), as we will relate in their history.

With the fall of the Banu Mahdy, Arab sovereignty came to an end in Yaman, and supreme rule was thenceforth held by the Ghuzz and by their freedmen.

The Provinces and Cities of Yaman.

We will now proceed to give a brief historical sketch of the capitals and cities of Yaman, one by one, as supplied by Ibn Sa'īd.

Yaman forms part of the Arabian Peninsula and comprises seven royal seats of government. It is divided into two parts. Tihāmah and al-Jibāl (the highlands). Tihāmah consists of two kingdoms, that of Zabīd and that of Aden. The name Tihāmah denotes the low country of Yaman adjoining the sea-coast and extending from as-Sirrayn on the borders of Hijāz, to the extremity of the province of Aden, round by the Indian Ocean. Ibn Sa'īd states that the Arabian Peninsula is situated in the First Climate and that it is bounded by the Indian Ocean on the south, by the Sea of Suez on the west, and by the Persian Sea on the east. Yaman belonged in ancient days to the Tabābi'ah (the Tubbas). It is a more productive country than the Ḥijāz. Most of its inhabitants are descendants of Ḳaḥṭān, but it contains also people of the tribe of

'Anz son of Wā'il.[114] It is ruled at the present day by the Banu Rasūl, clients of the Banu Ayyūb, and their capital is Ta'izz, which succeeded al-Jawwah, where the Rasūlites at first took up their abode. The Imām of the Zaydites resides at Ṣa'dah in Yaman.

Zabīd (named after its capital) is one of the kingdoms of Yaman. On its north is Ḥijāz, on the south the Indian Ocean, and on the west the Sea of Suez. The city was founded by Muḥammad ibn Ziyād in the days of al-Ma'mūn, A.H. 204. It is enclosed in walls, and a stream of running water penetrates into the city, introduced by its kings. Close to it are low-lying grounds planted with palm trees, a spot resorted to during the dry season.* Zabīd is now part of the kingdom of the Banu Rasūl. It was formerly the seat of government of the Banu Ziyād and of their freedmen, and it was conquered by the Banu Ṣulayḥi, whose history has been related.

'Aththar, Ḥaly and ash-Sharjah are provinces
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made a journey to ment and others by Ibn Khaldūn to the

Ghānim) ibn Yaḥya belonged to that family, and he paid tribute to the Prince of Zabīd. It was from him that Mufliḥ the freedman of Fātik sought assistance against Surūr. Ghānim was succeeded by ‘Isa the son of Ḥamzah, who was one of the sons of Ghānim. When the Ghuzz conquered Yaman, Yaḥya the brother of ‘Isa was taken prisoner and carried to ‘Irāḳ. ‘Isa contrived to obtain his brother's release, and Yaḥya returned to Yaman, where he slew his brother and became ruler of the principality.

Al-Mahjam is one of the provinces of Zabīd, at a distance of three days' journey from that city. The Arabs who inhabit it belong to the tribes of Ḥakam and Ja‘far (read Ju‘fi ?), two sub-divisions of the tribe of Sa‘d al-‘Ashīrah. Ginger is exported from that province.

As-Sirrayn is the furthermost place of the Tihāmah of Yaman. It is on the borders of the sea, unwalled, and its houses are built of reeds. It was conquered about A.H. 650 by Rājih son of Ḳatādah, Sulṭān of Mecca, and he possessed a castle at half a day's journey from the town.

Az-Zarā'ib is one of the provinces north of Zabīd. It belonged to Ibn Ṭarf. He was supported in that district by twenty thousand Abyssinians. When the Dā‘y aṣ-Ṣulayḥi arose, he attacked Ibn Ṭarf at az-Zarā'ib, with about three thousand men, put him to flight and killed all the Abyssinians that were with him.

Ibn Sa‘īd says, speaking of the provinces of Zabīd and of those that border on the middle road between the sea and the mountains, that az-Zarā'ib stands on the Zabīd road, north of that city, and that the road is the great highway to Mecca. ‘Omārah says that it is the royal highway, that it is distant a day's journey, or less, from the sea and at the same distance from the mountains, and that the

two roads, the middle one and that running along the sea-shore, join and diverge at as-Sirrayn.

123 Aden is one of the kingdoms of Yaman, south of Zabīd. The city is the seat of government, and it is situated on the shores of the Indian Ocean. It has been a place of trade since the days of the Tubbas. It is thirteen degrees distant from the equator. Its soil produces neither crops nor trees, and the food of its inhabitants consists of fish. It is the port of embarkation for India from Yaman. It was at first ruled by the descendants of Ma'n son of Zā'idah, who resisted the authority of the Banu Ziyād, but paid them tribute. When the Sulayḥites became supreme over the country, the Dā'y 'Aly confirmed the Banu Ma'n in their government. But his son Aḥmad al-Mukarram afterwards ejected them, and appointed over the country the Banu al-Karam, of the sub-tribe of Jusham son of Yām, his kinsmen, and like himself, descendants of Hamdān. The Banu Zuray', a family of the Banu Karam, became possessed of exclusive power, and they inherited the office of Dā'y held by the Sulayḥites, as well as their sovereignty, all which has already been related. 'Aly ibn Mahdy was not able to subdue the Zuray'ites, and he was obliged to content himself with the tribute they paid him, until they were conquered by Shams ad-Daulah Turān Shāh son of Ayyūb, as hereinbefore mentioned.

Aden-Abyan is a well-built city in the neighbourhood of ash-Shiḥr.*

Az-Za'āzi' stands in the valleys of Aden, and belonged to the Banu Mas'ūd ibn al-Karam, the rivals of the Banu Zuray'.

Al-Jawwah was built by the Zuray'ite kings in the neighbourhood of Aden. The Ayyubites made it their place of residence, but afterwards they removed to Ta'izz.

* See Note 11.

The Castle of Dhu Jiblah is one of the fortresses of the Mikhlāf of Ja'far. It was built by 'Abd Allah the Ṣulayḥite, brother of the Dā'y ('Aly), in A.H. 458. 'Aly's son al-Mukarram removed thither from the castle of Ṣan'ā together with his wife Sayyidah daughter of Aḥmad, who gained absolute control over her husband. It was she who completed the castle to its full height, in the year 480.

Al-Mukarram, before his death, had committed supreme authority, that of King and of Dā'y, to Sabā son of Aḥmad son of al-Muẓaffar the Ṣulayḥite, who occupied the castle of Ashyaḥ. Sayyidah relied for support upon the chief of the Banu Janb, a people who, in pre-Islamitic days, were of small repute, but who gained a conspicuous position in the province of Ja'far. After a time Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah came from Egypt as Dā'y. He abode in the city of Janad and obtained support from the tribe of Hamdān. Sayyidah fought against him, aided by the Banu Janb and Khaulān, until he embarked at sea and was drowned. After the death of her husband al-Mukarram, her affairs were directed by al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, who established his influence over her.

At-Ta'kar, in Mikhlāf Ja'far, belonged to the Banu Ṣulayḥi and subsequently to Sayyidah. Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt having asked for it, she delivered the place to him and he dwelt therein, until he went forth and besieged the Banu Najāḥ at Zabīd. His absence prolonged itself, and certain faḳīhs (Jurists) revolted at Ta'kar, killed al-Mufaḍ-ḍal's deputy and proclaimed Ibrahīm ibn Zaydān, one of their number, who was uncle of 'Omārah the poet. They asked assistance of the Banu Khaulān, and al-Mufaḍḍal thereupon returned and besieged them, as we have already related.

The Fortress of Khudad (Khadid) belonged to 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la the Ṣulayḥite, and is situated

in the Mikhlāf (province) of Ja'far. Al-Mufaḍḍal had introduced into the fortresses of the province, a large number of Khaulānites belonging to the tribes of Baḥr, Munabbiḥ, Rizāḥ (Rāziḥ?) and Sha'b (Sha'b-Ḥay). When al-Mufaḍḍal died, the Khaulānites seized the fortress of Ta'kar, but Dhu Jiblah continued in the possession of Manṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal, under the guardianship of Sayyidah, as already related. Muslim ibn az-Zarr the Khaulānite suddenly arose and captured the fortress of Khudad from 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la the Ṣulayḥite. 'Abd Allah fled to the fortress of Maṣdūd and Sayyidah appointed Muslim ibn az-Zarr successor to al-Mufaḍḍal. She acted with scrupulous good faith towards him and towards his two brothers (read sons) 'Imrān and Suleymān. He died and his son Suleymān succeeded him in the joint possession, along with Sayyidah, of the fortress of Khudad, replacing his brother (read his father) Muslim. She married him to the daughter of the Ḳā'id Fatḥ, governor on her behalf of the fortress of Ta'kar, of which Suleymān contrived by treachery to dispossess him. The Khaulānites extended their hands (oppressively) over the people, and Sayyidah sought assistance against the two brothers from the Banu Janb. 'Imrān and Suleymān were the Queen's advisers, and it was they who by her orders expelled the Dā'y Najīb ad-Daulah from the city of Janad and from Yaman.

The Fortress of Maṣdūd is one of the (great) fortresses of the province of Ja'far, which are five
125 (*sic*) in number, namely, Dhu Jiblah, at-Ta'kar and Khudad. When the Banu Khaulān wrested Khudad from the hands of 'Abd Allah ibn Ya'la the Ṣulayḥite, he took refuge, as we have mentioned, in the fortress of Maṣdūd. The Khaulānites took it from him likewise, but they were dispossessed by Zakarīya ibn Shakīr the Baḥrite.

The Banu Kurandi, descendants of Ḥimyar, were Kings in Yaman before the days of the Sulayḥites, and were dispossessed by the latter. They owned the province of Ja‘far and its fortresses, the province of Ma‘āfir, that of Janad, of Ḥaḍ,* and the fortress of Samadān.

The fortress of Maṣdūd was afterwards held by Manṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt, who sold it to the Banu Zuray‘, as already mentioned.

Ṣan‘ā was the capital of the dynasty of the Tubbas before the days of Islām, and was the first city built in Yaman. It is said to have been built by ‘Ād, and it was called Uwāl (or Uwwāl), signifying primacy, in the dialect of the country.[115] Ḳaṣr Ghumdān, in its neighbourhood, was one of the seven temples. It was built by aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk and dedicated to Zuhraḥ.† It was an object of pilgrimage, and was destroyed by ‘Othmān (the third Khalīfah). Ṣan‘ā is the most celebrated city of Yaman. It possesses, it is said, a temperate climate. At the commencement of the fourth century, it was subject to the Banu Ya‘fur, a family dating from the days (descendants ?) of the Tubbas, but they resided at Kaḥlān, and Ṣan‘ā did not acquire celebrity as a royal seat (at that period), until it became the residence of the Banu Ṣulayḥi. It was conquered by the Zaydites and then by the Suleymānites, after it had been held by the Ṣulayḥites.

The Castle of Kaḥlān is one of the dependencies of Ṣan‘ā, and it belonged to the Banu Ya‘fur, a family (descendants ?) of the Tubbas.‡ It was built near

* The name Ḥaḍ حَضْ is not in the printed edition. It looks, I think, like a copyist's error for حصن.

† Commonly regarded as the Arabian Venus.

‡ Dr. Glaser marks upon his map a place *Kohlān*, about ten miles N.E. of Ḥajjah, a position which does not correspond with that mentioned in our text. But Ibn Khaldūn's statements must not unfrequently be received with caution. See Note 8, footnote.

Ṣan'ā by Ibrahīm (son of Muḥammad son of Ya'fur), who possessed Ṣa'dah, Ṣan'ā, Najrān and other places in the highlands of Yaman. The Banu 'r-Rassy, the Zaydite Imāms, made war upon the Banu Ya'fur and conquered Ṣa'dah and Najrān. The Banu Ya'fur had recourse, for protection against their enemies, to the walls of the castle of Kaḥlān. Al-Bayhaḳi says that the castle was strengthened by As'ad ibn Ya'fur and that he fought against the Banu 'r-Rassy and against the Banu Ziyād in the days of Abu 'l-Jaysh Isḥāḳ.

The Fortress of as-Samadān is also a dependency of Ṣan'ā. It contained the treasury of the Banu 'l-Kurandi the Ḥimyarites, until the fortress was taken by 'Aly aṣ-Ṣulayḥi. Al-Mukarram restored
126 to them some of their fortresses, which they held until they were deprived of power by 'Aly ibn Mahdy. They possessed the province of Ja'far, in which the city of Dhu Jiblah and the fortress of at-Ta'kar are situated. The Mikhlāf Ja'far consists of the provinces of Janad and of Ma'āfir. The seat of government of the Banu Kurandi was Samadān, a fortress stronger than Dumlūwah.

The Castle of Minhāb is one of the castles dependent upon Ṣan'ā, situated in the highlands. It was taken by the Banu Zuray' and was appropriated by a member of that family, al-Mufaḍḍal, son of 'Aly son of Rāḍi son of the Dā'y Muḥammad son of Sabā son of Zuray'. The author of the *Kharīdah*[116] gives him the title of Sulṭān. He further mentions that al-Mufaḍḍal was owner of the castle of Minhāb and that he was alive in the year 586. After his death the castle passed into the possession of his brother al-A'azz ibn 'Aly.

Mount al-Mudhaykhirah is near Ṣan'ā. The province of Ja'far was founded by Ja'far, freedman of Ibn Ziyād Sulṭān of Yaman, and was named after him.

'Aden-Lā'ah is close to al-Mudhaykhirah.* It is the place in which the Shī'ah doctrines were first openly preached in Yaman. The Dā'y Muḥammad (read 'Aly) ibn al-Faḍl was a native of 'Aden-Lā'ah, and it was to that place that Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shīya'i, the Ismailite missionary to North Africa, came. It was there also that 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Ṣulayḥite studied in the days of his youth. 'Aden-Lā'ah was the chief centre for the propagation of the Ismailite doctrines in Yaman. Muḥammad ('Aly) ibn al-Faḍl was the Dā'y in the days of Abu 'l-Jaysh ibn Ziyād and of As'ad ibn Ya'fur.

Bayḥān is mentioned by 'Omārah among other districts in the mountains.† It was possessed by Nashwān ibn Sa'īd the Ḳaḥṭānite (and Ḥimyarite).

Ta'izz is one of the greatest of the mountain fortresses that overlook Tihāmah. It has always been one of the royal strongholds. It is now the seat of the Rasūlite dynasty, and it is regarded as one of the chief cities of their kingdom. Among other Yamanite kings by whom it was inhabited, was Manṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal son of Abu 'l-Barakāt, of the family of the Ṣulayḥites (read the Ḥimyarite). His father was (became) possessed of Ashyaḥ and made himself master of the fortresses owned by the Banu Abi 'l-Baraḳāt and by the Banu 'l-Muẓaffar. His son Manṣūr inherited them, but sold them one
7 after the other to the Dā'y the son of al-Muẓaffar and to the Zuray'ite Dā'y (read, sold them to the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Sabā the Zuray'ite), until none remained to him but Ta'izz, of which he was deprived by Ibn Mahdy.

The Fortress of Ashyaḥ is one of the greatest of the mountain strongholds, and it contained the treasures of the Banu Muẓaffar. It was owned by the Dā'y al-Manṣūr Abu Ḥimyar Sabā son of Aḥmad son of al-Muẓaffar the Ṣulayḥite, to whom it was

* See Notes 10 and 11. † See Note 9.

bequeathed by the son of his paternal uncle al-Mukarram, Lord of Dhu Jiblah. (The Egyptian Khalīfah) al-Mustanṣir appointed him supreme Dā'y, and he died in A.H. 486 (read 492). His son 'Aly gained possession of the royal fortress of Ashyaḥ. Al-Mufaḍḍal was unable to prevail against him, but eventually contrived an artifice whereby he brought about his rival's death by poison, and the fortresses of the Banu Muẓaffar passed into the possession of the family of Abu 'l-Barakāt. Al-Mufaḍḍal died and was succeeded by his son Manṣūr. The latter after a time disdained the kingdom bequeathed to him by his father and sold all its fortresses. He parted with Dhu Jiblah to the Zuray'ite Dā'y, Prince of Aden, for one hundred thousand dinārs. He sold also the fortress of Ṣabir, after having sworn the oath of divorce that he would not do so. His wife was consequently divorced from him and was taken in marriage by the Zuray'ite. Manṣūr enjoyed a long life. He succeeded to the throne at the age of twenty and reigned for eighty (thirty ?) years.* The fortress of Ta'izz was taken from him by 'Aly ibn Mahdy.

Sa'dah is a kingdom adjoining that of Ṣan'ā and situated on the east thereof. It contains three seats of government, Ṣa'dah, Jabal Ḳuṭābah † and the fortress of Thulā, besides other strongholds. The entire country is known as that of the Banu 'r-Rassy, whose history we have already related (*infra*, p. 184).

The Fortress of Thulā is the place that first witnessed the rise of al-Mūṭi, who restored to the Banu 'r-Rassy the Zaydite Imāmate, of which they had been deprived by the Banu Suleymān.‡ The adherents of the Rassites withdrew to Jabal Ḳuṭābah, and in the year 645 they swore allegiance to

* See Note 99. † See below.

‡ See Note 130.

Aḥmad al-Mūṭi. He was a Jurist and a pious man. Nūr ad-Dīn (‘Omar) ibn Rasūl besieged him in the fortress for a year. He collected troops for the purpose of (renewing?) the siege, but he died in A.H. 648 (read 647). His son al-Muẓaffar (Yūsuf) became absorbed in the siege of ad-Dumlūwah, whilst al-Mūṭi acquired great power and became possessed of the fortresses of Yaman. He marched upon Ṣa‘dah and the Suleymānites, whose Imām, as has been related in the history of the Banu Rassy,* was Aḥmad al-Mutawakkil, swore allegiance to him.

Ḳuṭābah is a lofty mountain on the east of Ṣa‘dah, upon which stands a castle and villages.[117] The Banu ’l-Hādi made it their place of refuge when the Suleymānites took Ṣa‘dah from them, and there happened that which we have related.

Ḥarāz and Masār. Ḥarāz is part of the country of the tribe of Hamdān, and it is also the name of one of their sub-tribes, to which aṣ-Ṣulayḥi belonged,[118] whilst the fortress of Masār, in the district of Ḥarāz, is the place where he first manifested himself. Al-Bayhaḳi says (of the Banu Hamdān) that their country is in the eastern (read western) portion of the highlands of Yaman.† They became dispersed after the appearance of Islām, and there are now no wandering communities of the Banu Hamdān elsewhere but in Yaman. They are the greatest tribe of Yaman. It was with their support that al-Mūṭi rose to eminence. They became masters of several fortresses in the highlands, where they possess the districts of the Banu Bakīl and Banu Ḥāshid, the two sons of Jusham, son of Ḥabwān (read Khaywān) son of Nauf son of Hamdān. Ibn Ḥazm ‡ says that the sub-tribes of Hamdān branch forth from Bakīl and Ḥāshid. End of

* *Infra*, p. 189. † See Note 23.

‡ Ibn Ḥazm the genealogist died in A.H. 456.

the quotation (from al-Bayhaḳi). To the tribe of Hamdān belonged the family of Zuray', who exercised sovereignty and held the office of Dā'y at Aden and at al-Juwwah. The Banu Yām, the tribe of the Sulayhites, are one of the subdivisions of the Banu Hamdān. The Banu Hamdān are Shī'ahs. At the present time they carry heresy in their country to an extreme, and most of them are Zaydites.

The Country of (the Banu) Khaulān, according to al-Bayhaḳi, is situated in the east of the highlands of Yaman, adjoining the country of the Banu Hamdān. The Khaulānites possess the strongest fortresses of the highlands and of Mikhlāf Ja'far. They invaded the province of Ja'far in the days of the Sulayhite dynasty, and the Banu 'z-Zarr, who were members of the tribe, possessed themselves of the fortresses of Khudad, of Ta'kar and of others. The Banu Khaulān and the Banu Hamdān are the greatest tribes in Yaman. The Khaulānites have many sub-tribes, and they dispersed themselves throughout the countries of Islām, but at the present time not a tent of the tribe is to be found elsewhere but in Yaman.

129 The district of the Banu Aṣbaḥ is situated in Wādi (valley of the) Saḥūl. Dhu Aṣbaḥ, from whom they claim descent, has been mentioned in tracing the genealogy of the Tubbas and Aḳyāl (kings, descendants of Ḥimyar).

The District of Yaḥṣub borders upon that of the Banu Aṣbaḥ. Yaḥṣub and Aṣbaḥ were brothers.

The District of the Banu Wā'il. The chief city of this province is Shāhiṭ. Its ruler was As'ad ibn Wā'il and the Banu Wā'il are a tribe of Dhu 'l-Kalā'. The latter are descended from (Ḥimyar and) Sabā. They conquered the country upon the death of al-Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah, governor of the highlands on behalf of the Banu Najāḥ (read Ziyād).

The District of Yarbū‘ is in the highlands. It was conquered by the Banu ‘Abd al-Wāḥid after the death of Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah. The inhabitants of the country had seized the frontier places. They were attacked by Ḥasan (Ḥusayn) ibn Salāmah, who made war upon them until they submitted. He built the city of al-Kadrā on the Mikhlāf (read river) Sahām and that of al-Ma‘ḳir on the river Dhu'āl. He died in A.H. 402.

The Country of the Banu Kindah is in the portion of the highlands of Yaman that borders upon Ḥaḍramaut and upon Abjar and ar-Raml. The Banu Kindah were ruled by a dynasty of kings, and their capital was Dammūn, which is mentioned by Imru 'l-Ḳays in his poems.*

The Country of Madhḥij adjoins the mountainous district of al-Janad, and it is inhabited by the Banu ‘Ans, Zubayd and Murād, sub-tribes of the Banu Madhḥij. A portion of the Banu ‘Ans are in North Africa, allied with the native wandering tribes. The Banu Ḥurab, a subdivision (read kinsmen) of the Banu Zubayd, inhabit the country between Mecca and Medīnah in Ḥijāz. The Banu Zubayd of Syria and Mesopotamia are a subdivision of the tribe of Ṭa'y, and do not belong to the tribe here in question.

The Country of the Banu Nahd lies in the hollows of the Sarawāt and so also Tabālah. The Sarawāt (plural of Sarāt) are (the chain of mountains) between Tihāmah on the one side, and the highlands of Yaman and of Ḥijāz on the other. They bear a resemblance to the back (sarāt) of a horse. The Banu Nahd are derived from Ḳuḍā‘ah, and they settled in Yaman in the neighbourhood of the Banu Khath‘am. The Banu Nahd are like wild beasts, and the vulgar call them *as-Sarwa*. Most of them

* See Hamdāni's Geography, p. 85.

are a mixed race, partly descended from the Banu Khath'am and Bajilah.

Tabālah is in the country of the Banu Nahd, and it is inhabited by a people possessed of considerable power, who belong to the tribe of 'Anz ibn Wā'il. This is the place of which al-Hajjāj was appointed ruler, and which he disdained and relinquished.

The Countries adjoining Yaman.

Al-Yamāmah is the first. Al-Bayhaḳi says that it is a separate country with its own rulers, but the actual fact is that it is part of Ḥijāz, precisely as Najrān is part of Yaman. Such is also the opinion of Ibn Ḥauḳal. Yamāmah, as a kingdom, is inferior to Ḥijāz.* Its territory is called *al-'Arūḍ*, on account of its interposing between Ḥijāz and Baḥrayn. On the east it is bounded by Baḥrayn; on the west by the outlying extremities of Yaman and Ḥijāz; on the south by Najrān, and on the north by the Najd (highlands) of Ḥijāz. It is twenty days' journey in length, and it is four days distant from Mecca. Its capital is Ḥajr, written with *fatḥ*. The city of Yamāmah was the seat of kings before the days of the Banu Ḥanīfah. The latter afterwards adopted Ḥajr as their place of residence. Between the two cities is a distance of a day and a night's journey. The high-lying portions of the country are inhabited by sections of the tribesmen of Yarbū', derived from the Banu Tamīm, and of Banu 'Ijl. Al-Bakri says its name was Jaww, and that it was named after Zarḳā 'l-Yamāmah, by the last Tubba' (read by Ḥassān ibn Tubba'). It is situated, as well as Mecca, in the Second Climate,

* de Goeje's ed. p. 18. There seems reason to suspect an error here, perhaps committed by Ibn Khaldūn himself. Ibn Ḥauḳal writes, speaking of the chief city of Yamāmah فهى دون مدينة رسول الله (p. 26). See also the corresponding passages in Iṣṭakhri, pp. 14 and 18.

and the two cities are equally distant from the equator. Among the inhabited places of Yamāmah are Tūdiḥ and Ḳarḳara.* According to at-Ṭabari, Raml ʻĀlij is between Yamāmah and ash-Shiḥr. It is a country of nomads. Yamāmah and Ṭā'if belonged formerly to the Banu Hizzān son of Yaʻfur son of Saksak. The tribes of Ṭasm and Jadīs conquered the country, but were eventually overcome by the Banu Hizzān, who thenceforward ruled over Yamāmah, with the Banu Ṭasm and Jadīs, as their dependants. The last king of the Banu Hizzān was Ḳurṭ son of Jaʻfar. Upon his death, the Ṭasmites possessed themselves of supreme power. ʻAmlīḳ, whose history is well known, was one of the tribe. The supremacy of the Ṭasmites was followed by that of the Banu Jadīs. Al-Yamāmah,
131 after whom the city of Jaww was named, belonged to that tribe. Her history is well known. Yamāmah was next conquered by the Banu Ḥanīfah. Of them was Haudhah son of ʻAly, King of Yamāmah. He wore a crown, or according to other accounts, jewels strung together, none of the descendants of Maʻadd having ever made use of a crown. After Haudhah, Thumāmah ibn Uthāl reigned over Yamāmah in the days of the Prophet. He was taken prisoner, adopted Islām, and continued steadfast in the faith throughout the days of apostacy. Musaylimah (the false prophet), whose history is well known, likewise belonged to the tribe of Ḥanīfah. Ibn Saʻīd reports having asked the Arabs of Baḥrayn and certain members of the tribe of Madhḥij, to what people Yamāmah belonged in his day. He was told in reply, that it was in the possession of Arab tribes descended from Ḳays ʻAylān, and that the fame of the Banu Ḥanīfah had perished throughout the country.[119]

The Provinces of Ḥaḍramaut. They are situ-

* See Hamdāni, p. 164.

ated, says Ibn Ḥaukal, eastward of Aden on the borders of the sea.* The chief city of Ḥaḍramaut is small, but its provinces are of wide extent. It is separated from Aden on the one side, and from 'Oman on the other, by sandy wastes known by the name of the Aḥkāf (sand heaps). It was the dwelling-place of 'Ād, and it contains the tomb of Hūd, upon whom be peace. In its midst is the mountain of Shabām (Shibām). Ḥaḍramaut is situated in the First Climate and twelve degrees distant from the equator. It is reckoned as part of Yaman. It is a cultivated country and is planted with palms and other trees. Most of its inhabitants uphold the supremacy of the descendants of 'Aly and Fāṭimah, but they abhor 'Aly for having consented to submit his rights to human judgment. The largest city of Ḥaḍramaut in the present day is the fortress of Shibām, in which the horses of the king are kept. Along with ash-Shiḥr and 'Omān, it originally belonged to 'Ād, from whose people it was conquered by the Banu Ya'rub son of Ḳaḥṭān. It is said that (the Banu) 'Ād were led to the Arabian Peninsula (to Ḥaḍramaut?) by Rukaym son of Aram (Rukaym son of 'Abir son of 'Ād?), who had formerly visited the country in company with the Prophet Hūd. He returned to the people of 'Ād and led them in ships to the country and to its invasion. They wrested it from the hands of its inhabitants, but they were themselves subsequently conquered by the Banu Ya'rub son of Ḳaḥṭān.[120] Ḳaḥṭan ruled over the country, and it was governed by his son Ḥaḍramaut, after whom it was named.

132 Ash-Shiḥr is, like Ḥijāz and Yaman, one of the kingdoms of the Arabian Peninsula. It is separate from Ḥaḍramaut and 'Omān. Ash-Shiḥr is so named after its capital. There is no cultivation, neither are there palm trees in the country. The

* de Goeje's ed. p. 32. See also Iṣaṭkhri, p. 25.

wealth of the inhabitants consists in camels and goats. Their food is flesh, preparations of milk and small fish, with which they also feed their beasts. The country is also known as that of Mahrah, and the camels called *Mahrīyah* camels are reared in it.* Ash-Shiḥr is sometimes conjoined with ʻOmān, but it is contiguous to Ḥaḍramaut and it has been described as constituting the shores of that country. It produces frankincense (lubān, olibanum), and on the sea-shore the Shiḥrite ambergris is found. It is bounded on the east and on the west (south?) by the shores of the Indian Ocean, on which Aden is situated, on the east (also?) by ʻOmān. The Indian Ocean extends along the south and on the north Ḥaḍramaut, as if Shiḥr were the sea-shore of the latter. Both belong to one king. Shiḥr is situated in the First Climate and it is hotter than Ḥaḍramaut. It belonged in ancient times to the people of ʻĀd, who were succeeded by the tribe of Mahrah, descended from Ḥaḍramaut, or according to other accounts, from Ḳuḍāʻah. The people who inhabit these sandy deserts are like wild beasts, and their religion is that of the Khārijites, according to the tenets of its branch sect, the Ibāḍites.†

The first of the Ḳaḥṭānites who settled in Shiḥr was Mālik son of Ḥimyar. He revolted against his brother Wāʼil (or Wāthil), who was king at Ḳaṣr Ghumdān. A lengthened war endured between them, and Mālik died. He was succeeded by his son Ḳuḍāʻah. Saksak son of Wāʼil continued the war, until he subdued his enemy, and Ḳuḍāʻah was restricted to the possession of the country of Mahrah. He was succeeded by his son al-Ḥāf, who was followed by Mālik son of al-Ḥāf. The latter removed to ʻOmān, where he thenceforward reigned.

* See Masʻudi (Barbier de Meynard), vol. i. p. 333-41, as also Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥauḳal.

† See Masʻudi, vol. vi. p. 67.

Al-Bayhaḳi says that Mahrah son of Ḥaydan son of ('Amru son of) al-Ḥāf reigned over the countries of Ḳuḍā'ah, and made war upon his paternal uncle Mālik son of al-Ḥāf, Prince of 'Omān, and conquered that province. These people are now no longer borne in remembrance beyond the limits of their own country.

Mirbāṭ and Ẓafār, of the same measure as the word *nazāl*, are two cities of Shiḥr.* Ẓafār was the seat of empire of the Tubbas, and Mirbāṭ was situated on the sea-shore. Both cities are now in ruins. Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Maḥmūd al-
133 Ḥimyari, who bore the surname al-Bākhūdah (al-Ḥamūḍi ?), was a wealthy merchant. He obtained access to the prince of Mirbāṭ with his merchandise, and gained his confidence. After a time the prince appointed him to the office of wazīr, and upon his death Aḥmad al-Bākhūdah (al-Ḥamūḍi) obtained possession of the throne. In the year 619 he destroyed the cities of Mirbāṭ and Ẓafār, and he built on the sea-coast the city of Ẓufār, written with the w... z moved by ḍamm, which he surnamed al-
It is Ḥasah after himself. He destroyed the old
Arabian Pe... possessed no anchorage.[121]
son of Aram (R... author of al-Kamā'im (?) says
who had formerly ...nct district and separate from
with the Prophet h... it is a province thereof. Al-
of 'Ād and led them ...s extending over a space of
its invasion. They w... It lies to the north-east of
inhabitants, but they w... Ḥijāz. It contains two
conquered by the Banu ..., of nearly equal impor-
Ḳaḥṭan ruled over the cou... of the country consists
by his son Ḥaḍramaut, after ... resemble the wander-
132 Ash-Shihr is, like Ḥijāz a...
kingdoms of the Arabian Pen... f Najrān, which was
from Ḥaḍramaut and 'Omā... ḍān, the Ka'bah of
named after its capital. Ther
neither are there palm trees in

* de Goeje's ed. p. 32. See also ...d Ibn Ḥauḳal, p. 31.

Yaman. Some of the Arab people made it an object of pilgrimage and a place for sacrifices. It was known by the name of ad-Dayr (the Convent). Ḳuss ibn Sā'idah was in the habit of worshipping at the place.[122] The Ḳaḥṭānites who settled in the country were a section of the Banu Jurhum, but it was aftewards conquered by the Banu Ḥimyar. They governed the country under the authority of the Tubbas. The rulers bore successively the title of *al-Af'ā* (the Viper). One of the Af'ā of Najrān bore the name of al-Falammas (Ḳalammas ?) son of 'Amru son of Hamdān son of Mālik son of Muntāb son of Zayd son of Wā'il son of Ḥimyar. He was a diviner, and it was to him that the sons of Nizār resorted and referred their dispute, as is mentioned in this work. Al-Falammas was governor of Najrān on behalf of Bilḳis. She sent him to Suleymān, upon whom be peace. He became a believer and spread the Jewish faith among his people. He lived to a great age. It is said that both Baḥrayn and al-Mushallal belonged to him.[123]

Al-Bayhaḳi says that the Banu Madhḥij next invaded Najrān and conquered it. Of them were the Banu 'l-Ḥārith son of Ka'b. Another authority relates that when the Yamanites went forth on the occasion of the floods of al-'Arim, they passed through Najrān. They were attacked by the Banu Madhḥij, and it was there that they became dispersed. Ibn Ḥazm says that the tribe of al-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b ibn 'Abd Allah ibn Mālik ibn Naṣr ibn al-Azd settled, under a peaceful agreement, in the neighbourhood of the Banu Madhḥij. After-
34 wards they wrested the country from the Banu Madhḥij and held sway over it. Christianity was introduced into Najrān through the means of Faymūn (Faymiyyūn), whose history is commonly found in biographical works.[124] The rulership over Najrān by the Banu 'l-Ḥārith the Madhḥijites descended to

the Banu 'd-Dayyān (Rayyān ?) and to the posterity of 'Abd al-Madān (son of Dayyān). Yazīd (son of 'Abd al-Madān), who lived in the days of the Prophet (whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace), made the profession of Islām to Khālid ibn al-Walīd. He came as envoy to the Prophet with others of his people, but is not mentioned by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, and this is an amendment of that writer's omission.[125] Yazīd's nephew Ziyād, the son of his brother 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd al-Madān,* was maternal uncle of (the Khalīfah Abu 'l-'Abbās) as-Saffāḥ, who appointed him governor of Najrān and Yamāmah. He left two sons, Muḥammad and Yaḥya. The fourth century commenced with supreme authority exercised by the family of Abu 'l-Jūd ibn 'Abd al-Madān and rulership continued in their hands. War repeatedly arose between them and the Fatimites of Egypt, who at times dispossessed them of Najrān. The last of the dynasty was 'Abd al-Ḳays, who was deposed by 'Aly ibn Mahdy. He is mentioned and eulogized by 'Omārah.[126]

And unto God, be He extolled and magnified, belongeth perfect knowledge of the truth.

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135 History of the Dynasty of the Banu 'r-Rassy, the Zaydite Imāms at Ṣa'dah, the Rise of their Dynasty and its Vicissitudes.

We have herein before given an account of Muḥammad ibn Ibrahīm, he whose father bore the surname of Ṭabāṭabā, the son of Isma'īl son of Ibrahīm

* Read Ziyād, descendant of Yazīd's brother, was, etc.

son of Ḥasan the second, (son of Ḥasan son of ‘Aly), of his revolt in the days of al-Ma′mūn, of his recognition by Abu Sarāya and of all that relates to him. Upon his death and upon the death of Abu Sarāya, and upon the failure of their enterprise, al-Ma′mūn issued an order for the arrest of Muḥammad's brother al-Ḳāsim ar-Rassy, son of Ibrahīm Ṭabāṭabā. He fled to Sind, where he remained until his death in A.H. 245. His son al-Ḥasan (read Ḥusayn) returned to Yaman, and of his posterity were the Imāms of Ṣa‘dah in Yaman, where they founded a Zaydite dynasty, which has endured to the present day.[127]

Sa‘dah is a mountain east (*sic*) of Ṣan‘ā, on which are many fortresses, the most celebrated of which are Ṣa‘dah, the fortress of Tula (Thula), and the mountain of Ḳuṭābah. The whole of that country is named after the Banu Rassy. Yaḥya son of al-Ḥusayn son of al-Ḳāsim ar-Rassy was the member of the family who first rose to eminence. He proclaimed himself at Ṣa‘dah, adopted the surname of al-Hādy, and received oaths of allegiance in A.H. 288, during the lifetime of his father al-Ḥusayn. He collected a force consisting of his sectaries and other persons, and attacked Ibrahīm ibn Ya‘fur, or according to other authorities As‘ad ibn Ya‘fur, who had arisen at Ṣan‘ā and at Kaḥlān (?), and who was a descendant of the Tubbas. Al-Hādy seized upon Ṣan‘ā and Najrān, ruled over them and struck coinage in his own name. But the Banu Ya‘fur soon again wrested these places from him, whereupon he returned to Ṣa‘dah, and died in A.H. 298, after a reign of ten years. Such are the particulars given by Ibn al-Mujāb. He adds that Yaḥya was the author of works treating of things lawful and unlawful. According to other statements, he was an assiduous investigator of religious law. He held doubtful opinions on questions of Jurisprudence, and

was the author of books that are well known among the dissentient sects.

Aṣ-Ṣūli[128] says that he was succeeded by his son Muḥammad surnamed al-Murtaḍa. The people rose against him, and he perished in the year 320, after a reign of twenty-two years. He was succeeded by his brother an-Nāṣir Aḥmad, whose authority was firmly established and passed on to his children after him.

His successor was his son Ḥusayn al-Muntakhab, who died A.H. 324, and he was succeeded by his brother al-Ḳāsim al-Mukhtār, who reigned until he was slain by Abu 'l-Ḳāsim ad-Ḍaḥḥāk, the Hamdānite, in A.H. 344.

Aṣ-Ṣūli says that the sons of an-Nāṣir who succeeded to the throne were ar-Rashīd, al-Muntakhab, al-Mukhtār and al-Mahdy.* Ibn Ḥazm, in speaking of the descendants of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (read al-Ḳāsim) ar-Rassy, says as follows:—"Among others of his posterity there were the princes who ruled at Ṣa'dah in Yaman. The first was Yaḥya al-Hādy, who held opinions on Jurisprudence which I have investigated. They are not widely or fundamentally different from the received doctrines. His father (read, his son) Aḥmad an-Nāṣir had several sons, of whom the following ruled over Ṣa'dah after him, namely, Ja'far ar-Rashīd, next after him his brother al-Ḳāsim al-Muhktār, then al-Ḥasan al-Muntakhab and Muḥammad al-Mahdy.† The Yamanite

* For al-Mukhtār, see Note 8 (footnote). The other three names are not mentioned by the author of the *Ḥadā'iḳ*, although he enumerates the sons and daughters of an-Nāṣir. See next footnote.

† The names of an-Nāṣir's sons, as given by the author of the *Ḥadā'iḳ*, were al-Ḳāsim Abu Muḥammad (al-Mukhtār), Isma'īl, Ḥasan, Ja'far, Yaḥya and 'Aly. The name al-Mahdy Muḥammad, cited in the text, may perhaps be referred to the Persian Imām, who died in Tabaristān A.H. 360. But he was a descendant of al-Ḳāsim son of Ḥasan, and not a member of the Rassite family. See the genealogical table, Note 107.

who was at Merida in 343 styled himself 'Abdallah son of Aḥmad an-Nāṣir brother of ar-Rashīd, of al-Mukhtār, of al-Muntakhab and al-Mahdy."

Ibn al-Mujāb says that the succession to the Imāmate of the Banu Rassy continued until dissensions arose among them. The Suleymānites came from Mecca, on being expelled by the Hāshimites. They conquered Ṣa'dah, and the dominion of the Banu Rassy came to an end in the sixth century.*

Ibn Sa'īd relates that among the members of the family of the Banu Suleymān, there was at the time of their removal from Mecca to Yaman, Aḥmad son of Ḥamzah son of Suleymān.† The people of Zabīd besought his assistance against 'Aly ibn Mahdy the Khārijite, who was besieging the city, then under the rule of Fātik ibn Muḥammad, of the dynasty of Najāḥ. He consented on condition of their slaying Fātik, which they accordingly did in A.H. 553. They raised Aḥmad ibn Ḥamzah (Suleymān) to the throne, but being unable to withstand the power of 'Aly ibn Mahdy, he fled from Zabīd and the city was taken by Ibn Mahdy. Ibn Sa'īd adds that 'Īsa son of Ḥamzah, brother of Aḥmad, possessed 'Aththar, one of the fortresses of Yaman.‡ Another member of the family was Ghānim son of Yaḥya. Then the power of the Suleymānites perished throughout the whole of Tihāmah, throughout the highlands, and throughout Yaman, at the hands of the Banu Mahdy. Next afterwards the Ayyūbites conquered these countries

* With reference to the above and to most of what follows, see Note 130.

† Read Aḥmad son of Suleymān. See Notes 88 and 130.

‡ Instead of brother *of Aḥmad,* we may perhaps read brother *of Yaḥya* (father of Ghānim). See Note 88. But see also *supra,* p. 167, where Ghānim is said to have been succeeded by a grandson named 'Isa son of Ḥamzah.

and held the Suleymānites in subjection. The Suleymānite sovereignty was lastly held by al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah son of Aḥmad son of Ḥamzah.* Ibn al-'Adīm,[129] says that he inherited the throne at Ṣa'dah from his father. He displayed a hostile demeanour towards the 'Abbaside Khālifah an-Nāṣir (A.H. 575—622), with whom he affected a tone of equality, and he sent his Dā'ys to the Daylamites and to Jīlān, with the result that the Khuṭbah was recited among these people in his name, and that he appointed governors over them. An-Nāṣir endeavoured to raise the Arabs of Yaman against al-Manṣūr by means of subventions, but could not prevail against him.

Ibn al-Athīr says that al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah, son of Aḥmad son of Ḥamzah, Imām of the Zaydites at Ṣa'dah, collected troops in A.H. 592 and marched upon Yaman. Al-Mu'izz son of Sayf al-Islām Tughtakīn ibn Ayyūb was filled with alarm, but went forth to meet him, and put him to flight. Al-Manṣūr again collected, in A.H. 612, an army composed of Hamdānites and Khaulānites. Great agitation was produced in Yaman, and (the Ayyūbite Sulṭān al-Mas'ūd (Ṣalāḥ ad-dīn Yūsuf) son of al-Kāmil, at that time sovereign of the country, was filled with apprehension. He had Kurdish and Turkish troops, and the commander-in-chief, 'Omar ibn Rasūl, recommended promptitude of action, ere the enemy could gain possession of the fortresses. Disputes broke out among the followers of al-Manṣūr, and on being attacked by al-Mas'ūd his army was routed.

Al-Manṣūr died in A.H. 630 at an advanced age.† He left a son named Aḥmad, whom the Zaydites raised to the throne. They did not recognize him as Imām, but they waited for the increase of his

* Read 'Abdallah son of Ḥamzah.

† Read, in 614, aged 53 years.

years and for evidence that in his character he fulfilled the requisite conditions. In A.H. 645, certain Zaydites, inhabiting the fortress of Tula (Thula), proclaimed allegiance to al-Mūṭi, a member of the Rassite family. His name was Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn, a descendant of al-Hādy. When the Banu Rassy were driven from the seat of their Imāmate at Ṣa'dah by the Suleymānites, they took refuge on the mountain of Kuṭābah, east of Ṣa'dah (*sic*). There they remained, and members of the family successively and uninterruptedly exercised the office of Imām, publicly asserting their right to supreme authority. This continued until the Zaydites recognized Aḥmad al-Mūṭi.

He was a highly trained jurist, learned in the doctrines of his sect, constant in prayer and assiduous in fasting. He received the oaths of fealty in A.H. 645.

His career raised apprehension in the mind of Nūr ad-dīn 'Omar ibn Rasūl. He besieged al-Mūṭi in the fortress of Tula (Thula) for a year, but the Imām was successful in his defence. Nūr ad-dīn relinquished the siege, and set about collecting troops from the neighbouring fortresses for the purpose of resuming it. He was assassinated (A.H. 647), and his son al-Muẓaffar (who succeeded him) devoted his efforts exclusively to the fortress of Dumlūwah. Al-Mūṭi increased in power. He made himself master of twenty fortresses, then marched upon Ṣa'dah and wrested it from the hands of the Suleymānites.

They had proclaimed Aḥmad, son of their Imām 'Abd Allah al-Manṣūr, and upon al-Mūṭi being recognized as Imām at Thula, they gave Aḥmad the surname of *al-Mutawakkil*. They had waited for his advance in years, but on al-Mūṭi receiving oaths of allegiance, they recognized Aḥmad as Imām. When al-Mūṭi took Ṣa'dah, Aḥmad al-Mutawakkil went

down to him, swore allegiance and placed himself under his protection. This was in the year 649. In 650 he went on the pilgrimage, and the Zaydites of Sa'dah continued under the authority of the descendants of al-Mūṭi.[130]

I was informed in Egypt that the Imām of Ṣa'dah, previously to A.H. 780, was 'Aly ibn Muḥammad, a descendant of the family. He died before that date and was succeeded by his son Ṣalāh, who received the oaths of allegiance from the Zaydites. Some of them maintained that he was not a lawful Imām, by reason of his not possessing the qualifications required in the holder of the office. He was in the habit of answering that he was prepared to be whatever they chose, Imām if they pleased, and if not, Sulṭān. Ṣalāḥ died at the end of A.H. 793 and was succeeded by his son Najāḥ. The Zaydites refused to recognize him, whereupon he said that he rendered account to God alone. This is what we heard in Egypt, touching the Zaydites, during our sojourn in that country.

And God is the Inheritor of the earth and of all that therein is.

ACCOUNT

OF THE

KARMATHIANS IN YAMAN,

EXTRACTED FROM

THE KITĀB AS-ṢULŪK,

OF

BAHĀ 'D-DĪN AL-JANADI.

In the days of As'ad ibn Ya'fur, the Karmathians appeared in Yaman, 'Aly ibn Faḍl in the country of Yāfi', and Manṣūr ibn Ḥasan, who was known under the designation of Manṣūr al-Yaman.[131]

I will now, therefore, briefly relate their history, as it has been told by Abu 'Abd Allah Muḥammad ibn Mālik ibn Abi 'l-Ḳabā'il, a Jurist of Yaman and a learned Sunnite. He was one of the persons who joined the Karmathian sect in the days of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, and he acquired a thorough knowledge of its character. On becoming convinced of the depravity of the Karmathian doctrines, he abjured them, and he composed a celebrated treatise, in which he has described the principles upon which they are founded, he demonstrates their wickedness and warns his readers against their deceptions.

'Aly ibn Faḍl, he says, was an Arab of the tribe named al-Aḥdūn (Ajdūn ?), who trace their descent from Dhu Ḥadan (Dhu Jadan ?).[132] He was a Shi'ite of the Dodekite sect. He went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and thence he went forth with the pilgrim caravan of 'Irāḳ, for the purpose of visiting the tomb of Ḥusayn (son of 'Aly). On reaching it he began uttering lamentations and cried

aloud, saying: "Would that (I had been) one of thy companions, O son of the Prophet, when the hosts of the wicked came forth against thee!"

Maymūn was in charge of the mausoleum and his son 'Obayd was with him as assistant.[133] When they beheld the condition of Ibn Faḍl, they were filled with the desire to enlist him in their service. Maymūn spoke to him in private and made known unto Ibn Faḍl that his son 'Obayd was destined to be the founder of a dynasty, which would be an inheritance unto his descendants, but that this thing could come to pass only after being prepared for in Yaman, at the hands of certain of his missionaries (dā'ys). "That may well be accomplished in Yaman," answered Ibn Faḍl, "for ingenuity in the conduct of affairs is general among its people." Maymūn ordered him to remain and to wait until
140 he had considered the matter.

Maymūn was originally a Jew, who regarded Islām with envy. With the object of protecting his own religion, he made outward profession of Islām and devoted himself to the care of the tomb of Ḥusayn at Karbala.* He was a native of Salamīyah, a city in Syria, and claimed to be a descendant of the family of 'Aly. Most of the Alides deny his pretensions, and God is all-knowing. Ibn Mālik pronounces him to have been a Jew.

A certain man, who belonged to Karbala, entered into terms of friendship with Maymūn. He was known by the name of Manṣūr son of (Ḥusayn son of ?) Zādān son of Ḥaushab son of al-Faraj son of al-Mubārak, a descendant of 'Akīl son of Abu Ṭālib. His grandfather Zādān was a Dodekite Shī'ah, and one of the chief men of Kūfah, and he appointed his sons to dwell at the tomb of Ḥusayn. When Maymūn came, he attached himself to Manṣūr, [and

* I translate this passage with considerable hesitation. Diacritical points here, as throughout the book, are generally absent.

perceiving] his eminent qualities and his fitness to command, he sought his friendship and his society. Maymūn was a man possessed of remarkable ability, which he employed for the furtherance of his objects. He was learned in the science of the stars, and it became known unto him that Manṣūr was destined to rule, and that he was to be one of the propagators of his son's claims. When Ibn Faḍl came and attached himself to him, Maymūn perceived that what he sought was found, Ibn Faḍl being a native of Yaman, well acquainted with the country and with its people.

Maymūn, speaking to Manṣūr said unto him: "O Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, verily submission to the law of God belongeth to Yaman, wisdom belongeth to Yaman, the foundation of all things is there, all great events have their beginning in Yaman and the issue endureth whilst its star endureth.[134] I am of opinion that thou and our friend 'Aly ibn Faḍl proceed to Yaman. Ye shall call upon its people to recognize the authority of my son, and ye shall attain in that country power and dominion." Manṣūr had learned much from Maymūn of the means whereby their ends could be gained. He agreed to what was proposed. Maymūn brought him and Ibn Faḍl into one another's presence, he made them enter into a mutual compact, and solemnly charged each one to deal justly by his companion. Manṣūr's relation is as follows:—

"When Maymūn decided upon sending us to Yaman he exhorted and instructed us. He desired me, on my arrival, to conceal my objects, so that they might be more surely attained. Twice repeating the name of God, he charged me with the care of my companion, to protect him, to act justly towards him, and to enjoin upon him the practice of righteousness. 'He is one,' he added, 'unto whom a high destiny is reserved, and yet I cannot withal be

free of uneasiness respecting him.' Then turning to Ibn Faḍl, he said unto him: 'In the name of
141 God! In the name of God! I charge thee to deal righteously with thy companion. Respect him, recognize what is due to him and obey him. His knowledge is greater than thine, and it is greater than mine. If thou disregard his authority, thou shalt be deprived of safe guidance.'

"He bade us farewell, and we travelled with the pilgrims until we reached Mecca. We performed the rites of pilgrimage and then proceeded with the pilgrims of Yaman and reached Ghulāfiḳah.[135] We parted after mutual promises not to forget one another, and pledges that each should keep his companion informed of his proceedings. I went forth and arrived at al-Janad, then in the possession of al-Ja'fari, who had conquered it and wrested it from the hands of Ibn Ya'fur.

"The Shaykh Maymūn had solemnly enjoined me to commence the accomplishment of my mission at no other place but at one named 'Aden-Lā'ah, 'for,' he said, 'it is the town in which thy talents will find their field and in which thou shalt accomplish thine objects.' I was unacquainted with the place, and I reached 'Aden-Abyan. I sought information respecting 'Aden-Lā'ah and was informed that it was in the neighbourhood of Ḥajjah. I next inquired after any natives of the place who might have come to 'Aden-Abyan, and was directed to certain persons who had come for purposes of trade. I made their acquaintance and frequented their society and contrived to win their friendship. I told them that I was a man devoted to study, that I had heard they were natives of a mountainous country, and that I desired to visit it in their company. They bade me welcome, and when they departed I accompanied them. On the road I entertained them with the recital of traditions. I

urged upon them the observance of the duty of prayer, and they followed the examples I set them. On arrival at Lā'ah, I inquired for its principal city, and was directed to it. I proceeded thither and I became an assiduous frequenter of certain of its mosques. I devoted myself to the worship of God, and a large number of persons attached themselves to me. When I perceived that affection for me had taken possession of their hearts, I informed them that I had come to their country for no other purpose but to call upon them to recognize the Mahdy announced by the Prophet, whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace. I made a large number swear to be faithful, and they commenced paying me the legal alms. When a considerable sum had accumulated in my hands, I told them it was necessary I should possess a place of defence, where the alms could be preserved in safety and which should be a treasure-house unto the Muslims. 'Ayn Muḥarram was accordingly built for the purpose.
2 The fortress belonged to a people known by the name of Banu 'l-'Ad'ā, and thither I removed the corn and money that had accrued to me.* When I proceeded to the fortress, carrying with me my possessions, five hundred men, who had sworn to be faithful, accompanied me, bringing with them their property and their families. I now openly exhorted unto submission to 'Obayd Allah the Mahdy, son of the Shaykh Maymūn, and the people, without exception, showed themselves disposed to conform."

On gaining possession of the mountain of Maswar, al-Manṣūr adopted the use of drums and of standards. He was attended by thirty drummers, and whatever place he came to, the sound could be heard from a great distance. Al-Ḥawwāli (Ibn

* Al-Khazraji says that 'Ayn Muḥarram stood at the foot of Mount Maswar.

Ya'fur) possessed a fortress on the mountain of Maswar, under the charge of a governor, from whose hands the place was wrested by al-Manṣūr. The latter, seeing that his authority was securely established, now wrote to Maymūn informing him thereof, and of his having overcome all opposition. He sent him splendid presents and articles of value. This was in the year 290. Maymūn, on the news reaching him, and on receiving the presents, said to his son 'Obayd (Allah): "Behold thy supremacy is now established, but my desire is that it shall be publicly proclaimed only from North Africa." [136] He then sent Abu 'Abd Allah al-Husayn son of Aḥmad son of Muḥammad son of Zakarīyā, known under the name of *ash-Shīya'y* (the Shī'ite) and a native of Ṣan'ā, to North Africa, and ordered him to organize its people and to subject them to his son 'Obayd (Allah). Abu 'Abd Allah accordingly went forth as he was commanded. He was a man of remarkable ability, one of those whose names, on account of their talents in the science of government, become proverbial. His task was not completed until the year 296, when he wrote to the Mahdy informing him that the people recognized his authority, and he bade him come. 'Obayd (Allah), surnamed the Mahdy, hastened to comply, and arrived in the province of Africa. Abu 'Abd Allah had become possessed of supreme authority, and on arrival of the Mahdy, he delivered it into his hands. His brother reproached him saying: "An evil thing is this that thou hast done! Supreme power was in thine hands, and thou givest it unto another!" He continued to repeat these words until they impressed themselves upon his brother's mind. Abu 'Abd Allah resolved to betray the Mahdy, but the latter received information of what was occurring. He was filled with alarm, and instigated against his rival a person, by

whom Abu 'Abd Allah and his brother were slain on the same day, the fifteenth of Jamād al-Ākhir of
13 the year 298.

This man, 'Abd Allah ('Obayd Allah) surnamed the Mahdy,* was ancestor of the sovereigns of North Africa who afterwards held Egypt. Ibn Khallikān says, touching the 'Obaydites' pedigree, that they were descendants of 'Obayd Allah, and that some persons term them Alides, thereby acknowledging their pretensions. And God is all-knowing.†

In the foregoing abstract, I have set forth the rise of the Karmathian power in Yaman, the events in which Manṣūr, a man of singularly sound judgment, was concerned, and his objects. The history of Ibn Faḍl will now be entered into at such length as to make known his achievements and adventures. His pedigree and birth-place have already been mentioned. Those who compiled the history of his life relate that when he parted from Manṣūr at Ghulāfikah, as hereinbefore stated, he ascended the mountains and proceeded to Janad. Thence he went forth to Abyan, which was at that time in the possession of a man of the tribe of Aṣbaḥ named Muḥammad ibn Abi 'l-'Ula. From Abyan he proceeded to the country of Yāfi'. He found its people to be a medley of the basest of mankind. He withdrew into the valleys, and devoted himself to the worship of God. The people brought him food, of which he ate very sparingly, and only at the hands of those who believed in him. They inhabited the summits of the mountains ‡ and, filled

* On his coinage the name is written 'Abd Allah.

† See De Slane's Ibn Khallikān, vol. ii. p. 77. The account in our text of the death of Abu 'Abd Allah is evidently borrowed from Ibn Khallikān (De Slane, vol. i. p. 465).

‡ Khazraji states the contrary, namely, that Ibn Faḍl abode on the summit of the mountains and that the people dwelt in the valleys.

with admiration for him, they requested him to dwell in their midst. For a long time he would not consent, until, when they persisted in their demand, he told them that he was prevented from dwelling among them by their disobedience to the commands they had received enjoining the practice of righteousness, and by their neglect of the prohibitions to do evil and to indulge in intoxicating drinks and in wickedness. They swore to be faithful unto him, and to obey his commands, whereupon he promised that they should be rewarded. They now began to collect and to pay him the legal alms and tithes, and large sums accumulated in his hands. He attacked Abyan, slew the ruler of the province, declared the country and all it contained to be lawful booty unto his followers, and possessed himself of a large amount of wealth. He then marched upon Mudhaykhirah,* a large city on Mount Raymah, which was under the rule of the Ja'farite.† He attacked him repeatedly, his efforts were crowned with success, and the Prince was slain.‡ His country was declared to be lawful booty, and the women were reduced to captivity. Ibn Malik has entered, in his treatise, into full particulars of these events, but they are not necessary for the purposes of this book and may be deferred to another occasion. Ibn Faḍl having reached al-Mudhaykhirah was pleased with it. He there openly avowed his doctrines and made the city the seat of his government. Soon after he declared himself a prophet, and as such he proclaimed to his followers
144 the lawfulness of wine, and of intercourse with their

* In A.H. 291 according to Khazraji.

† Ja'far ibn Aḥmad al-Manākhi, according to Khazraji; but the correct reading seems to be Ja'far ibn Ibrahīm. See Note 6.

‡ A.H. 292 (Khazraji). Al-Hamdāni says (p. 75, l. 9) that Ja'far ibn Ibrahīm al-Manākhi was killed at Khawālah, close to one of the sources of the Wadi Nakhlah.

daughters and sisters. He proceeded to Janad at the season of the festival, the first Thursday of Rajab.* He mounted the pulpit and recited the well-known verses of which the following is a copy:—

Seize the tabour, O maiden, disport thyself, sing thy merriest songs and rejoice.
The prophet of the line of Hāshim hath passed away. But another hath arisen, and he of the stem of Ya'rub.
Every prophet hath his law. Hearken now unto the law of this other prophet.
He hath released us from subjection to prayer and to fasts. No longer shalt thou suffer under their burden.
When others pray thou needest not rise; when they fast, eat thou and drink.
Seek not the course between Ṣafa and Marwah,† nor to visit the tomb at Yathrib.‡
Deny not thyself the marriage-bed of thy nearest, whilst consenting to that of the stranger.
How canst thou be lawful unto the stranger, and forbidden unto thy father?
Doth the plant not belong unto him that tended it and watered it in the days when it was yet unproductive?
Wine is lawful as the waters of heaven, and its use is now hallowed by the law.[137]

Ibn Faḍl's authority acquired increasing strength and stability. He conquered Mikhlāf Ja'far and Janad, and then determined upon attacking Ṣan'ā, at that time under the rule of As'ad ibn Ibrahīm ibn Ya'fur. He marched by way of Dhamār and captured the fortress of Hirrān. Its governor and most of the people accepted the doctrines of the new sect. The remainder took refuge with As'ad ibn Ya'fur. The latter on learning the strength of his enemy's forces fled, and Ibn Faḍl entered Ṣan'ā on Thursday, third of Ramaḍān of the year 299.[138]

At the time of his arrival exceedingly heavy rains

* See *supra*, p. 10.
† One of the ceremonies of the pilgrimage at Mecca.
‡ Medinah.

occurred. Ibn Faḍl alighted at the mosque and caused the channels, provided for carrying away the water, to be closed. He ordered the women, captured at Ṣan'ā and elsewhere, to be brought to him, and he ascended the minaret. The women were cast into the water with uncovered faces and
145 naked, and those that found favour in his eyes he took into the minaret and dishonoured. It is said that many virgins underwent that fate.

The water was retained in the mosque. It filled the building up to the ceiling, and the traces thereof may be perceived to this day. The fact is mentioned by the Ḳāḍi Surayy (ibn Ibrāhīm), whose life will be related hereafter (among other biographies of Jurists).

Ibn Faḍl now shaved the hair of his head, and one hundred thousand persons followed his example. He ordered the house of Ibn 'Anbasah to be destroyed, expecting to find a large sum in gold, but only ten thousand dinārs were found, although Ibn 'Anbasah was one of the leading men of Ṣan'ā, who fled from the city along with As'ad. On hearing of the destruction of his house, he sickened and died.

When Manṣūr heard of Ibn Faḍl's capture of Ṣan'ā he was filled with gladness. He came unto him and they met and rejoiced with one another. Ibn Faḍl then went forth unto Ḥarāz * and besieged al-Mahjam, which he captured. Thence he proceeded to al-Kadrā and took it likewise. He then reached Zabīd, at that period under the rule of Abu 'l-Jaysh Isḥaḳ son of Ibrāhīm, son of Muḥammad who came to Yaman from Baghdad. It is said that Abu 'l-Jaysh fled from Zabīd, and according to other accounts, that he fought and that he was

* Khi says, to Ḥarāz and Milhān. The latter, also called Rayshān, is a mountain that overlooks Mahjam. See Yāḳūt and Hamdāni, p. 68, l. 25.

slain by Ibn Faḍl.* Zabīd was declared lawful spoil. The women were reduced to captivity, and historians relate that about four thousand virgins were captured, besides mothers of children. Ibn Faḍl then started with his army for al-Mudhaykhirah, by way of al-Mīrād (?), a mountain east of Zabīd. On reaching a place named al-Madāḥīṣ, or al-Mashākhīṣ,[139] he ordered his criers to proclaim a halt. The troops accordingly halted and were summoned to assemble. They obeyed and gathered around him, whereupon Ibn Faḍl spoke unto them, saying: "Ye know that ye have come forth for no other purpose but that of striving for the advancement of the cause of God. Ye have captured a large number of the women of al-Ḥuṣayb, but I cannot trust them with you, lest they fascinate you by their allurements and divert you from the holy war.[140] Let every man, therefore, slay the women that have accompanied him." They obeyed. The traces of their victims' blood continued visible for many years, and for that reason the place was named al-Madāḥīṣ or al-Mashākhīṣ. On reaching al-Mudhaykhirah, Ibn Faḍl ordered the roads to be closed to traffic, especially the pilgrim
46 roads. "Perform the pilgrimage," he said, "to al-Ḥarf, a place near al-Mudhaykhirah, and perform the minor ceremonies at ath-Thālathi (?)." The latter is a valley in the vicinity of al-Ḥarf.†

When Ibn Faḍl beheld that his power over Yaman was securely established, he cast off his allegiance to 'Obayd (Allah) ibn Maymūn, for

* See Note 13.

† Al-Hamdāni mentions al Ḥarf (p. 69, l. 5) in the high-lying portion of Sarāt Ḳudam, not far therefore from Ḥajjah. But if that be the place referred to in our text, it is a long distance from Mudhaykhirah. Thālithah has been mentioned at p. 131, and Note 100, as a place in Mikhlāf Ja'far. See also in Sprenger, p. 153, Ḥiṣn Thalāth, near Ṣan'ā.

whose cause he had hitherto professed to labour. He wrote informing his colleague Manṣūr. The latter answered, reproaching him and saying: "How canst thou renounce the authority of him through whom alone thou hast acquired all that is good, and how canst thou discontinue the propagation of his supremacy? Rememberest thou not the pledges entered into between him and thee, and hast thou forgotten the identical injunctions he placed upon us to act together in harmony?" Ibn Faḍl heeded him not, but again wrote, saying: "My case is that of Abu Sa'īd al-Jannābi![14] Is it an evil thing in him that he hath proclaimed himself paramount? If thou dost not come hither and submit thyself unto me, I will make open war upon thee." When Manṣūr read these words the conviction of Ibn Faḍl's treason was forced upon him. He ascended Mount Maswar and occupied himself in strengthening its works. "I have fortified this mountain," he said, "solely against that insolent rebel and against his like, for I perceived in his face the evil that was in him, when we met at Ṣan'ā." Soon after sending his letter, Ibn Faḍl prepared to attack Manṣūr. He collected for the purpose ten thousand men, the choice of his army. He marched from Mudhaykhirah and reached Shibām.* Repeated battles were fought between his troops and those of Manṣūr. He then entered the district of Lā'ah and he ascended Mount Jamīmah, a word of which the first letter is moved by the vowel *a*. It is the same as Mount Fā'ish, near Maswar, and belonged to a tribe known by the name of Banu Muntāb.†

* The place here referred to, I presume to be Shibām-Aḳyān. See Note 11.

† I do not find the name Jamīmah in Hamdāni's Geography. For Jabal Fā'ish, see Note 11. Dr. Glaser has Dj. Djemīme in lat. about 16° 6′, but that can hardly be the same.

For eight months he besieged Manṣūr without success. His long detention became grievous unto him, and Manṣūr received information thereof. He sent proposals of peace, but Ibn Faḍl replied that he would not agree thereto, unless Manṣūr sent him his son to remain with him, subject to his authority. It should not, he said, be reported of him that he had departed without gaining his ends, but it should be known and spread among the people, that he had left Manṣūr of his good grace and not for lack of power. Manṣūr complied with his demands. He came, accompanied by one of his sons, unto
147 Ibn Faḍl, who placed upon his neck a golden collar.*

On his return to al-Mudhaykhirah, Ibn Faḍl directed his efforts to the task of legalizing things prohibited by the law and of inculcating liberty to do that which is forbidden. He erected a large building, in which he was in the habit of collecting most of his sectaries, men and women, decked with ornaments and perfumed. The place was lighted with candles and the guests entertained one another with conversation of the most attractive and alluring character. Then the lights were extinguished and each man laid his hands upon a woman, whom having seized he did not abandon, even though she were unto him within the forbidden degrees. Sometimes it happened that what fell to a man's lot did not please him, either on account of his partner's years, or for some similar reason. He might endeavour to escape from her, but she would allow him no excuse. Ibn Mālik relates that a very aged woman once fell to the lot of a certain man. On discovering the fact he desired to slip away from her, whereupon

* According to Khazraji, it was Manṣūr who placed a collar of gold round the neck of Ibn Faḍl.

she said to him: "*Du budda min dhi ḥukmu 'l-Amīr.*" *Du* is the negative in certain dialects of Yaman, and *dhi* is used for the relative pronoun *illadhi*. The sentence therefore signifies: There is no escape from that which is an ordinance of the Amīr, that is to say, of Ibn Faḍl.

Such practices are most shameful and pernicious, and they are repudiated by all who follow the doctrines of Ismaīlism. They are things that cannot be proved against anyone but Ibn Faḍl. I have inquired of many persons, from whom correct information can be obtained respecting the doctrines of the sect. They condemned these misdeeds, and I found all agreed in regarding 'Aly ibn Faḍl as an atheist, whilst upholding Manṣūr al-Yaman as one of the most distinguished and most worthy men of their sect. These opinions are in conformity with the conclusions I have myself arrived at, and they are firmly established in my mind.

When Ibn Faḍl in consequence of his partiality for al-Mudhaykhirah made it his place of residence, he appointed As'ad ibn Ya'fur, of whom mention has been made, to be his deputy over Ṣan'ā. He was not convinced that As'ad had really allied himself with him, and he was, on the contrary, apprehensive of treachery. He therefore made him his deputy at Ṣan'ā. As'ad was, indeed, keenly desirous to avenge the Muslims, and he was also filled with mistrust and with resentment against Ibn Faḍl. He rarely abode at Ṣan'ā, through fear of a sudden
148 attack. Ibn Jarīr says that the heading of Ibn Faḍl's letters to As'ad was as follows: "*From him who hath spread out the plains of the earth and extended them as a carpet, who maketh the mountains to shake and who hath firmly rooted them, 'Aly ibn Faḍl, unto his slave As'ad.*" Naught besides these words is

required to convict him of atheism, from which God grant us to be preserved.

Whilst As'ad was acting as deputy for Ibn Faḍl, there came unto him a stranger, said to be a Sharīf and native of Baghdād. He became an associate and companion to As'ad. It is said that he was sent by the Sovereign of Baghdād for the purpose of contriving the death of Ibn Faḍl, and he abode with As'ad for a time. This man, who was a surgeon, had a perfect knowledge of therapeutics, he was highly skilled in venesection, in the cure of wounds and in the administration of beneficial remedies. Perceiving the intensity of As'ad's fear of Ibn Faḍl, he said to the Prince: "I have resolved upon making my life an offering unto God, and an alms unto the Muslims, that I may relieve them of this tyrant. Give me now thy promise, that if I return unto thee, thou wilt share with me the sovereignty thou shalt acquire." As'ad gave his consent, and the stranger equipped himself for his undertaking and left the Prince, who was then dwelling in al-Jauf, in the country of Hamdān, in perpetual fear of Ibn Faḍl.* The stranger travelled until he reached al-Mudhaykhirah. There he sought the society of the foremost and greatest officials of the State. He attended upon them, bled them, and administered healing draughts and boluses. They mentioned him to Ibn Faḍl, praised him and described the skill he displayed, which, it was said, was such that its possessor's services were meet for none but for such as Ibn Faḍl or his equals in rank.

On a certain day Ibn Faḍl desired to be bled. He inquired for the stranger, who was brought to

* Al-Jauf is the name given to a large district in the country of Hamdān, watered by four rivers, of which the most important is the Khārid (Hamdāni, p. 81).

him. The physician, on being summoned, applied poison to his own hair on the front of his head, and his hair was very thick. On entering into the presence of Ibn Faḍl, he was ordered to divest himself of his raiment and to put on other garments provided for the purpose. Ibn Faḍl then commanded him to draw near for the purpose of performing the operation. He obeyed, and seated himself in front of him. He then produced the lancet and, placing it between his lips, he sucked it, to show that it was free from poison. Then he wiped it upon his hair at the spot where he had placed the poison, some of which adhered to the lancet. He now bled his patient from one of the veins of his hand, and having bound up the wound, he hastily departed. Resting
149 his fears upon the praise he rendered unto God, he travelled forth from al-Mudhaykhirah, hastening to rejoin As'ad ibn Ya'fur.

When Ibn Faḍl had rested for a while, he began to feel the effects of the poison. He became aware that he had been deceived by the phlebotomist and commanded him to be sent for, but the man could not be found. Ibn Faḍl's desire for his capture increased, and he ordered him to be pursued whithersoever he might have gone, and to be brought back. Soldiers went forth seeking him in various directions, until one of them overtook the physician in Wādi Saḥūl, close to the mosque known by the name of *Kaynān*.* He would not surrender, but defended himself and was killed. His tomb is on that spot. It is a mosque for congregational prayer, supplied with a minaret. It is much visited, and blessings attend those who resort to it. I visited it in the year 696.

* Al-Hamdāni mentions Ḳaynān as situated in the province of Saḥūl and in the northern portion of the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā', pp. 68, 6, and 100, 15.

The death of the physician was soon followed by that of Ibn Faḍl, on the night of Thursday the fifteenth of Rabī'u 'l-Ākhir of the year 303. The Muslims suffered under the trials of his usurpation, for a period of seventeen years. When As'ad heard of his death he rejoiced, and so did all the people of Yaman, with exceeding joy. They wrote to As'ad requesting him to attack Mudhaykhirah, and to destroy the dominion of the Karmathians. He consented and collected a strong force from Ṣan'ā and its neighbourhood. On his arrival in Mikhlāf Ja'far, he was joined by its inhabitants, as also by the people of Janad and of al-Ma'āfir, and the army marched upon al-Mudhaykhirah.

Ibn Faḍl had left a son who was known by the name of *al-Ghāfā'i*, by reason of a whiteness on the iris of his eyes. As'ad besieged al-Mudhaykhirah with his troops. He encamped upon Mount Thaumān, which I have hereinbefore mentioned, when speaking of al-Ja'fari. It is now known by the name of Mountain of Khaulān, because it is inhabited by Arabs of that tribe, known under the name of Banu 'l-Bi'm (?). The army remained at this place, and whenever troops issued forth from the city, the Muslims defeated them. This occurred time after time, until the enemy was utterly disheartened and humbled. As'ad then erected mangonels, by means of which most of the houses in the city were destroyed, and he finally captured the place by force of arms. The son of 'Aly ibn Faḍl and as many of his followers, members of his family and persons who had embraced his sect, as As'ad could lay his hands upon, were put to death. His
50 daughters, three in number, were captured. As'ad selected one, named Mu'ādhah, and gave her to his nephew Ḳaḥṭān, unto whom she bore 'Abd Allah, of

whom mention will be made hereafter.* Her two sisters fell to the lot of two chiefs. The siege of al-Mudhaykhirah by the Muslims endured for a whole year, and it is said that during all that time As'ad never put off his armour or divested himself of his sword. The rule of the Karmathians was extirpated from Mikhlāf Ja'far, and al-Mudhaykhirah has continued in ruins from that period unto the present.

As for Manṣūr, he continued in the condition above described, but (in contrast with Ibn Faḍl) he was an able ruler who took pleasure in the performance of good works, the record whereof endureth. He did not leave the district of Lā'ah, and he died before Ibn Faḍl, in the year 302, after bequeathing his authority to a son of the name of Ḥasan and to one of his followers, named 'Abd Allah ibn al-'Abbās ash-Shāwiry. Manṣūr placed special confidence in this man, and had sent him on a mission with letters and presents to the Mahdy ('Obayd Allah), to whom ash-Shāwiry became personally known, and whose esteem he also won. Manṣūr, on becoming sensible of his approaching death, sent for these two persons and said unto them: "I charge you both with the care of our dominion. Be careful to preserve it, and cease not to propagate the authority of 'Obayd (Allah) ibn Maymūn. We are one of the trees his family hath planted, and but for our appeals to their rights and authority, our ends could not have been gained. It will be your duty to communicate, by means of letters, with our Imām the Mahdy, and upon naught shall ye decide without consulting him. I have not gained the dominion we possess by means of great riches nor with the help of multitudes of men. I came to this country unwillingly,

* See Note 8.

and I have attained the results that are known unto you, under the good auspices of the Mahdy, of whose coming the glad tidings were given by the Prophet, whom God bless and hail with salutations of peace." These words he often repeated before multitudes of people.

Upon the death of Manṣūr, ash-Shāwiry, the executor of his will, wrote to the Mahdy, then residing at Mahdīyah, informing him of the event and stating that the office of Dā'y remained in suspense, awaiting the Mahdy's commands. But he sent also assurances that he was prepared to exercise the office of Dā'y with loyalty and fidelity, apart from the sons of Manṣūr. One of the latter was entrusted with the letter. He set forth upon his journey, and on arriving at al-Mahdīyah he delivered the letter, with the contents of which he was unacquainted. The Mahdy knew ash-Shāwiry, who had aforetimes come unto him with missives from Manṣūr. He knew him to be well qualified to fulfil the office of Dā'y, and he feared lest the sons of Manṣūr should prove unequal to the task. The Mahdy replied consenting to the appointment of ash-Shāwiry alone, and the son of Manṣūr returned to Yaman deceived in his expectations. But he concealed his disappointment and delivered the Mahdy's letter. He and his brethren continued on terms of friendly intercourse with ash-Shāwiry, who on his side showed them honour and respect. He did not preclude them from free access unto him. They entered his presence whensoever they pleased, without the interference of a chamberlain. At length, he who had been sent to the Mahdy came unto him, and seizing an opportunity when ash-Shāwiry was off his guard, he slew him. He made himself master of the country, and collecting the people from every district, he took them to wit-

ness that he abjured his father's sect, and that he joined that of the Sunnis. The people listened with approval, they rewarded him with their love and they submitted to his authority. One of his brethren, named Ja'far, came unto him. Ja'far condemned his brother's conduct and upbraided him, but his brother would not listen. Ja'far left him in anger and went unto the Mahdy at Ḳayrawān. He found that 'Obayd Allah was dead and that he had been succeeded by his son al-Ḳā'im (bi amr Illah). These events had occurred in the year 322. The son of Manṣūr remained with the new Khalīfah.

Meanwhile his brother massacred the members of his father's sect, and drove them forth, until none remained around him but such whose religious tenets were held in secret. Only a small number continued to dwell in the country and they corresponded with the family of 'Obayd (Allah) son of Maymūn at Ḳayrawān. The son of Manṣūr then went forth from Maswar unto 'Ayn Muḥarram, which has been previously mentioned, and where there was a man of the family of al-'Arjā, sulṭāns of that country. The son of Manṣūr (before starting) appointed a deputy over Maswar, a man named Ibrahīm ibn 'Abd al-Majīd (al-Ḥamīd ?) ash-Shīya'y. He was ancestor of the Banu 'l-Muntāb, after whom Maswar has been named and is called al-Muntāb. When the son of Manṣūr reached 'Ayn Muḥarram, Ibn al-'Arjā suddenly attacked him and killed him. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, on hearing thereof [tarried at Maswar and proclaimed himself sovereign of the district]. The members and women of the family of Manṣūr who were with him, fled to Mount al-Ḥashab (Bani A'shab),* but they were attacked

* The tribe of A'shab son of Ḳudam dwelt, according to Hamdāni, in the mountains between the rivers Lā'ah and Surdud (p. 112, l. 19 sqq.).

52 by the people, who robbed, plundered and murdered them.

Ibn al-'Arjā and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd arrived at an agreement, in accordance with which the country was divided between them. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd abjured the doctrines of Manṣūr. He built a mosque, in which he placed a pulpit, and the Khuṭbah was recited therein in the names of the 'Abbasside Khalīfahs. He sought out the Karmathians wherever he could hear of them, until they were almost exterminated, and only a small remnant continued to subsist in the neighbourhood of Maswar, who held the doctrines of their sect in secret and who recognized as their chief a man known by the name of [Ibn aṭ-Ṭufayl. He was slain by Ibrahīm. But after the latter's death and during the reign of al-Muntāb son of Ibrahīm, aṭ-Ṭufayl was succeeded in the office of Dā'y by a person named] Ibn Raḥīm (Ibn Juftam ?), a man of resolute character. His dwelling-place was kept secret lest al-Muntāb or other Sunnites should lay hands upon him, but he was in correspondence with the family of the Mahdy whilst they were at Ḳayrawān and afterwards in Egypt. It was in his days that al-Mu'izz son of (al-Manṣūr billah son of) al-Ḳā'im son of the Mahdy ('Obayd Allah) came to Egypt and built Cairo, which became his place of residence.[142] When Ibn Juftam felt the approach of death, he appointed over his sectaries a man named Yūsuf ibn al-Asad (?). Ibn Juftam died when al-Ḥākim (grandson of al-Mu'izz) was on the throne at Cairo (A.H. 386—411).[143] Ibn al-Asad secretly laboured to spread al-Ḥākim's supremacy, and recognized it himself until he knew that his end was nigh, when he appointed as his successor a man named Suleymān (read 'Āmir) ibn 'Abd Allah ar-Rawāhy, a native of the district of Shibām. He was a man of great wealth, of which he made use in

beguiling the people and in protecting his own followers from persecution. If any person meditated putting him to death, he would say: "I am a Muslim and I bear testimony that there is no God but God. How then can the spilling of my blood or the seizure of my property be lawful unto you?" Thereupon he would be left to go his way. On the approach of death, he appointed as his successor 'Aly son of Muḥammad the Sulayhite. The latter's family was originally from al-Aḥrāj (al-Akhrūj),[114] and he was a member of the community of Shī'ahs of Ḥarāz.

NOTES.

Note 1 to p. 1.—The *Dā'ys,* a word derived from a verb signifying to invite or summon, were missionaries employed by the Ismailites, to teach and propagate the doctrines of their sect. Their Chief, whose residence, under the Fatimite (or Ismailite) Khalīfahs, was at Cairo, was styled the *Dā'y of Dā'ys.* The title was hardly inferior to that of *Ḳāḍy of Ḳāḍys*, and both offices were frequently held by the same person. It has been suggested that the word is the origin of the designation *Dey,* applied by Europeans to the Viceroys of Algiers.

Note 2 to p. 3.—These words occur in five separate passages of the Ḳur'ān. That in Ch. xxxv. v. 19 is as follows :—

No burdened soul shall (on the day of resurrection) bear the load that belongeth unto another. And though one call upon another to assume its burden, that other shall not be laden therewith, even though the appeal proceed from its nearest kindred.

Note 3 to p. 3.—The Ash'arites were Ḳaḥṭānites, descendants of 'Arīb. A noteworthy member of the tribe was Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly al-Ash'ari, originator of the religious sect known as the Ash'arites. The 'Akkites are likewise often described as Ḳaḥṭānites, descendants of Mālik and Ḳaḥṭān and of 'Udthān. But it is said that the last-mentioned name must be read *'Adnān,* and that the 'Akkites are to be reckoned as an Ishmaelite tribe. They removed at an early date to the Tihāmah of Yaman, where they entered into close alliance with the Ash'arites. The two tribes are stated to have been the first to apostatize in Yaman upon the death of the Prophet.

In all works on Arab history and on the geography of Arabia, continual reference is made to seemingly endless numbers of tribes, and more especially is this so when the Yamanite provinces are in question. Readers unfamiliar with the subject, may find it useful to be supplied with its

general outlines, and I accordingly add to this note an enumeration of the principal tribes of Yaman. Carefully prepared tables have been constructed by F. Wüstenfeld, and they will be found of great service to anyone desirous of studying the Arab tribal system. For the following slight sketch, not having Wüstenfeld's book within easy reach, I have contented myself with following Ibn Khaldūn's chapters on the descent of the tribes, making, however, certain corrections and additions, chiefly derived from Hamdāni's Description of Arabia, from Yāḳūt's Geographical Dictionary, and, in a small number of instances, from one or two other works.

The subject, it must be remarked is beset with so many discrepancies and with such frequent disagreements, that it would be impossible to supply, within a moderate compass, anything approaching to an exhaustive account of the tribes and of their genealogies, as taught by the native traditionists. Many tribes, moreover, some of common, others of entirely distinct lineage, bear the same name, and their origin is not unfrequently matter of dispute. Al-Hamdāni, speaking of certain Arabs bearing the name of Ja'dah (p. 89-90), who, he says, claimed to be descendants of the Ishmaelite tribe of Ja'dah derived from Ḳays 'Aylān, makes the remark that it was a common practice for a tribe of desert Arabs to avail itself of such similarity of name, and to assert a claim to identity of lineage with that of a greater and more illustrious namesake. The thing, he continues, was of frequent occurrence and had often come under his personal observation.

The inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula are by common consent divided into two great Septs or Nations, one of which, the more ancient of the two, is generally known under the designation of the *Yamanite* tribes, because for the most part they inhabited, and still inhabit, the southern provinces of Arabia. They claim to be the direct descendants of Ḳaḥtān, whom the Arabs identify with Joktan of the Jewish Scripture, the ancestor of Hazarmaveth (Ḥadramaut), Uzal, Sheba (Saba) and others. It is admitted that a more ancient tribal race at one time inhabited the Arab Peninsula, but one the greater part of which has long been extinct, whilst of the remainder it is only known that no traces of its posterity can be distinguished. The traditions respecting the aboriginal race, it is further allowed, rest upon no sure authority, with the

exception only of the few particulars preserved in the pages of the Kur'ān. It is universally held that these people were, like the Kaḥṭānites, descendants of Shem the son of Noah, and it is generally believed that their language was Arabic, a fact positively stated in respect to some of the tribes.

The second great division consists of the race descended from Ishmael son of Abraham. The Ishmaelite Arabs are sometimes termed Nizārites or Ma'addites because they are descended from Nizār son of Ma'add, son of 'Adnān. The precise links in the chain of descent from Ishmael to 'Adnān cannot be authoritatively stated, but the truth of that descent is absolutely unquestioned.

'Adnān is said to have been contemporary with the prophets Jeremiah and Baruch, and with Nebuchadnezzar (Bukht Naṣṣar). The latter, according to Arab tradition, by command of God invaded Northern and Central Arabia, and exterminated all but a small fraction of its inhabitants. Ma'add son of Adnān was at that time in his childhood. He was conveyed, for safety—miraculously, it is said—to the ancient town of Ḥarrān in Mesopotamia. On his return he collected the remnant of his father's people, who had sought refuge with the Yamanites. The Ishmaelite Arabs, according to the commonly received version, are descendants of Ma'add, precisely as the Yamanite Arabs are held to be descendants of Kaḥṭān.

The posterity of Ishmael divide themselves into three great stems. That of **al-Ya's** son of Muḍar son of Nizār, to which belonged, among others, the tribe of *Kuraysh*, whereof the Prophet was a member, that of **Kays 'Aylān**, brother of al-Ya's, and that of **Rabī'ah**, brother of Muḍar and son of Nizār.

The Yamanite tribes are in like manner divided into three great stems, all descended from Saba or 'Abd ash-Shams (servant of the Sun) son of Yashjub, son of Ya'rub son of Kaḥṭān.

There are in the first place the **Himyarites**, composed of the descendants of al-'Aranjaj, better known under his surname of Ḥimyar, son of 'Abd ash-Shams. Among the principal Himyarite tribes and those whose names are most frequently met with in the histories of Yaman, were the *Banu Shar'ab*, the *Banu Sha'bān*, and numerous tribes descended from Zayd al-Jamhūr, such as the tribes of *Dhu Ru'ayn* or *Yarīm*, *Yāfi'*, *Wuḥāẓah*, *Dhu 'l-Kalā'*, *Ḥarāz*, *Maytam*,

Saḥūl, Auzā‘ and *Dhu Aṣbaḥ*. It will be noticed that many places in Yaman were named after the tribes by which they were inhabited.

The other two great Kahtanite stems consist of the descendants of **Mālik** and of **‘Arīb**, sons of Zayd son of Kahlān son of ‘Abd ash-Shams.

Among the tribes of **Mālik**, the chief place may be assigned to that of *Hamdān*, descendant of al-Khiyār son of Mālik. The Banu Hamdān branch forth into an almost endless number of subdivisions, all connected together by common descent, and like other Arab sister-tribes, for the most part, though by no means always, in more or less close alliance with one another. Of the Hamdānite subtribes, it may be sufficient here to mention the names of *Hāshid* and *Bakīl* (seldom dissociated from one another) the *Banu Yām, Jusham* and *Shihāb*. Next in importance to the Banu Hamdān may be reckoned the *Azdites*, a name borne by the most important section of the people who inhabited the country of Saba and its capital Ma'rib, at the time of the rupture of the dyke of ‘Arim and of the ruin to which that portion of Yaman was in consequence reduced. All but a small section of the Azdites abandoned the country.* A portion proceeded to ‘Omān. The chief body went to the Tihāmah of Yaman, inhabited by the tribes of ‘Akk and Ash‘ar. Here they settled in the neighbourhood of a Pool named *Ghassān*, situated between the rivers Zabīd and Rima‘. After a lengthened stay, dissensions with the original occupants of the country compelled the Azdites to depart. A portion of the tribe established itself in Najrān, in the neighbourhood of the Madhḥijites who had long occupied and ruled the country. Another section led by Ḥārithah son of ‘Amru, attacked and overcame the Jurhumites at Mecca and became known as the *Khuzā‘ah*, a designation given to them, it is said, because they "separated" themselves from their brethren led by Tha‘labah son of ‘Amru. The Azdite sub-tribes of Aus and Khazraj, so named after the two grandsons of Tha‘labah, possessed themselves of Yathrib (the ancient name of Medinah). Their descendants were the first Arab community to embrace Islām, and their recognition of the Prophet, at a time when his pro-

* This occurred, according to Caussin de Perceval's conjecture, in A.D. 118.

spects seemed sunk into a depth of utter hopelessness, became the chief means that eventually brought about the triumph of his cause. He accepted the refuge they offered him and he bestowed upon them the title of *al-Anṣār*, the Defenders, whilst the small party that accompanied him on his flight from Mecca, received the designation *al-Muhajirūn*, the Emigrants or Refugees. The Ghassanite Azdites gradually travelled northwards and eventually reached Syria, where they founded the kingdom known as that of Ghassān, which endured under Roman supremacy, until the conquest of Syria by the Muslims. Other two tribes of the stem of Mālik are the *Banu Khath'am* and *Banu Bajīlah*, descended from al-Ghauth, father of al-Azd. But according to some authorities these two tribes were Ma'addites.

The third great stem of the Kaḥṭānite Arabs consists, as already mentioned, of the descendants of 'Arīb, brother of Mālik. It subdivides itself into four branches, three of which, the *Banu Ṭayy, Banu Madhḥij* and *Banu Murrah*, comprise a large number of sub-tribes. The fourth is the tribe of *Ash'ar*, the associates of the Banu 'Akk in the Tihāmah of Yaman.

The *Banu Ṭayy* abandoned Yaman shortly after the dispersion of the Azdites, and settled for the most part in Northern Arabia, near the mountains of Ajā and Salma, whence they spread into 'Irāḳ and into the Syrian desert. Among the sub-tribes of the *Madhḥijites* are the *Banu Ju'fi, Zubayd, Ḥakam,* and *Sinḥān,* derived from Sa'd al-'Ashīrah son of Madhḥij, also the *Banu 'Ans, Banu Murād Banu Jald, Banu Ḥurab, Nakha', Munabbih* or *Janb*, and the *Banu 'l-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b*, who conquered Najrān and dwelt there for many centuries. According to some versions, the Banu Sinḥān and Ḥārith were included in the designation *Janb*.

From the *Banu Murrah* were descended the *Banu Khaulān,* who are described as sons of 'Amru son of Mālik son of al-Ḥārith son of Murrah and their kinsmen the *Banu Jurrah* sons of Rakla son of 'Amru son of Mālik. Other authorities, however, pronounce the Banu Khaulān to be a sub-tribe of *Kuḍā'ah*, sons, that is to say, of 'Amru son of al-Ḥāf son of Kuḍā'ah. Al-Hamdāni, if the version given by Yāḳūt (vol. iv. p. 437-38) can be trusted, admits two separate tribes of the same name, one of which he distinguishes under the name of Khaulān al-'Āliyah, and the other

as Khaulān-Kuḍā'ah.* The tribes of Hamdān and of Khaulān were by far the largest and most powerful tribes in Yaman.

There were many other subdivisions of the branch of Murrah. Among these may be mentioned the tribe of *Ma'āfir* (son of Ya'fur—see Hamdāni, p. 67, 25, and Yāķūt iv. 570),† that of *Kindah* and its sub-tribes *Sakūn*, *Tujīb* and *Saksak*, also the *Banu Lakhm*, and *Banu Judhām*.

There remains to be noticed the great Arab stem of **Kuḍā'ah**, respecting which the generally accepted opinion is that they are descendants of Mālik son of Ḥimyar. Some, however, contend that Kuḍā'ah was son of Ma'add and that his descendants are Ishmaelite Arabs, whilst on the other side it is held that he was only the adopted and step-son of Ma'add. According to another version, the Banu Kuḍā'ah were expelled from Najrān by the Banu 'l-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b the Azdites, and it is said that they went to the Ḥijāz and there became allied with the Ma'addites. The sub-tribes of Kuḍā'ah are very numerous. It may be sufficient to mention here the *Banu Kalb*, *Banu Tanūkh*, *Banu Jarm*, *Banu Nahd*, *Banu 'Udhrah* and *Banu Fahm*. I have already stated that the Banu Khaulān, according to some accounts, were a sub-tribe of Kuḍā'ah.

NOTE 4 to p. 4.—Most of what precedes is reproduced, almost verbatim, by Yāķūt in his article on Zabīd. Ibn Khaldūn, in his account of the descendants of Abu Ṭālib (vol. iv. p. 115), repeats what he tells us in his history of Yaman (*supra*, p. 141) touching the Khalīfah al-Ma'mūn's motives for sending Muḥammad ibn Ziyād to that country. He was sent, he says, on a mission to suppress the rebellion of the Alides, who, under the leadership of Ibrahīm *al-Jazzar* (the Butcher), threatened to detach the province from the rest of the Empire. And Ibn Ziyād, he continues, was chosen by al-Ma'mūn on account of the intense hatred he was known to entertain against the family of 'Aly.‡

* In Müller's edition the passage referred to occurs at p. 107. See also pp. 109 and 113. It will be observed that Yāķūt supplies us with a different reading.

† Ibn al-Athīr describes the Banu Ma'āfir as a Himyaritic tribe (vol. viii. p. 499).

‡ Another rebellion is stated to have occurred in Yaman in A.H. 207 (Tabari, iii. p. 1062), led by the Alide 'Abd ar-Raḥmān

Ibn Ziyād's descent seems to be traced through Ziyād's son 'Obayd Allah, the same who took a leading part in the slaughter of the Imām Ḥusayn, grandson of the Prophet, a memorable event which Gibbon has made familiar to English readers. Ziyād himself, the ancestor of the founder of Zabīd, was regarded as son of Abu Sufyān, brother therefore of Mu'āwīyah the first Khalīfah of the Omayyad dynasty. The circumstances of his birth were such, it is true, as to cast grave doubt upon his claims. He was therefore generally known by the surname Ibn Abihi, *the son of his father*. Mu'āwīyah eventually acknowledged him as his brother, far less, there is reason to suspect, out of conviction, than for the purpose of disarming an ambitious and dangerous subject. Ziyād owed, probably, much of his success and influence to his talent as an orator. It is related of him, that when a young man, barely over twenty years of age, he preached a *Khuṭbah* at Medinah, the eloquence of which filled his hearers with admiration. "How marvellous a talent hath God granted to that youth!" exclaimed 'Amru ibn al-'Āṣ. "Were his father of the tribe of Kuraysh, it were easy for him to drive the Arab nation before him with a switch!" "By Allah," answered Abu Sufyān, "I know who is his father." 'Aly, who was close at hand, turned round and stopped the discussion of so dangerous a topic: "Silence, Abu Sufyān, for thou well knowest, were 'Omar to hear thy language, its punishment would quickly follow!" Ziyād was born in the first year of the Hijrah and died in A.H. 53.

Suleymān ibn Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik, from whom one

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ibn Aḥmad. It was suppressed, we are told, by Dinār ibn 'Abd Allah, sent for the purpose, at the head of a strong force, by al-Ma'mūn. The insurrection is said to have occurred in the country of the 'Akkites. There is some difficulty in reconciling the story with the statement that the district in question was, at that time, absolutely subject to Ibn Ziyād. But it may well be that the latter's rise in the Tihāmah of Yaman was far less rapid than is represented by 'Omārah. Al-Hamdāni, who died in A.H. 334, indeed tells us (p. 103) that, from the time of al-Mu'taṣim (A.H. 218—227) to that of al-Mu'tamid (A.H. 256—279), a certain family of the Banu Shurāḥ (subdivision of the tribe of Dhu Ru'ayn the Himyarites) exercised sovereign rule over the Tihāmah of Yaman. Elsewhere (p. 120, l. 7) he says that the Banu Shurāḥ held paramount sway, at Zabīd, over all the neighbouring Arab tribes. See also p. 119, l. 23.

of the Ziyādite's companions claimed to be descended, was, as is indicated by his name, son of the Omayyad Khalīfah Hishām. He was slain in A.H. 132, one of the many victims of the first Abbasside Khalīfah 'Abd Allah as-Saffāḥ, *the Blood-spiller*. Ibn Ziyād's companion, it will be observed, is also designated *the Marwānite*, after his ancestor the Khalīfah Marwān, father of 'Abd al-Malik.

The Banu Taghlib were a Ma'addite (Ishmaelite) tribe descended from Rabī'ah son of Nizār. The Taghlibite companion of Muḥammad ibn Ziyād bore the same name as Muḥammad (al-Amīn), son and successor of Harūn (ar-Rashīd). Al-Amīn was deposed from the Khalīfate in favour of his brother 'Abd Allah al-Ma'mūn, and in A.H. 198 he was captured and slain by Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusayn, the general in command of al-Ma'mūn's troops. The new Khalīfah, it is said, never ceased secretly to lament the slaughter of his brother. On one occasion, at the sight of Ṭāhir, he burst into tears, and when asked the cause of his grief, he replied that he wept at the remembrance of a thing, the mention of which was dishonour and its suppression mourning. The circumstance was reported to Ṭāhir, who, greatly alarmed, solicited and obtained the government of Khurāsān, where he soon became practically independent, and founded the dynasty known as that of the Ṭāhirites.

NOTE 5 to p. 4.—Al-Khazraji, at this point of his history (p. 78), enters into certain particulars touching the town of Zabīd. The city, he says, is circular in form. It stands half-way between the mountains and the sea, at a distance of about half a days' journey from either. On the south flows the river Zabīd* and on the north the river Rima'. Elsewhere (p. 81), the same writer describes the walls of Zabīd, which he says were originally built by Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah, rebuilt by Mann Allah al-Fātiki, in A.H. 520 and odd years, again by the Banu Mahdy, and again, in A.H. 589, by Sayf al-Islām Tughtakīn the Ayyūbite. It has, he says, four gates. One on the east called *Bāb ash-Shibāriḳ*, leading to Shibāriḳ, a village situated on the river Zabīd, and thence to the fortress of Ḳawārīr. One on the west, which in his day was called *Bāb an-Nakhl*, but which at an earlier period

* Al-Janadi tells us that the city of Zabīd was named after the river (fol. 29 obv.).

bore the name of *Bāb Ghulāfiḳah.* The road leads to Ghulāfiḳah and to al-Ahwāb. The former, he says, served at one time as the port of Zabīd, but it fell into decay and was superseded by al-Ahwāb, which was in his time known under the name of al-Buḳʿah. The third gate, on the north, bore the name of *Bāb Sahām.* It led to Wādi Rimaʿ and Wādi Sahām. The fourth gate, *Bāb al-Ḳurtub,* on the south, led to Wādi Zabīd and thence to the village of Ḳurtub, situated upon that river.*

Al-Khazraji next enters into lengthy details touching the extent of the walls, in which it is needless to follow him. In describing the city walls and bastions, he quotes the work of Ibn al-Mujāwir, written about A.H. 630, a book freely used by Sprenger, in his valuable work upon Eastern Geography, under the title of *Tarīkh al-Mustanṣiry.* It may be worth remarking that in the Leiden MS. of al-Khazraji, the word, excepting in one instance, is written *al-Mustabṣiry.*

NOTE 6 to p. 4.—ʿOmārah's statements touching the foundation of al-Mudhaykhirah and on the derivation of the name *Mikhlāf Jaʿfar* are mentioned, but absolutely contradicted by al-Janadi. The city of Mudhaykhirah, situated on Mount Thaumān, was built, he says (fol. 182 rev.), by Jaʿfar ibn Ibrahīm al-Manākhi. Elsewhere, in his chapter on the Abbasside governors of Yaman, he says (fol. 28 rev.), that the founder of the principality was Ibrahīm ibn Abi Jaʿfar al-Manākhi, who conquered Mount Thaumān in the days of al-Ma'mūn. Aḥmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, appointed Governor of Yaman in A.H. 213, marched against al-Manākhi in the following year, but was defeated and killed. Janadi specifies the orthography of the name ثَومان, but adds that the form of the word is that of the dual of ثوم.

Yāḳūt gives ʿOmārah's description of Mudhaykhirah, as

* Johannsen gives most of these particulars (pp. 120, 253, 261) as they are borrowed from al-Khazraji by Daybaʿ, but having misread اسفل for انتقل, a not inexcusable error in the absence of diacritical points, he has missed the sense of the writer's words regarding the name Buḳʿah. Khazraji writes : انتقل البندر الى قرية الاهواب و البندر اليوم تسمى البقعة. It will be observed that there is room for doubt whether the name Buḳʿah is meant to apply to Ghulāfiḳah or to al-Ahwāb.

also the greater part of the passage relating to Ibn Ziyād's freedman Ja'far, as is shown in the notes I have appended to the Arabic text. Yākūt begins by stating that Mudhaykhirah stood on Mount Ṣabir, which I need hardly say is an error. (See *infra*, Note 11.)

Abu Ja'far al-Manākhi was descended, according to Janadi, from Dhu 'l-Muthlah (ذو المثلة ; but cf. Hamdāni p. 100, l. 25 and 26), the Ḥimyarite, and from Dhu 'l-Manākh. His posterity continued in existence down to the writer's days, and they were known as Sulṭāns of Ḳiyāḍ (? قياض) Bayt 'Izz, Raym (Raymah?) and Karm 'Amīm. Ibrahīm Abu Ja'far possessed himself of Mount Raymah as well as of Thaumān, and it acquired the name of Raymat al-Manākhi. He made himself master of the greater part of Mikhlāf Ja'far.

Some further particulars touching the petty dynasty of Manākhi, are supplied in the accounts preserved by al-Janadi and Khazraji, of the circumstances under which the Karmathian or Ismailite doctrines were established in Yaman. Mudhaykhirah, it will be seen, was conquered by Ibn Faḍl. Its ruler at that time, says al-Khazraji (who derives his information from the same source as al-Janadi), was Ja'far ibn Aḥmad (Ibrahīm?) al-Manākhi, after whom Mikhlāf Ja'far is named. Aly ibn Faḍl marched against him in A.H. 291, but was defeated and compelled to fall back upon the country of Yāfi'. Five months later, in A.H. 292, he again attacked the city and he succeeded in gaining possession, first of Mudhaykhirah and next of the fortress of Ta'kar. Ja'far ibn Ibrahīm (*sic*) fled to Tihāmah and reached al-Ḳurtub in the valley of the river Zabīd. He was assisted with troops by the Prince of Zabīd (Abu 'l-Jaysh Isḥāk?). With these he resumed the struggle. A celebrated battle was fought, says Khazraji, in Wādi Nakhlah, in which Ja'far ibn Ibrahīm (*sic*) and his nephew Abu 'l-Futūh were killed. Ja'far's rule, adds the same writer, endured from A.H. 249 to 292, forty-three years.*

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* Hamdāni (p. 75, l. 9) says that "Ja'far ibn Ibrahīm al-Manākhi" was killed at or near the fortress of Khawālah, situated close to one of the sources of the Wādi Nakhlah.

Dr. Glaser visited the town of Menakha near Shibām-Ḥarāz, which I need hardly say is geographically quite distinct from Mikhlāf Ja'far, or the country of al-Manākhi, as it is sometimes called. I find no mention of Manakha in Hamdāni or other

Al-Mudhaykhirah, as will be seen, was re-captured from the Ismailites by As'ad ibn Ya'fur, in or shortly after A.H. 303. The city was destroyed, and Janadi adds that it continued in ruins down to his time. It will be noticed that Jabal Thaumān was, in the writer's days, known under the name of Mountain of Khaulān.

NOTE 7 to p. 5.—For *Diyār Kindah, Shiḥr* and *Mirbāṭ*, see *supra*, pp. 177, 180 and 182. See also de Goeje's ed. of Ibn Ḥaukal, note to p. 32 (vol. iv. p. 432), whence it appears that a note appended to the Paris text in the sixth century of the Hijrah, describes Mirbāṭ as a seaport situated at a distance of one and a half days' journey from Ẓafār, whilst according to Yāḳūt the distance is five parasangs. All these places are marked on modern maps.

NOTE 8 to p. 5.—We have seen that Ibn Ziyād was sent to Yaman as *Amīr*, a word of somewhat doubtful meaning, since it may be taken to signify a Prince, a Governor, or a military Commander. But it is tolerably clear that he was not intended to supersede the Governors of the province of Yaman, whose residence was at Ṣan'ā, and who continued to be appointed by the Khalīfah al-Ma'mūn and his successors long after the foundation of the Ziyādite Principality.

The family of the Banu Ya'fur, who eventually established themselves as a virtually independent dynasty at Ṣan'ā, was, according to our text, descended from the

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native writers I have at my command, and the name in its application to the town in question, is perhaps of more modern date.

Al-Hamdāni mentions another place, *Manāḥi*, written, according to Müller's edition, with the letter *ḥa* not *kha*. He describes it (pp. 82, 12; 110, 6, 8) as situated at the junction of the two main streams of the Wādi Khārid—one of which flows down from Ṣan'ā. The other has its chief sources in the neighbourhood of Shibām-Aḳyān and Ḥadūr Bani Azd. Its upper course bears, according to Dr. Glaser's map, the name of Wādi Khuzāmir and, lower down, that of Wādi Shuwābah (cf. Hamdāni, p. 82, l. 6, and p. 110, l. 6). Among its affluents is, as shown by Dr. Glaser, the small stream of Dhī Bīn (or Dhū Bīn), in Balad as-Ṣayad (Hamdāni, p. 82, l. 8, and 111, 25). The town of Dhū Bīn, the burial-place of the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn, is frequently mentioned in the histories of the Zaydite Imāms.

Tubbas or ancient Himyarite Kings, and Ibn Khaldūn, in his chapter on the Rassite Sharīfs of Ṣa'dah, likewise speaks of them as of the posterity of the Tubbas. Elsewhere, when describing the genealogies of the Yamanite princes and tribes (vol. ii. p. 243), he gives us the pedigree of the family of Ya'fur, from which, however, it seems difficult to trace their descent from the Tubbas, excepting inasmuch as they were of the posterity of Zur'ah (Ḥimyar the younger), son of Saba the younger.

Among their ancestors were two who bore the name of Dhu Ḥawwāl,* whence probably the surname the Ḥawwālites, by which the family is frequently designated. Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, founder of the dynasty, is first heard of, according to Janadi, under the Governorship of Aytākh, who was appointed over Yaman by the Khalīfah al-Mu'taṣim, according to aṭ-Ṭabari, in A.H. 225 (vol. iii. p. 1302). Al-Wāthiḳ (A.H. 227—232), replaced Aytākh by Ja'far ibn Dinār, who had formerly ruled over the country, but had been deposed in favour of Aytākh. The appointment of Ibn Dinār took place in A.H. 231, according to Ibn al-Athīr, and he tells us that the new Governor proceeded to Ṣan'ā accompanied by a force of 4000 horse and 1000 foot soldiers. Janadi says that Ibn Dinār attacked Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, but that peace was eventually concluded between them. Al-Mutawakkil, who succeeded to the Khalīfate in A.H. 232, appointed Ḥimyar ibn al-Ḥārith. The new Governor was unable to withstand the attacks of Ya'fur, and was at length compelled to return a fugitive to 'Irāḳ. Al-Mutawakkil's assassination occurred shortly afterwards (A.H. 247), and Ya'fur made himself master of Ṣan'ā and of Janad, but not of Tihāmah, which since A.H. 204 was in the possession of the Banu Ziyād.

Ya'fur was succeeded by his son Muḥammad ibn Ya'fur. He recognized the supremacy of the Khalīfah al-Mu'tamid (A.H. 256—279), who in A.H. 259, formally invested him with the Government of Ṣan'ā. Ḥadramaut and Janad were included in the dominions of Muḥammad ibn Ya'fur, but he owned allegiance to the Ziyādites and paid them tribute. He started on the pilgrimage in A.H. 262, after appointing his son Ibrahīm to be his deputy. On his return he built,

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* The name is pointed Ḥiwāl in Müller's edition of Hamdāni (see Note 11). Yāḳūt, *s.v.* حصيب writes Ḥawwāl.

in 265, the mosque of Ṣan'ā according to the design which, al-Janadi says, it still retained in his own day. Muḥammad was assassinated by his son Ibrahīm, and the latter, according to al-Janadi quoting Ibn al-Jauzi,* is said to have murdered not only his father, but also his uncle, his cousin and his father's mother.† This occurred, he adds, six months before the death of al-Mu'tamid, in Muḥarram, therefore, of A.H. 279. Ibrahīm continued the alliance with the Ziyādite Princes, but his reign did not long endure, and he was succeeded by his son As'ad, in whose days the Karmathians or Ismailites acquired dominion over the greater part of Yaman. Al-Janadi here proceeds with his account of their conquests and of the subjection of As'ad to 'Aly ibn al-Faḍl, which is included in this volume.

The statement that Muḥammad ibn Ya'fur was assassinated by his son Ibrahīm is not contained in Khazraji's version of the history of that period (fol. 29). His account, which at this particular point, differs materially from that supplied by al-Janadi, is to the following effect:—

Ibrahīm, he says, continued to administer the affairs of the kingdom after his father's return from Mecca. A rebellion broke out at Ṣan'ā some time after A.H. 270, and the insurgents offered supreme authority to Ja'far ibn Aḥmad (ibn Ibrahīm?) al-Manākhi. Eventually the entire family of the Banu Ya'fur were driven out of the city, and Muḥammad ibn Ya'fur was shortly afterwards killed at Shibām. He was succeeded, not by Ibrahīm, but by a nephew, 'Abd al-Ḳādir, son of Aḥmad ibn Ya'fur, a circumstance that may perhaps be accounted for by the charge made against Ibrahīm of being the assassin of his father. 'Abd al-Ḳādir retained power for only a few days. A governor, 'Aly ibn Ḥusayn Juftam, arrived from Baghdād in Ṣafar 279, the next month after that in which, according to Janadi, Muḥammad lost his life. Juftam ruled until A.H. 282, when he returned to 'Irāḳ. Ibrahīm ibn Ya'fur now attained absolute sovereignty, but his reign did

* The writer quoted by Janadi is perhaps the grandson of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān ibn al-Jauzi, namely, Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Kizughli, generally known as Sibṭ ibn al-Jauzi. He was author of a history, *Mirāt az-Zamān*, which the author of the Kashf az-Ẓunūn says consisted of forty volumes. A small portion of the work exists in the Library of the British Museum.

† Janadi, fol. 29 rev.

not long endure. He died and was succeeded by his son As'ad.

In A.H. 288, Ṣan'ā was conquered by the Rassite Imām al-Hādy (see Ṭabari, iii. p. 2204 and Ibn al-Athīr, vii. p. 352). He imprisoned the chief members of the family of Ya'fur, but they were released and escaped to Shibām,* where As'ad's authority over his followers was maintained until he was able to compel the Imām to abandon Ṣan'ā. The city was finally conquered by the Karmathians, in A.H. 299 according to both al-Janadi and al-Khazraji.†

Upon the death of 'Aly ibn al-Faḍl the Karmathian, in A.H. 303, As'ad speedily re-established his authority in Yaman, and it endured until his death in A.H. 332, the year in which al-Mas'ūdi commenced writing his *Golden Meadows*, in which he describes in glowing terms the wealth and power of the Himyarite Prince.‡

Ibn Khaldūn says (*supra*, p. 141) that As'ad was succeeded by a brother named Muḥammad, but after As'ad's death, the Banu Ya'fur never again recovered the brilliant position to which he had raised the family. The ensuing twelve years were occupied in the suppression of repeated attempts at rebellion, accompanied by incessant strife between the various members of the family.

In A.H. 345, the Rassite Imām of Ṣa'dah, al-Mukhtār, son of an-Nāṣir Aḥmad son of al-Hādi, acquired possession of Ṣan'ā, but before the end of the year, he was assassinated by a powerful Hamdānite chief, known by the name of Daḥḥāk.§ A freedman of the Banu Ya'fur, 'Aly ibn Wardān, supported by Daḥḥāk, was recognized as Prince of Ṣan'ā. He was barely able to withstand the opposition of the Khaulanites, led by al-Asmar Yūsuf ibn Abi 'l-Futūḥ,

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* Shibam-Akyan ? See Note 11.

† See Note 138. According to the *Ḥadā'iḳ*, al-Hādi acquired possession of Ṣan'ā in 297, and appointed his son over it as Governor. The Imām died, as will be seen (Note 127), in A.H. 298.

The particulars that follow hereabove are for the most part taken from Dayba' (seventh chapter), that is to say therefore, from Khazraji at second hand.

‡ Vol. ii. p. 55, of Barbier de Meynard's printed text and translation.

§ Al-Ḳāsim, surnamed al-Mukhtār, is mentioned by the Zaydite historians, but they do not reckon him among the Imāms, nor do they say that he was assassinated.

and he died in A.H. 350. He was succeeded by his brother Sapūr, with whom Ḍaḥḥāk continued in alliance. In the following year they made an unsuccessful attack upon the Khaulanites. They were put to flight, and whilst endeavouring to escape to Dhamār, Sapūr was overtaken by al-Asmar and killed.

Ḍaḥḥāk now tendered submission to the Prince of Zabīd, Abu 'l-Ḥasan (Abu 'l-Jaysh?) ibn Ziyād. Al-Asmar the Khaulanite, on the other hand, offered the throne to the Amīr 'Abd Allah ibn Ḳaḥṭān (grand-nephew of As'ad ibn Ya'fur), by whom the offer was accepted (A.H. 352). He entered Ṣan'ā, whence Ḍaḥḥāk hurriedly fled. Next followed a series of struggles between the contending parties, in which a Rassite Imām, Yūsuf son of Yaḥya son of an-Nāṣir Aḥmad, took a prominent part, with the result of his being for a time recognized as sovereign Prince of the city and province.* 'Abd Allah succeeded, however, in recovering his authority, and he enjoyed a long but disturbed reign. In A.H. 379 he was able to invade Tihāmah at the head of an army, with which he attacked and utterly defeated "Ibn Ziyād." † Zabīd was taken and sacked, and 'Abd Allah, having abolished the Abbasside *Khuṭbah* throughout his dominions, proclaimed the supremacy of the Egyptian Fatimites.‡ He died in A.H. 387 and was succeeded by his son As'ad. But the fortunes of the Banu Ya'fur, as one of the great ruling families of Yaman, were now at an end. The last vestige of their authority in the city of Ṣan'ā disappeared. Their condition became at best that of obscure and petty chiefs, and we are henceforward left in ignorance even of their names. We find mention of them, however, so late as A.H. 679, when we read in Khazraji's *'Uḳūd* (fol. 115 obv.) as well as in Ibn Ḥātim

* The name of the Imām Yūsuf son of Yaḥya is mentioned by the Zaydite writers, but I can find no account of his career. The author of the *Jawāhir* gives him the title of Dā'y, and simply says that he was contemporary with al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim. The latter was surnamed al-'Ayāni, after the name of the place in which he proclaimed himself in A.H. 389.

† Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah, we have been told, was regent from A.H. 372 to 402.

‡ The Fatimite Khalīfah al-'Azīz reigned from A.H. 365 to 386. It deserves perhaps to be here borne in mind that 'Abd Allah was, through his mother, grandson of Ibn Faḍl the Karmathian. (*Supra*, p. 207.)

(fol. 105 obv.), that the Rasūlite Sulṭān of Yaman regained possession of the fortress of Kaukabān from the Banu Ḥawwāl.

Ṣan'ā, until its conquest by 'Aly the Sulayhite, became the scene of perpetual strife, not only between the rival tribes of Hamdān and Khaulān, but also between various pretenders to the dignity of Imām. In 389, the Imām al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim son of 'Aly appeared from the country of the Banu Khath'am. With the assistance of the Hamdānites, he drove the Imām Yūsuf son of Yaḥya from Ṣa'dah and placed the city under the command of his son Ja'far. He next reached Raydah,* where he received the submission of Ja'far son of aḍ-Ḍaḥḥāk and of the people of al-Baun. He thence despatched to Ṣan'ā a Zaydite Sharīf, named al-Ḳāsim ibn Ḥusayn, a descendant of the Imām Zayd son of 'Aly Zayn al-'Ābidīn, and the Zaydite sectaries readily submitted to his authority.†

As'ad son of 'Abd Allah the Ya'furite had established his residence at Kaḥlān, and he recognized the supremacy of the Imām al-Ḳāsim.‡ But ere long the Zaydite Sharīf renounced his allegiance to al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim ibn 'Aly, and declared himself in favour of the authority of the Imām Yūsuf son of Yaḥya. The Imām al-Ḳāsim died in A.H. 393. Ṣan'ā became the scene of prolonged strife, a prey to contending factions of rival Imāms and Arab families, among which Hamdānites and Khaulānites played a prominent part, but none able to establish a settled or permanent government. In A.H. 401, Ḥusayn son of al-Ḳāsim declared himself, as has been done by so many pretenders, both before and since his time, to be the *Mahdy*, whose coming, according to an old tradition, was foretold by the Prophet. He obtained a large following among the Ḥimyarites and Hamdānites, who abandoned the cause of the Zaydite Sharīf. The latter was driven out of Ṣan'ā.

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* Raydah was a town of considerable importance, in the district of al-Baun.

† I find no mention elsewhere of this "Zaydite Sharīf."

‡ I have mentioned (*supra*, p. 171 footnote) that Dr. Glaser has Koḥlān on his map, north-east of Hajjah, probably the old fortress of the Banu Ya'fur. Yāḳūt says that the Yamanites pronounce the name Kuḥlān, but he calls the place a *Mikhlāf*. Hamdāni mentions it as the name of a totally different place, in the neighbourhood, it would appear, of Yarīm or Dhu Ru'ayn. Kuḥlān, according to the Ḳamūs, was the name of an Arab tribe.

He was pursued, overtaken, and killed in A.H. 403. But in the following year, the Mahdy was himself expelled from the city, and lost his life near Dhu Bīn, in the course of an attack by the Hamdānites, from among whom a chief of the family of Daḥḥāk had been called to the throne by the citizens. The Mahdy had not yet attained the age of thirty years, and long afterwards his adherents, it is said, believed him to be living. In A.H. 413, the Sharīf Ja'far, brother of Ḥusayn the Mahdy, arrived from Ṣa'dah on the invitation of the Hamdānites and Ḥimyarites, the former of whom, after the death of Ḥusayn, exercised intermittent authority over Ṣan'ā. In 418, a new and unknown pretender appeared at Ma'rib, who proclaimed himself Imām, under the title of *al-Mu'īd li-din Illah* (He who brings the people back to the religion of God). He succeeded in making himself master of Ṣan'ā,* but was killed in 421, during which and the following year, severe famine prevailed throughout Yaman. In 422 the Imāmate was claimed by Abu Hāshim al-Ḥasan son of 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, who was accompanied by his son Ḥamzah, from whom the Hamzite Sharīfs derive their distinctive appellation.† He possessed himself of Ṣan'ā, from which Ibn Abi Ḥāshid escaped, whilst Manṣūr ibn Abi 'l-Futūḥ tendered his submission. Abu Hāshim's authority endured until A.H. 429, when he was driven forth by the Hamdānites. On their invitation, after an interval of two years, Ja'far son of al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim re-established his rule over the city. The next seven years were occupied in conflicts, during the course of which Abu Hāshim, on the invitation of Ibn Abi Ḥāshid returned and recovered possession of Ṣan'ā for a brief period. Meanwhile a new pretender to the Imāmate, named Abu 'l-Fatḥ Nāṣir the Daylamite, had appeared. Aided by the Hamdānites, he captured and plundered Ṣa'dah, and next made himself master of Ṣan'ā.‡

* I can find no trace of this personage in the Zaydite historians.

† I do not find the date of Abu Hāshim's death. His son Ḥamzah was killed in A.H. 459 fighting the troops of 'Aly the Sulayhite.

‡ An-Nāṣir Abu 'l-Fatḥ the Daylamite was a descendant of Zayd son of Ḥasan (see the genealogical table added to Note 107). He arrived in Yaman, from Persia, between A.H. 430 and 440, and is said to have been killed by 'Aly the Sulayhite shortly after 440.

Ja'far son of Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim is likewise stated to have made war upon the troops of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi (see *infra*, Note 29).

His supremacy was for a time recognized by Ja'far son of the Imām al-Kāsim, and he maintained his authority on a comparatively secure basis, until he was in his turn driven forth from the city by Ja'far and by Ibn Abi Ḥāshid the Khaulanite. Yaḥya ibn Abi Ḥāshid, to whom the writer gives the title of Sulṭān, died at the commencement of A.H. 440. His son was invited by the people to succeed him and received oaths of allegiance from the Hamdānites. Ṣan'ā was conquered (about A.H. 453) by 'Aly the Sulayhite, whose first manifestation in Yaman, adds the writer, dates from the night of Monday, third of the month of Jamādi 'l-Ākhir of the year 439 (429 ?), the night of the conjunction of the planet Jupiter.

We have seen (*supra*, p. 41) that when al-Mukarram Aḥmad son of 'Aly transferred the seat of the Sulayhite dominion to Dhu Jiblah in 480, he appointed over Ṣan'ā 'Imrān ibn al-Faḍl the Yāmite. Upon the death, in A.H. 492, of Saba ibn Aḥmad, the city and adjoining country was formed into an independent Principality, under Sulṭān Ḥātim ibn al-Ghashīm, also a member of the tribe of Hamdān (see Note 42). He died in A.H. 502 and was succeeded by his two sons, by 'Abd Allah, who died of poison after a reign of two years, and then by Ma'n ibn Ḥātim, who was deposed in A.H. 510.

Another Hamdānite family reigned until A.H. 533, when Ḥamīd ad-Daulah Ḥātim son of Aḥmad son of 'Imrān son of al-Faḍl—grandson, therefore, of the governor appointed by al-Mukarram the Sulayhite—was invited by the tribe to assume the crown.*

He was attacked in A.H. 545 by the Zaydite Imām al-Mutawakkil Aḥmad son of Sulaymān, against whom, however, he succeeded eventually in defending himself. Ḥātim died in A.H. 556, and was succeeded by his son 'Aly, surnamed al-Waḥīd. 'Aly took the leading part in an alliance, formed in the early part of A.H. 569, against 'Abd an-Naby son of 'Aly ibn Mahdy (see Note 101), and he was the reigning Prince of Ṣan'ā when, six months after his

* It will be seen that, according to the above, Ibn Khaldūn's statement (*supra*, p. 148), to the effect that 'Imrān ibn al-Faḍl became independent at Ṣan'ā and transmitted the crown to his descendants, is erroneous.

The historian Ibn Ḥātim was a descendant of Ḥamīd ad-Daulah.

campaign against the Mahdyites, Yaman was invaded and conquered by Turān Shah the Ayyūbite and brother of Saladin.

Muḥammad son of Aḥmad son of 'Imrān, mentioned at p. 60, must have been brother of Sulṭān Ḥamīd ad-Daulah Ḥātim.

Note 9 to p. 6.—Wādi Bayḥān is marked on Walker's map of Arabia, south-west of Ma'rib and north-east of Dhamār, at about the same distance from either.

Nashwān ibn Sa'īd, who according to Ibn Khaldūn (*supra*, p. 173), was ruler or chief of Bayḥān, wrote the *Kaṣīdat al-Ḥimyarīyah*, published some five and twenty years ago at Vienna, by Baron von Kremer, with a translation into German.

A description of Najrān and Jurash, with a sketch of their early history, are given by Ibn Khaldūn (*supra*, p. 182).

Note 10 to p. 6.—There is evidently an omission here, as I have indicated in the translation.

As to the descriptions of Ṣan'ā, of al-Mudhaykhirah and of Shibām that follow, they are copied almost verbatim from Ibn Ḥaukal.* The latter borrowed them from al-Iṣṭakhri,† and transferred the passages to his own book, those especially relating to Ṣan'ā and to al-Mudhaykhirah, with such slight alteration, that it is only just possible to pronounce with some degree of certainty, that Ibn Ḥaukal's Geography was the authority to which 'Omārah had recourse. The statement that Ṣan'ā stands on the equator is made by Ibn Ḥaukal, but is not to be found in al-Iṣṭakhri. Yākūt quotes the description of Ṣan'ā as given by our author, but the latter's name is printed *'Imrān* ibn Abi 'l-Ḥasan instead of 'Omārah.

The statement that follows in our text, to the effect that the mountain of Mudhaykhirah was twenty parasangs or sixty miles in height, appears in both Iṣṭakhri and Ibn Ḥaukal. I do not know how it can be explained. Even if we read circuit for height, it would be a manifest exaggeration.

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* de Goeje's ed. p. 31.

† *Id.* p. 24. Iṣṭakhri seems to have borrowed his account of the climate of Ṣan'ā from al-Hamdāni. See Müller's edition, p. 195, l. 24.

NOTE 11 to p. 6.—It must be through a corruption of the text that 'Omārah is made to speak of Ibn Faḍl as "Sheykh of Lā'ah," a designation which could only be properly given to his colleague and eventual rival Ibn Ḥanshab or Manṣūr al-Yaman. I have omitted in my translation, the conjunction that appears in the MS., هذه و لاعة, which reduces somewhat the difficulty of making sense of the passage. It seems to be intended to signify that the town of Aden-Lā'ah was in the neighbourhood of al-Mudhaykhirah. That this is incorrect is shown with sufficient clearness by 'Omārah himself, when he tells us that Mudhaykhirah stood in the province of Ja'far (see Note 6).

Yāḳūt has the following passage (vol. iii. p. 622) s.v. *'Aden* : قال عمارة لاعة مدينة فى جبل صبر من اعمال صنعاء الى جانبها قرية لطيفة يقال لها عدن لاعة proceeding as in our text down to the words العلوية باليمن to which, however, he adds بعد المصريين. Here we have probably the origin of the statement that al-Mudhaykhirah stood on Mount Ṣabir, and indeed other quotations to be found in Yāḳūt, as well as the above, lead to the suspicion that his MS. of 'Omārah was by no means perfect.

Al-Muḳaddasi mentions al-Mudhaykhirah in his enumeration of towns in Yaman (p. 53 and p. 70), along with Janad, Dhamār, Yaḥṣib (or Yaḥḍib), Khaulān, Saḥūl, etc. Hamdāni mentions the place only twice in his Geography, but he tells us (p. 68, l. 3 sqq.) that it was situated in the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā', along with ath-Thujjah (which, it may be inferred (p. 75, l. 23), stood at the foot of Ta'kar), and together with Ta'kar itself, Saḥūl, Raymah, etc. At p. 100 (l. 10 sqq.) he tells us that al-Mudhaykhirah, Thaumān (see *supra*, p. 207), the mountain of Ba'dān, also Raymah, etc., were in the district of Saḥūl.

Ibn Khaldūn, as will be seen, distinctly says that Mudhaykhirah and 'Aden-Lā'ah were close to one another (*supra*, p. 173), misled probably by Yāḳūt or by Ibn Sa'īd, from whom, as I have already had occasion to say, he seems to have borrowed freely.

I may here add that Ibn Khaldūn commits a similar error when he speaks (*supra*, p. 168) of Aden-Abyan as a separate and distant place from the well-known seaport of Aden. They are in fact one and the same.*

The town of 'Aden-Lā'ah stood probably on or close to

* See, *inter alia*, al-Muḳaddasi, p. 85.

the banks of the Wādi Lāʿah, an important affluent of the Wādi Maur, one that retains its name to the present day. A similarity of name, taken by itself, must, it is true, count for little and may, indeed, at times be very misleading.* But other evidence is not wanting. Al-Hamdāni tell us, p. 69, l. 1) that Lāʿah was situated in the Sarāt or mountain-range of al-Masāniʿ. At p. 112, he tells us that Lāʿah marked the beginning of the country of Ḥāshid, north-west of Ṣanʿā. Other passages from the same author are to the same effect (p. 106, l. 23; 113, l. 19; 193, l. 12). We are distinctly told, moreover (*supra*, pp. 194, 195, etc.), that ʿAden-Lāʿah was in the neighbourhood of Ḥajjah and of Jabal Maswar, both which will be found on Dr. Glaser's map. Al-Janadi tells us (fol. 6 obv.) that ʿAden-Lāʿah, "one of the towns of Ḥajjah in which Manṣūr al-Yaman proclaimed the ʿObaydite supremacy," had long been in ruins.

Al-Hamdāni mentions another important mountain in the Masāniʿ range, *Jabal Tukhla* (pp. 69 and 190 sqq.). In his detailed account of the mountain, of the roads that wind round it, its villages and strongholds, the productiveness of its soil, its healthy climate, its freedom from noxious animals and insects, our author writes in a glowing style, by no means usual with him.

Though not attaining the elevation of the highest summits of the Masāniʿ, it overlooks, he tells us, a wide extent of country. On the south, Buraʿ, Ḥarāz and other mountains are distinctly visible. On the west, the view extends from the centre of the country of the Ḥakamites to Mahjam, and the white stream of the Wādi Maur is seen glistening through the haze that rests upon the plains of Tihāmah. Farther away is spread the sapphire-tinted sea, and, in the extreme distance, those endowed with superior powers of vision may distinguish the Farasān Islands. On the east the view is obstructed by the higher range of the Masāniʿ.

Jabal Bayt Fāʾish, he tells us, is the name of one of the highest summits of Mount Tukhla.

I feel somewhat at a loss to identify the mountain on the

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* Reynaud, in his translation of Abu 'l-Fada's Geography, has thus been misled into correcting a supposed error of his author. He adds a footnote to his translation, in which he declares that Sharjah was not a seaport. It is true that Niebuhr mentions an inland village named Sharjah, south of Ḥays.

map published by Dr. Glaser in the "Mittheilungen," but he mentions its name, and says that it stands due west of Jabal Maswar.

'Omārah, still following Ibn Ḥauḳal and al-Iṣṭakhri, proceeds (*supra*, p. 7) with an account of Shibām. Besides one in Ḥadramaut, there were two places in Yaman of that name. One stood on the mountains of Ḥarāz, situated between Wādi Sahām and Wādi Surdud (Hamdāni, p. 105). The other, which Hamdāni calls Shibām-Aḳyān, stood close to Kaukabān, at the foot of the mountain of Dhukhār, whence the river Surdud has its source (*ib.* p. 106-7). Both these places are marked upon Dr. Glaser's map.

The province of Aḳyān, according to Hamdāni, belonged to the Ḥawwālis or Banu Ya'fur. He adds that the country was the scene of the contests, whereby Ya'fur ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmān, in the days of al-Mu'taṣim, of al-Wāthik, and of al-Mutawakkil, raised himself to power.

Yāḳūt, in his *Mushtarik*, mentions still another place named Shibām, three parasangs north-east of Ṣan'ā, but this, I think, requires confirmation.

Shibām in Ḥadramaut was, says Hamdāni, the chief city of the province. It had thirty mosques, but half the town was in his day in ruins. Its original name, he adds, was Shibāt (pp. 86, l. 25; 87, l. 25).

NOTE 12 to p. 8.—The "statement of revenue" and the particulars that follow are simply borrowed, with some slight exaggeration, from Ibn Ḥauḳal (De Goeje's ed. p. 20), and the same remark applies to the information supplied (*supra*, pp. 5 and 7) respecting As'ad ibn Ya'fur and Ibn Ṭarf. In Ibn Ḥauḳal, the distance from Sharjah to Aden is stated at twelve, instead of at twenty days' journey.

The 'Aththarīyah dinār, according to al-Muḳaddasi (p. 99), was two-thirds of a mithḳal, the standard or original weight of a dinār. It would therefore be equal to about seven shillings in gold of modern money. See also Professor de Goeje's glossary to Ibn Ḥauḳal and al-Muḳaddasi, p. 296.

Ibn Ḥauḳal calls the Prince of Ḥali *al-Khazāmi*, but Müller's edition of al-Hamdāni (p. 120, l. 12, and 14) gives the reading *al-Ḥirāmi*.

NOTE 13 to p. 9.—According to Khazraji (p. 78), Muḥammad ibn Ziyād died in A.H. 245. His son Ibrahīm, he con-

tinues, died in A.H. 289, after a reign of thirty-eight years (*sic*). .Next to Ibrahīm followed Ziyād son of Ibrahīm, who did not long reign and the date of whose death the writer is unable to give. Abu 'l-Jaysh Isḥāḳ succeeded his brother Ziyād, and is said to have reigned eighty years. He is stated by Khazraji to have died in A.H. 391, for which we must read 371, as in our text and in Janadi. This would place his accession in A.H. 291, and would give a duration of two years to the reign of his brother and predecessor Ziyād. The latter may have been the prince who is reported to have been killed when Zabīd was captured and looted by the Karmathians under 'Aly ibn Faḍl (*supra*, p. 200); but as the capture of Zabīd must have occurred after A.H. 292, when Ibn Faḍl conquered Mudhaykhirah, it may with at least equal plausibility be conjectured that it was really Abu 'l-Jaysh who was attacked, and that he did not lose his life. But how, on the other hand, are we to believe that Abu 'l-Jaysh, at the end of a reign of eighty years, left an infant son to succeed him? (See Note 98.)

Al-Mas'ūdi says (vol. iii. p. 35) that in his day (A.H. 332 or shortly after) the Prince of Zabīd was Ibrahīm ibn Ziyād, which adds to our difficulties. The Prince, he further tells us, bore the surname *Ṣāḥib al-Ḥarmali*, which I have nowhere else met with.

A valuable date is supplied by a dinār, published by Mr. S. Lane-Poole in the Journal of the Numismatic Society (1887, part iv.). The coin purports to have been struck by Abu 'l-Jaysh Isḥāḳ, at Zabīd, in A.H. 346, and it bears the name of the 'Abbasside Khalīfah al-Muṭī' (A.H. 334-363).

Of the last princes of the dynasty we are told next to nothing, and even their names are doubtful. That of the infant successor of Abu 'l-Jaysh was, according to our text, either 'Abd Allah, or Ziyād. According to al-Janadi and Khazraji, it was 'Abd Allah, or Ziyād, or Ibrahīm. After the death, in A.H. 402, of Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah, who we are told, ruled the country as Wazīr for about thirty years, we find another child on the throne, the last of his race, to whom al-Janadi gives the name 'Abd Allah. In our text he is called 'Abd Allah at p. 13 and Ibrahīm at p. 15. He was assassinated in A.H. 409.

Al-Janadi (fol. 184 rev.) says it may clearly be shown, that the Banu Ziyād held supreme rule for one hundred and sixty-eight years, from A.H. 203 to 371. From that date until the death of the last prince in 409, they reigned, he

continues, as titular sovereigns, for thirty-eight years. Next followed a struggle between Najāḥ and Anīs, which endured for three years, until 412, when Najāḥ became supreme ruler. He and his descendants and their wazīrs, adds al-Janadi, ruled for 145 years, including the three years of war between Najāḥ and Anīs, that is to say, from 409 to 554, when Zabīd was captured by Ibn Mahdy.

The original passage of which the above is the substance, will be found in Note 98. In the MSS. both of al-Janadi and Khazraji, the year 407 is given as the date at which the Ziyādite dynasty came to an end, and so it is also to be found in Dayba' and in al-Ahdal. Al-Janadi's own words, however, show conclusively that A.H. 409, as in our text, is the correct date.* It must be remarked that 'Omārah tells us Zabīd was founded in A.H. 204, the year in which the Imām ash-Shāfi' died. Al-Janadi (fol. 29 obv.) gives the same date for the conquest of Tihāmah and for the foundation of the city, stating, however, likewise, that Ibn Ziyād arrived in A.H. 203.

The freedman of Abu 'l-Jaysh, Rushd, the master of Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah, is also so styled by al-Janadi and by Ibn Khallikān. Al-Khazraji and Ibn Khaldūn give him the name of Rashīd.

The assassin of the last Prince of the Ziyādite dynasty is called in our text Nafīs, نفيس, and so also in Khazraji. Ibn Khallikān and Ibn Khaldūn give him the name of Ḳays, قيس; Al-Janadi that of Anīs, انيس. He specifies the orthography and vocalization of the name and elsewhere returns to the point (see Note 65). He is followed by al-Ahdal (p. 264 obv.), but the latter adds that other writers call him Nafīs.

NOTE 14 to p. 10.—Mu'ādh ibn Jabal, of the tribe of Khazraj, was sent to Yaman by the Prophet, and remained there until the latter's death. He himself died at 'Amwas (Emmaus) in A.H. 18. His life is given by Ibn al-Athīr in his biographies of the Saḥābis, the *Usd al-Ghābah,* "the Lions of the Jungle" (Bul. ed. vol. iv. p. 377). It contains the following passage, which tends to bear out a suggestion I have elsewhere had occasion to offer (Journal of the

* All Arabic students are aware how easily the words signifying *seven* and *nine* may be mistaken for one another, and how frequently the mistake occurs.

R. A. S. vol. xiv. p. 210), that the word *al-Kayyūm*, in the Ayat al-Kursy, ought in accordance with the definition of the commentators, to be rendered *the Watchful*, or the *Vigilant.*

كان معاذ اذا تهجد من الليل قال اللهمّ نامت العيون و غارت النجوم و انت حى فيوم اللهمّ طلبى لجنة بطيء و هربى من النار ضعيف اللهمّ اجعل لى عندك هدى تردّه الىّ يوم القيامة انّك لا تخلف الميعد .

When Mu'ādh devoted a night to watchfulness and prayer, he was in the habit of using the following words :—

"O God, the eyes of men are closed in sleep, the stars are sinking into the mighty deep, whilst Thou, the Living, Thy never-ending watch dost keep. O God, my yearnings for heaven have been tardy, my strivings to escape the fires of hell have been weak. O God, grant unto me true guidance, in Thy keeping, which Thou wilt restore to me on the day of resurrection. And verily, thou wilt not fail in Thy promises."

NOTE 15 to p. 11.—*Sharjah* and *'Aththar* were two important seaports on the coast of Northern Yaman. I am not able to identify their precise position, but careful comparison of the information supplied by various writers renders it possible to determine their sites approximatively, pending the time when further inquiry, or perhaps investigation on the spot, may enable the point to be settled with absolute precision.

Ibn Buṭūṭah landed at Sharjah on his way down the Red Sea, in the fourteenth century. He describes it as a place occupied by merchants of Ṣa'dah. Then he sailed to the New Haven,* where, however, he did not land, and then on to al-Ahwāb.

Al-Hamdāni, in describing the coast of Yaman, proceeding from south to north (p. 52), next after Kamarān men-

* The *New Haven*, Marsa 'l-Ḥādith, is doubtless either Luḥayy or Ḥudaydah. The earliest mention I have met with of the former is in Dayba''s account of the invasion and conquest of Yaman by the forces of the Egyptian Sulṭān al-Ghūri. The army, composed of Circassians, Kurds and other Asiatics, landed in the Island of Kamarān in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah A.H. 921 (December, 1515). Their first operations were directed against the seaport town of Jadīdah (Ḥudaydah?), which was looted and destroyed. The Governor of Luḥayy tendered his submission and actively assisted the invading army in its advance into the interior. Zabīd was taken in Jamād Awwal, 922. The conquest of the country was completed in Rabī 'Awwal

tions *'Utaynah.* At p. 120, l. 1, we read *'Itnah* instead of the diminutive form 'Utaynah, and the author says that it and al-Hirdah are the ports of al-Mahjam. Al-Mukaddasi (p. 53) writes 'Itnah.

Next to 'Utaynah, Hamdāni mentions Hirdah, then Munfahik Jābir, a dangerous headland, where (violent) winds are frequent. Its limits extend to Sharjah, the seaport of the country of the Banu Hakam. Next *Bāhat Jāzān* and on to *'Aththar.* At the headland of 'Aththar the sea, he says, is remarkable for its heavy waves. See also p. 188, where, as well as at p. 120, the author mentions Wādi Harad among other places in the country of the Hakamites.

Al-Ahdal (fol. 5 obv.) says that Sharjah is the port of Harad, *Sāhil Harad,* and Khazraji gives it the name of *Sharjat Harad,* which practically conveys the same meaning.

Ibn Hātim tells us (fol. 2 obv., see Note 101), that Harad was also called *Mahall Abi Turāb.* I find "Harrad" marked upon Walker's and other modern maps of Arabia. Its situation corresponds with the indications given by the Arab writers, and I think we may conclude that the port of Sharjah stood at or not far from the spot, which on the Admiralty chart bears the name of Ras Musahib, about thirty-three miles north of Luhayy, or it may be somewhat farther south. It is hardly necessary to say that the village of the name of Sharjah, marked on Niebuhr's and subsequent maps south of Zabīd, is an entirely different place. I have met with no mention of it in any of the Arab writers I have had occasion to consult.

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of the following year, when the last Sultān of Yaman, defeated and flying before the invader, was killed near San'ā.

It is a somewhat remarkable circumstance that whilst an Egyptian army was occupied in subjugating Yaman, the Turks under Sultān Selīm were engaged in the conquest of Egypt, and Tumān-Bay, the last Mamlūk Sultān, was hanged by order of Selīm at Cairo, a few days before the Sultān of Yaman was killed.

The Egyptian army in Yaman comprised, according to Dayba', a formidable body of 1000 men armed with matchlocks, lent to al-Ghūri by Sultān Selīm. These, however, had been supplied, not for purposes of conquest, but to assist the Egyptians in resisting the Franks, who had made their appearance in the southern seas, and were intercepting the road to India.

As to *'Aththar,* according to Hamdāni as quoted above, it stood north of *Baḥāt Jāzān,* which may be presumed to be the same as Gizan of the Admiralty chart. At p. 54 he calls the place *'Athr,* but the Arabs, he continues, generally pronounce the name 'Aththar. It is, he says, the port of *Baysh* (the same perhaps as Bish of modern maps). *'Itwad,* he adds, is a village in the plains of 'Aththar, both which places, he continues, are well-known haunts of lions. (See also p. 127, l. 16.) "Etwid" is mentioned on the Admiralty chart. Al-Ahdal (fol. 5 obv.) says that 'Athr (*sic*) was a village situated between Ḥali and Ḥaraḍ, and, he adds, has long been in ruins. Opposite it, he continues, is an island that bears its name. Mukaddasi, who I need hardly remind the reader writes at a very much earlier date, calls 'Aththar (*sic*) a large and well-known city. At *Baysh,* where the Sulṭān or chief resides, the air, he says, is healthier and the water purer.

The only map upon which I have found 'Aththar to be marked, is a Spanish sixteenth century map of the world, of which a copy exists in the India Office Library.

NOTE 16 to p. 12.—Of the numerous other places described as standing on the pilgrim roads from Yaman, besides those referred to in the preceding notes, there are several which I am not able to identify.

Dhāt al-Khayf stands in Khazraji (fol. 60) Dhāt al-Hubayt or al-Khubayt. *Mauza'* must surely be the "emporium" marked on Plolemy's map, but it is somewhat puzzling to find it described by our author as an inland town. Ibn al-Mujāwir, however, mentions it (*apud* Sprenger, p. 149) as a seaport south of As-Suḥāri, al-Khauhah and Maushij (travelling from north to south). Al-Hamdāni mentions the town, but is not clear as to its precise position. *Al-Jadūn* is written in Khazraji al-Ḥadūn. *Aḍ-Ḍijā'* is somewhat vaguely described by Yāḳūt as a town near Zabīd. Both *al-Jaththah* and *'Irḳ an-Nasham* are omitted by Khazraji, but *al-Jaththth* الجثّ is mentioned in the Marāṣid as a village in Yaman. *Al-Wadiyāni* is mentioned by Yāḳūt as an important town in the province of Zabīd, from which a large revenue is collected; but it will be observed that 'Omārah invariably speaks of it as north of Mahjam and Maur. *Jizān* might be taken to be the same as Gizan or *Bāḥat Jāzān* mentioned in the preceding note, but it is

not given as a seaport, which the latter is. In Khazraji the name is written Ḥayrān, and Jizān may perhaps be better identified with Ḥayrān, which is mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 120) along with *Wādi Ta'shar*, as a town in the country of the Banu Ḥakam. *Al-Musā'id* is called by Khazraji *as-Sā'id*, and the name is so written in al-Hamdāni (p. 119, l. 26). *Al-Mabni* and *Riyāh* (?) are given by Khazraji, but I have nowhere else met with any mention of them. Instead of *al-Līth*, Khazraji has *al-Habt* (Khabt?), but al-Līth is mentioned by Ibn Khurdadhbah (p. 148) and by Hamdāni (p. 120, l. 16). *Al-Bayḍā* and *Wādi Rukhmah* (?) by the same writer in the next line. Khazraji writes *Bīr al-Bayḍā* instead of al-Bayḍā, but Ibn al-Mujāwir, according to Sprenger, gives it the same name as in our MS. Khazraji has *Bīr Adām* instead of *Bīrād*. We may perhaps read *Aydam*, the name given by Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 131.) The names of the first stations travelling southward from Mecca, as given by him, are as follows :—

From Mecca to *al-Karīn*, then to *al-Bayḍā*, then to *Aydām*. Next to *Wādi Muḥram* (Yalamlam ?) where the Yamanite pilgrims assume the *Iḥrām*.

Sabakhat al-Ghurāb is so given by Khazraji. *Ibn al-Mujāwir* (Sprenger, p. 150) mentions a place *al-Bayḍā* in the desert or *Kā'* of Sabakhat al-Ghurāb, near Aden, which I do not know how to account for. *Al-Karīn* is mentioned by al-Mukaddasi, as standing between Mecca and Juddah, *Na'mān*, or *Na'man al-Arāk*, is described by Yākūt and is also mentioned by Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 125).

The following is Khazraji's version of the road between Yalamlam and Mecca :—

Then the travellers reach *Yalamlam*, the *Mikāt* of the people of Yaman (the place where the Yamanite pilgrims assume the garb and commence the ceremonies attendant upon the performance of pilgrimage). Yalamlam has a well, constructed by Ibn Salāmah. Next is *Bīr* (the well of) *Adām*. which yields an abundant supply of drinking water. It is ten fathoms in length (depth) and it is five fathoms in width. Then the roads diverge. He whose destination is Mecca reaches *Bir al-Bayḍā*, a well constructed by Ibn Salāmah, next *al-Karīn* and then Mecca.

Of the places on the maritime road, *al-Makhnaḳ* is mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 188, l. 14). *'Athr* (?), on the southern coast, I was once inclined to think might be the same as 'Abrah of Hamdāni (p. 188, l. 15) ; but although omitted in

the MS. of Khazraji, it is given by Dayba', and it is moreover mentioned by Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 150), as distant three parasangs from 'Ārah. Next to *Bāb al-Mandab* our MS. has as-Suḥāri. Hamdāni writes Ṣuḥāri, Ibn al-Majāwir (*apud* Sprenger, p. 149) gives the name as in our text, but he places Suḥāri north of Khauhah, and it is so marked on the Admiralty chart. *Al-Hirdah* and *'Itnah*, as stated in the preceding note, are mentioned by Hamdāni as the ports of *al-Mahjam*. For *al-Mufajjar* we may perhaps read *Hajar* (Hamdāni, p. 188, Sprenger, 133). *Duwaymah* and *Ḥamiḍah* are referred to by al-Muḳaddasi (p. 69 and footnote), and the last-mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 52, l. 14 and 120, l. 16).

Hamdāni says (p. 51, 13) that Ḥamiḍah stood near a mountain which he calls *Kudummul*. The name *Kotumble* appears on the Admiralty chart, but is given to a small island near the coast. See Müller's Notes, p. 33.

NOTE 17 to p. 12.—Niebuhr heard a precisely similar anecdote (vol. i. p. 302), with the addition that in order to prevent a repetition of so troublesome a miracle, the donor of the money ordered the tomb of the royal saint, who takes the part of the Prophet in the modern version of the story, to be securely walled up.

NOTE 18 to p. 15.—Makrīzi, in his Khiṭaṭ (vol. i. p. 448) gives the following description of the Imperial umbrella, which was borne on state occasions over the head of the Khalīfah :—

The umbrella was composed of twelve segments, each three and a third cubits in length and one span (cubit?) in width at the lower end.* The upper extremities were extremely narrow. They were joined together and fitted round the end of the stem. This was a lance-shaft made of ash and enclosed in tubes of gold. The uppermost tube, which was close to the head of the shaft, was provided with a ledge forming part of itself and projecting to the extent of a thumb's width. The extremities of the segments were made fast to a golden ring, which was loosely fitted on to the head of the shaft, the latter being here reduced in thickness. The ring, coming in contact with the ledge, was supported and prevented

* Makrīzi has previously mentioned that the umbrella, as well as the Khalīfah's robes, was white, the Fatimite colour. The colour of the 'Abbasides, it will be remembered was black, to this day that of the covering over the Ka'bah at Mecca.

from slipping down the shaft. The umbrella had square ribs made of *Khalanj* wood, equal in number to the segments and of the same length. They were light in weight and coated with gold. They were fitted with small hooks and there were rings to correspond, the hooks and rings fastening into one another. The umbrella could be closed and opened after the manner of the folding segments of a leathern purse (?). The stem was surmounted by a ball the shape of a pomegranate, above which was another similar ball of a smaller size. Both were of gold, studded with jewels, conspicuous (by their brilliancy) to the spectator. The umbrella had a valance, which encircled the opening and was of corresponding material. The valance exceeded a span and a half in depth. Below the pomegranate-shaped ball, there was a space of about three finger-breadths. Upon the ring, to which the extremities of the segments were attached, being placed on the end of the shaft, the ball was fitted over it. It was wrapped in a piece of *Dabīkite* cloth of gold,* which was removed by the bearer upon the umbrella being delivered to him.

NOTE 19 to p. 16.—Al-Janadi states (fol. 182 obv.), that when the Karmathian dominion came to an end (A.H. 304), Yaman became subject to three families or dynasties, between whom the whole country was divided. The Banu Ziyād ruled over Zabīd (Tihāmah) and Aden. Ṣa'dah and the country on the north were in the possession of the Zaydite Imāms. Janad as well as the city and province of Ṣan'ā was held by the Banu Ya'fur.

As'ad ibn Ya'fur appointed the Ḥimyarite family, the Banu Kurandi, to be governors of the province of Janad. When, upon the death of Ibn Salāmah in A.H. 402, the governors appointed by the Banu Ziyād usurped absolute power over their provinces, the Banu Kurandi likewise declared their independence. They were deprived of their kingdom by 'Aly the Ṣulayḥite, and the deposed prince, as will be seen, was one of the chiefs who accompanied aṣ-Ṣulayḥi to al-Mahjam, and one of the few whose life was spared by Sa'īd son of Najāḥ. Some of these fortresses, as is stated by Ibn Khaldūn, were restored to the Banu Kurandi by al-Mukarram Aḥmad son of 'Aly, and of these they continued in possession until they were deprived of their principality by Ibn Mahdy. Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn ibn at-Tubba'y appears to have been the chief of the family at the time of its restoration. The part he took in the

* Dabīḳ was a small Egyptian town near Tinnīs, on an island in Lake Menzalah.

scheme to which Sa'īd son of Najāḥ fell a victim, is related further on, and it may be noticed that he is there styled Prince of Sha'ir.

Al-Hamdāni says (p. 54, l. 21) that the family of Kurandi belonged to the Banu Thumāmah, descendants of Ḥimyar al-Asghar (ancestor of the Banu Ya'fur and Banu Auzā').

The following is al-Khazraji's enumeration of the petty dynasties that sprang up in Yaman upon the death of Ibn Salāmah in A.H. 402, and of the territories and fortresses which they appropriated (fol. 83) :—

The governors of the mountain districts and fortresses took possession of that with which they were entrusted. Among others, the Hamdanites seized upon Ṣan'ā, as already mentioned.

The Banu Ma'n took possession of Aden, of Laḥj, of Abyan, of Shiḥr and of Ḥaḍramaut. They are not descendents of Ma'n ibn Zā'idah the Shaybānite. The Banu Kurandi, a family descended from Ḥimyar, possessed themselves of Samadān, an exceedingly important fortress, of the strongholds of Sawā, of Dumlūwah, of Ṣabir, of Dhakhir and of Ta'kar, a fortress which commands Janad.* They made themselves masters of (large portions of) the provinces of Ja'far, of 'Unnah and of al-Ma'āfir. 'Omārah says of the Banu Kurandi that they held brilliant sway over their possessions, and were a conquering race of kings. Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn ibn at-Tubba'y took possession of the fortress of Ḥabb, which resembles in strength at-Ta'kar, also of Azzān, of Khadid, of Bayt 'Izz, of the fortresses of Sha'ir, of Abwar (Anwar), of Nakīl, of Saḥūl and of Shawāfi.

The Banu Wā'il ibn 'Īsa seized upon Wuḥāẓah and upon its strongholds, Yarīs, Zahrān, al-Khaḍrā, Sa'ab and Yafūz. The Banu Wā'il are descended from Dhu 'l-Kalā'. They are an ancient race of rulers, but they are a silly folk, who fancy themselves to be absolutely the noblest of mankind. Among others of the family, was As'ad ibn Wā'il, noted for his generous qualities and for the praise of which he was the theme. He was a pious man, and upheld the orthodox sect of the Sunnis, above all others. He sought the companionship of Ḳur'ān readers and of worshippers, he held in high honour the practice of frequenting the

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* The name of this fortress, and of that of the same name at Aden, is thus given in the Ḳamūs, *Ta'kar*, and it would appear to have been generally so pronounced. But in Müller's Hamdāni, it is for the most part written Ta'kur, which, or its alternative Ta'kir, is perhaps the more correct orthography.

Al-Janadi tells us (fol. 191 rev.) that the castle of Ta'kar above Dhu Jiblah was demolished in A.H. 594 by the Ayyubite Sulṭān al-Mu'izz Isma'īl.

mosques. He venerated the early Companions of the Prophet and followed the good examples of those who protected their names from insult. He was free from all taint of new doctrines. He was slain (and died a martyr) in the year 515, and was buried in the mosque of al-Ja'āmi (al-Ju'fy ?).

I omit the words that follow, evidently an imperfect rendering of the passage in 'Omārah, wherein he speaks of the fortresses and territories taken by a family of the tribe of Bakīl and by that of 'Abd al-Wāḥid.

و تغلب عليه ولاة الجبال و اهل الحصون على ما تحت ايديهم من ذلك فتغلبت همدان على صنعاء كما ذكرنا اولا و تغلب بنو معن على عدن و لحج و ابين و الشحر و حضرموت و ليسوا من ولد معن بن زائدة الشيبانى و تغلب بنو الكرندى و هم قوم من حمير* على السَمَدان و هو حصن عظيم الخطر و على حصن السَوا و على حصن الدملوة و حصن صبر و حصن ذَخِر و على حصن التعكر و هو الحاكم على الجند و مخلاف جعفر و مخلاف عنة و مخلاف المَعافر قال عمارة و لبنى الكرندى سلطنة ظاهرة و دولة قاهرة و تغلب ابو عبد الله الحسين بن التبعى على حصن حب و هو نظير التعكر و على عزان و خدد و بيت عز و حصن الشِعر و حصن ابْوَر† و النقيل و السحول و الشوافى و تغلب بنو وايل بن عيسى على وحاظة و حصونها برس و رهران و الخضرا و سعب و نعور و بنو وايل هولا من ذى الكلاع و لهم متاثلة‡ و فيهم حماقة يرون انهم اشرف بنى ادم على الاطلاق و من بنى وايل هولا اسعد بن وايل صاحب الكَرَم العريض و الثناَ المستفيض كان رجلا صالحا يوثر مذهب السُنّة على غيره و يصحب القرا و العُبَّاد و يوثر عمارة المسجد و يعظم السلف و يقتدى باجارهم و كان سليما من البدعة و توفى مقتولاً§ سنة خمس عشرة و خمسمائة و قبره فى جامع الجعامى .

Al-Khazraji has borrowed these particulars from al-Janadi, but in the Paris MS. of the latter (p. 183 obv.), the sense is partially obscured by what seems to be a copyist's error, the omission probably of one, or it may be, of two lines. I have therefore preferred Khazraji's version.

* J. وهم اهل المعافر و حصونهم كالسوآ و السمدان و الدملوة و صبر و ذخر ثم تغلبوا على حصن التعكر و هو الحاكم على الجند و كثير من مخلاف جعفر.

† J. انور ‡ 'Omārah, رياسة متاثلة § J. شهيدًا

NOTE 20 to p. 16.—Ma'n ibn Zā'idah, of the Ishmaelite tribe of Shaybān and of the great Sept of Rabī'ah, was appointed governor of Yaman by the Abbaside Khalīfah al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, vol. iii. p. 398), and from al-Janadi (fol. 27 obv.) it appears that he was Governor of Yaman from A.H. 145 to 151. It will be seen that the claim of the Banu Ma'n of Aden to be descendants of Ma'n ibn Zā'idah is mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn and distinctly contradicted by al-Khazraji (see the preceding note), as well as by 'Omārah.

NOTE 21 to p. 17.—The Imām Mālik ibn Anas al-Aṣbaḥi was the founder of one of the four great schools into which the Sunnite Muhammadans are divided. He was born, lived and died at Medīnah, for which reason he is styled *Imām of the City of the Flight.*

NOTE 22 to p. 17.—The places mentioned on this and the preceding page were situated, as will be seen, in the Mikhlāf Ja'far, but, with few exceptions, I have been unable to ascertain their position. *Dumlūwah* is mentioned by Niebuhr in his Description of Arabia (p. 212) and is marked upon his map, a short distance east of Ta'izz. Hamdāni's description of the fortress will be found in Note 111. The fortresses of *Ṣabir* and *Dhakhir* stood without doubt on the mountains after which they appear to be named. These two mountains, according to al-Hamdāni, are separated by an opening, in which stands the town and fortress of Jabā, the residence of the Banu Kurandy (p. 99, l. 6). Mount Ṣabir, he adds (l. 21), separates Jabā from Janad. The valley of *'Unnah,* so named after a sub-tribe of Ḥimyar, was watered by a stream which flowed into the Wādi Zabīd (Hamdāni, p. 71, l. 16; 100, l. 5). I find no mention of Sawā (*supra,* p. 131) in al-Hamdāni, nor of *Samadān,* which is stated to have been one of the most important fortresses in Yaman. According to Yāḳūt, the former stood upon Mount Ṣabir.

The Mountain of *Ḥabb* was, according to Hamdāni, in the country of Dhu Ru'ayn (p. 101, l. 12). It cannot have been far from the town of *Ibb,* perhaps to the eastward, and overlooking the valley that extends downwards and sweeps round Jabal Khubbān. I do not find the name of Ibb in Hamdāni, and although it and Ḥabb are mentioned as separate

places by 'Omārah (*supra*, p. 131), there seems to me reason to suspect that the two may turn out to be, at least to all intents and purposes, one and the same place.

Khadid is so written in Müller's Hamdāni. In the British Museum MS. of Ibn Khaldūn, it is pointed *Khudad*. Yāḳūt has *Khadad*, and he merely says that it was a fortress situated in Mikhlāf Ja'far. Hamdāni tells us (p. 78, l. 17), that it stood at a distance of an hour's journey from the castle of the Wuhāẓites, and that it contained a magnificent palace.

It is reached by two roads leading to the gates of the castle, near each of which there is a supply of water. Close to the road on the south side there is a cistern (Karīf?) known by the name of al-Wafayt, excavated in black rock. Its depth is fifty cubits. Its width twenty, and its length fifty cubits. It is protected and surrounded by a wall, to prevent accidents. The other source of water supply is close to the northern gate. It is a pit in the rock like a well, lined with masonry composed of flag stones. There are steps whereby the water can be reached from the summit of the castle, with the help of torches, both by day and by night. It takes an hour's time to reach the water, and a person at the entrance of the well cannot be distinguished from above.

The Castle of Khadid must, I conclude, have stood on the north or north-west of Ibb.

'Azzān, according to Yāḳūt, stood on the mountain of Raymah in the country of al-Manākhi, not far, therefore, from al-Mudhaykhirah. Yāḳūt mentions also 'Azzān-Khabt on Mount Ṣabir near Ta'izz, and 'Azzān-Dhakhir, which he says stood on Mount Ṣabir likewise. *Bayt 'Izz*, as we have seen (Note 6), stood in the country of al-Manākhi; and *ash-Sha'ir*, so written by al-Janadi, the place where Sa'īd son of Najāḥ met his death, must likewise have been in that neighbourhood, or near the banks of the Wādi Saḥūl. Janadi, instead of *Nur* has *Anwar* (*supra*, Note 19). This place is mentioned by Yāḳūt, who says it stood in Mikhlāf Ḳayzān. Hamdāni makes mention of Ḳaynān, which, he says, was in the district of Saḥūl, and in the northern part of the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā' (p. 100, l. 15; 68, 6). *An-Naḳīl* (the mountain pass) is doubtless *Naḳīl Ṣayd*, near Yaḥdib al-'Ulu, or the ruined city of Ẓafār. *Saḥūl* stood in the district of Dhu 'l-Kalā', and it is likewise the name of a stream that flowed into Wādi Zabīd. (Hamdāni, p. 68, l. 4; 71, 15.) Instead of *Shawāḳi* we must read, as in al-Janadi, *Shawāfi*, which according to Hamdāni was one of the inhabited

places in the province of Saḥūl (p. 100, l. 16). It is mentioned by the author of the Marāṣid.

Wuḥāẓah is described by al-Hamdāni as part of the lowlying lands of the district of Dhu 'l-Kalā' and contained a castle of the same name, also called Subā' (p. 68, l. 6; 78, 15). The name *Baybars* is without doubt erroneous. Al-Janadi and Khazraji write *Yarīs* (يرس ؟). The same writers have *Zahrān* and *Sa'b* (Sha'b ?) instead of *Dahwān* and *Sha'r*. Yākūt says that *al-Khaḍrā* and *al-Yābis* are a fortress (*sic*) on Mount Wuṣāb. Al-Janadi says of *Shāhiṭ* that it had formerly been the abode of kings, but that it had lost its importance. It is mentioned by Yākūt, but he adds nothing to what we are told by 'Omārah. He includes the verses given in our text, which he doubtlessly borrows from our author. Their point consists in the double signification of the principal words, and their more obvious meaning is so gross, that I have gladly exempted myself from the task of rendering it in English. I may here mention that al-Hamdāni explains (p. 84, l. 12) that the word *al-Ghā'it* is used in Yaman to signify the desert.

Jabjab, mentioned a few lines farther on, is marked on Manzoni's map (Gebgeb), and is referred to by Hamdāni, (p. 68, l. 5, 12; 104, 17). *Wuṣāb al-'Aly* and *Wuṣāb al-Asfal* are identified by Glaser with Jublān al-'Arkabah, which Hamdāni tells us (p. 103, 12) stood between Wādi Zabīd and Wādi Rima', adding elsewhere (p. 71, 22) that Wādi Rima' flows between Jublān al-'Arkabah and Jublān Raymah.

NOTE 23 to p. 18.—The Hamdānite sister tribes of Ḥāshid and Bakīl were, as is mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn on the authority of al-Bayhaḳi and of Ibn Ḥazm (*supra*, p. 175), the progenitors of most of the subdivisions of the Banu Hamdān. The Banu Bakīl and Banu Ḥāshid were closely allied, and held high rank among the most powerful Arab communities in Yaman. And they have, in fact, continued, as is shown by Niebuhr, to occupy that position down to the present day. The Banu Yām, to which the Sulayhites and the family of Zuray' belonged, were a subdivision of the Banu Ḥāshid.

According to Hamdāni (p. 109), the country of his tribesmen extended from Ṣan'ā to Ṣa'dah.* The Banu Bakīl, he

* Ṣa'dah belonged to the Banu Khaulān and in pre-Islamitic times it bore the name of *Jumā'* (Hamdani, p. 67.)

adds, possessed, as a general rule, the country on the east of a line drawn from Ṣan'ā to Ṣa'dah and the Banu Ḥāshid that on the west. The latter owned also the district of *al-Waḥsh*, the western portion of the province of Saḥūl, lying next to the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā' and enclosed by the streams that combine to form the River Zabīd. (Hamdāni, p. 100, 20.)

NOTE 24 to p. 18.—*Jabal Burā'* is described by Hamdāni as a north-westerly extension of *Jublān Raymah*, standing between Wādi Rima' and Wādi Sahām, precisely as is shown in Dr. Glaser's map. The name *al-'Amad* (?), I have not met with elsewhere. *Li'sān*, according to Dr. Glaser's map and as described by Hamdāni, extends to the western slopes of Ḥarāz. *Masār* is one of the important group of mountains known by the name of *Ḥarāz*.

It will be seen by what follows at p. 44, that most of the strongholds above mentioned, were held at a subsequent period by the family of Muẓaffar the Sulayhites. Among other places there mentioned are *Makr*, *aẓ-Ẓarf* and *Dhu Rassah*, touching which I have met with no information. *Kawarīr* is referred to by Khazraji (*supra*, Note 5). For *Ẓafār* we may perhaps read *Ẓafirān*, mentioned by Yāḳūt as a fortress situated on the Mountain of Wuṣāb. The mountain of *Raymah* stood in the neighbourhood of Thaumān, and is consequently a different place from Jublān Raymah above referred to. 'Omārah speaks elsewhere (pp. 4 and 132) of *Raymat al-Ashā'ir*, and al-Janadi of *Raymat al-Manākhi* (*supra*, Note 6). See also Raymah in Hamdāni, p. 68, 4. The fortress of *Raymat al-Kalā'* of the last mentioned (p. 125, 22), is referred to as separate and distinct from Raymah, and he speaks also of Mount *Raymān* in the same locality, that is to say, next to the mountain of Ba'dān (p. 71, 16; 100, 21; 125, 6). Ba'dān and Raymān appear to have been the names of tribes inhabiting the province of Saḥūl (p. 100, 7), after which the mountains were doubtless named. Jublān was likewise (p. 103, 17) the name borne by the ancestor of certain Ḥimyarite tribes.

The word Raymān must probably in certain cases be understood in its natural sense, *a hill*.

NOTE 25 to p. 19.—Al-Janadi (fol. 183 obv.) and also al-Ahdal and al-Yāfi' write *ar-Rawāḥy* بالراء و الحاء المهملتين. Yāḳūt repeats the statement in our text that az-Zawāhi

was a village in the district of Ḥarāz, to which he adds, "also in the district of an-Najm, situated where the country of Yaman commences." Hamdāni tells us (p. 120, 6) that the tribe or family of an-Najm inhabited al-Mahjam. He also mentions a place named *az-Zawāhi* (p. 100, 16), but it is distinctly described as situated in the district of Saḥūl and in the country of Dhu 'l-Kalā', in other words therefore, in Mikhlāf Ja'far. I feel quite at a loss to suggest how these various statements are to be reconciled with one another.

NOTE 26 to p. 19.—This book is spoken of under the same title by al-Janadi and Khazraji, *Kitāb aṣ-Ṣuwar.* It is mentioned in the Bibliographical Dictionary, the Kashf aẓ-Ẓunūn, in which it is stated that if the book ever existed, it consisted of three (astrological) treatises written by Aristotle.

It will be seen that Ibn Khaldūn gives the book in the possession of 'Amir the name of *Kitāb al-Jafr.* In his Prolegomena (translated by Baron de Slane), Ibn Khaldūn enters into considerable detail on the subject. The book, he tells us, was said to have been originally in the possession of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiḳ (the sixth Imām) and it contained particulars relating to the descendants of 'Aly, revealed by divine grace to Ja'far and other leading members of the family of 'Aly. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiḳ was said to have communicated its contents to a certain chief of the sect of the Zaydites, who committed them to writing. The book was named after the original copy *Kitāb al-Jafr,* because it was written upon sheets of kid-skin or vellum.*

Ibn Khaldūn remarks that the chain of tradition, whereby it is sought to vindicate the authority of the book, is faulty. What became of the original volume, he further states, is not known. But the Fatimites asserted that 'Obayd Allah was acquainted with its contents, and they cite examples in proof of the knowledge he and his associates had acquired of the future, as shown, for instance, in the case of Ibn Ḥaushab (Manṣūr al-Yaman), who, when he sent Abu 'Abd Allah ash-Shiya'y to North Africa, knew that there the destinies of the family of 'Aly were to be fulfilled, and the foundations of their empire to be laid. Abu 'Abd Allah himself, on his arrival in Africa, announced to the men of

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* See also Kashf aẓ-Ẓunūn, s.v. *al-Jafr.*

the Berber tribe of *Katāmah* that they were the people, bearing a name derived from *mystery* (al-Kitmān), who were destined to be champions of the Mahdy. (Ibn al-Athīr, viii. 24, Makrīzi, i. 350.)

In a curious extract from the *Dastūr al-Munajjimīn* printed by Professor de Goeje, one of the appendices to his work on the Karmathians of Bahrayn, it is stated that 'Obayd Allah, on starting from Egypt for North Africa, was attacked by robbers at a place called *aṭ-Taḥūnah.* They plundered him of a large portion of his possessions; but his heaviest loss was that of certain books, in which the occult sciences of the Imāms, his forefathers, were contained. When 'Obayd Allah's son al-Ḳā'im, continues the writer, was sent forth on his first invasion of Egypt (A.H. 301), he succeeded in capturing the robbers, and he recovered possession of the books. On hearing thereof, the Mahdy rejoiced with exceeding joy. "The recovery of these books," he exclaimed, "is of itself a sufficient conquest." The anecdote, somewhat more briefly told, is to be found also in Ibn al-Athīr.

NOTE 27 to p. 21.—See Dieterici's Mutanabbi, p. 695, where the line quoted stands as follows:—

من علّم الأسود المخصىّ مكرمةً　　　اقوامُهُ البيضُ ام اباؤه الصيدُ

NOTE 28 to p. 22.—The first of these two lines of verse is not given by al-Janadi, nor have I found it elsewhere. The name *Asmā* is regarded as derived from the verb *wasama,* with which the first line begins, and which signifies *to mark,* but it is also connected with the verb *sama* to be lofty, *samā'u* the sky, and with *ism* a name. Queen Bilḳīs is mentioned in Note 41.

NOTE 29 to p. 24.—This, according to both al-Khazraji and Ibn Khallikān, was in A.H. 453. Al-Janadi adds (p. 183 obv.) that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi's envoys were Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, father of Sayyidah, who was killed at Aden by the falling in of a house at a time when his daughter was still in her childhood (Ah., p. 268), and that the other was Abu Saba Aḥmad ibn al-Muẓaffar, father of Sulṭān Saba ibn Aḥmad. He furthur mentions that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi sent the Fatimite Khalīfah valuable presents, comprising seventy swords with cornelian handles. Al-Khazraji, after mention-

ing that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi proclaimed the supreme authority of the Fatimite Khalīfah al-Mustanṣir, proceeds as follows :—

When aṣ-Ṣulayḥi raised his standard on the mountain of Masār, where he was supported by a number of people of the tribes of Sinḥān, of Yam, of Jusham and of Habrah, a large army advanced against him led by (Ja'far) son of the Imām al-Ḳāsim ibn 'Aly, hereinbefore mentioned,* and by a man named Ja'far ibn al-'Abbās, who was a Shāfi'ite and greatly respected in the western districts of Upper Yaman. He marched along with Ja'far son of al-Ḳāsim at the head of 30,000 men, but was attacked in his encampment by aṣ-Ṣulayḥi in the month of Sha'bān of the year above mentioned. He was killed along with a large number of his followers and his army dispersed. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi then ascended the mountain of Ḥaḍūr, took possession of it, and seized the fortress of Yanā'.† Ibn Abi Ḥāshid collected an army, and an engagement took place between them at Ṣauf, a village between Ḥaḍūr and Bīr Bani Shihāb. Ibn Abi Ḥāshid was killed together with one thousand of his followers. The name of the place has become proverbial in Yaman, in the phrase *Slaughter of Ṣauf* (i.e. great carnage). Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi then proceeded to Ṣan'ā and captured it. The whole of Yaman submitted to him, its hills and its plains (etc. as in 'Omārah).

At p. 48, l. 16, al-Khazraji says that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi subdued the whole country, from Mecca to Ḥaḍramaut, but that Ṣa'dah held out against him for a time, under the descendants of an-Nāṣir (Aḥmad). He however succeeded in slaying their chief and captured the city.

و اظهر الدعاء الى المستنصر بالله معدّ بن الظاهر العبيدى فلما ظهر بمسار و كان
معه فيه قوم من سنحان و يام و جشم و هبرة حضره ابن الامام القاسم بن على
المذكور اولا فى جمع كثير و رجل يسمّى جعفر بن العباس شافعى المذهب كان رجلا
مجابا فى مغارب اليمن الاعلى فسار مع جعفر بن القاسم فى ثلثين الفا فاوقع
الصليحى بجعفر بن العباس فى محطته فى شعبان من السنة المذكورة فقتله و قتل

* See *supra*, Note 8.

† Al-Hamdāni mentions Yanā' (p. 106, l. 12) as one of the places situated at the foot or on the lower slopes of Jabal Ḥaḍūr, which, he says, is so named after the ancestor of the Prophet Shu'ayb. Ḥaḍūr is one of the mountains of the Sarāt of Alhān, which extends from Naḳīl as-Saud to Ḥarāz, and it must not be confounded with *Ḥaḍūr Bani Azd* (Hamdāni, p. 68), farther north, one of the mountains of al-Maṣāni'. (See Glaser, p. 42–43.)

من اصحابه جمعا كثيرا فتفرّق الناس عنه ثم طلع جبل حَضُور فاستفتحه و اخذ
حصن ساع فجمع له ابن ابي حاشد جمعا فالتقوا بصوف و هي قرية بين
حضور و بير بني شهاب فقتل ابن ابى حاشد و قتل معه الف رجل من اصحابه
و بهذه البقعة يضرب المثل فى اليمن فيقال قتلة صوف ثم سار الصليحى الى صنعا
فملكها فطوى اليمن طيا سهله و وعره .

NOTE 30 to p. 29.—All these places, *az-Zarā'ib*, *Jabalā 'Akād* (the two mountains of *'Akād*) and *al-'Ukwatāni* (the two 'Ukwas) are mentioned by Yāḳūt, who quotes the lines given in our text, but again adds nothing to what we are told by 'Omārah, excepting a statement that the mountains overlook Zabīd, which is manifestly wrong. 'Omārah tells us that they stood in the country of Ibn Ṭarf, or in other words in that of the Banu Ḥakam, the tribe to which 'Omārah belonged. Yāḳūt, instead of *'Akād* as in the Ḳamūs and Táj al-'Arūs, writes *'Ukkad*.

NOTE 31 to p. 30.—A.H. 459 is the year given by Khazraji (p. 83) and also by Ibn al-Athīr (vol. x. p. 38). A comparison of dates shows that the death of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi must have occurred in A.H. 473, as stated by 'Omārah elsewhere (*supra*, p. 82), as well as in this passage, and also by Ibn Khallikān and by al-Janadi (fol. 183 obv. and rev.). It seems exceedingly probable that the words in our text, to the effect that the date 459 is assigned to the event and that it is to be preferred to the other, are an interpolation; but the error, it may be, proceeds from the confusion of an earlier expedition to Mecca with that projected in 473.

Ibn Khaldūn, in his chapter on the history of the Hāshimite Amīrs of Mecca (Bul. ed. iv. p. 103) says, as in his history of Yaman (*supra*, pp. 147 and 152), that the expedition of 473 was undertaken by command of the Fatimite Khalīfah, and that its purpose was the reinstatement of the Sulaymanites, in the place of Abu Hāshim Muḥammad son of Ja'far, who had renounced the Fatimite supremacy, and proclaimed that of the Abbasides.

Ibn al-Athīr mentions in his Chronicles (vol. x. pp. 19 and 38) that aṣ-Ṣulayḥi made himself master of Mecca in A.H. 455, and won praise by establishing order in the city, by adopting measures for the importation of food, and by extending protection to the pilgrims. He draped the

Ka'bah with a covering of white china silk * and restored its treasures. These, continues the historian, had been carried to Yaman by the Ḥasanites, from whom they were repurchased by aṣ-Ṣulayḥi. See Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's Mekka, pp. 62 and 63-4. It will be noticed that Abu Hāshim Muḥammad was raised to the rulership of Mecca by aṣ-Ṣulayḥi.

NOTE 32 to p. 32.—The word *al-Aḥwal* may also be translated *the Astute*, and the latter is probably the sense in which it was applied to Sa'īd by his people.

NOTE 33 to p. 36.—Khazraji supplies us here with specimens of 'Aly the Sulayḥite's talents as a poet. They will be found in Baron de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikān, vol. ii. p. 348.

NOTE 34 to p. 37.—See the description of a dīnār of 'Imrān ibn Muḥammad, by Mr. S. Lane-Poole, in the catalogue of coins at the British Museum. The defaced and illegible word is probably *Maliki.*

NOTE 35 to p. 38.—'Omārah tells us (*supra*, pp. 41 and 42) that when al-Mukarram adopted Dhu Jiblah as his place of residence, he appointed As'ad ibn Shihāb over San'ā together with 'Imrān ibn al-Faḍl. We learn from al-Janadi (fol. 184 obv.) that As'ad, upon the death of Sa'īd (in 482), was transferred from Ṣan'ā to Zabīd. His expulsion by Jayyāsh occurred the same year. It is somewhat difficult to understand at what time As'ad ibn 'Arrāf can have ruled over the city; but it will be observed that our text is again in a very unsatisfactory condition at this particular point.

NOTE 36 to p. 40.—Yāḳūt, in his Geographical Dictionary, reproduces 'Omārah's derivation of the name Dhu Jiblah. But, as appears from Wüstenfeld's printed edition, an error has been committed by the author or by his transcribers, whereby the sense of the passage is singularly misrendered. It reads as follows :—

كان يبيع الفخّار فى الموضع الذى بنت فيه الحرّة الصليحية دار العروبة
و سميت باسمها .

* See Note 18, footnote.

The words *Dār al-'Izz wa bihi* being misread, it becomes obvious that the sentence could not end with the word *Summiyat.* The writer has accordingly taken upon himself, according to a practice unhappily far too common, to add on his own authority the word *b'ismiha,* besides introducing a conjunction after *bihi,* and thus, whilst escaping one difficulty, he has plunged, without perceiving it, into another.

Yāķūt says that Dhu Jiblah stood at the foot of Mount Ṣabir, an error which appears also in Ibn Sa'īd's Geography. It is in point of fact none other but the place shown in Niebuhr's and subsequent maps south-west of Ibb.

NOTE 37 to p. 42.—Al-Janadi says (fol. 184 obv.) that al-Mukarram died at Bayt Yūnis, or at the fortress of Ashyaḥ, in A.H. 484 or in 480 or in 479. The context here and elsewhere (*supra*, p. 88) shows that al-Mukarram was living in 481. The same writer mentions that although Saba succeeded to the office of Dā'y (which could not be held by a woman), Sayyidah retained in her own hands full sovereignty or temporal power over her husband's dominions.

NOTE 38 to p. 43.—Al-Janadi (fol. 184 obv.) adds the following (see also al-Khazraji, p. 53)—whence it would appear that a passage is here omitted from our text.

'Omārah relates that Ibn al-Ķumm, standing before Saba, recited the ode in which these lines occur. The Prince, on hearing the verses, forbade him to stand, and casting a cushion at his his feet, commanded him to be seated. This he did for the purpose of showing him honour and of exalting him over all that were present. When the poet ended his recitation, Saba exclaimed : "Thou art unto us, O Abu 'Abd Allah, such as is described by al-Mutanabbi :

My heart is that of Kings, though—it be perceived that my tongue
is that of a poet.*

قال عمارة لما قام ابن القم بين يدى سبا ينشد هذه القصيدة الذى منها هذه الابيات منعه من القيام و رمى له مخدة و امره بالقعود عليها اكرامًا له و رفعاً عن الحاضرين ثم لما فرغ من الانشاد قال له يابا عبد الله انت عندنا كما قال المتنبّى .

و فؤادى من الملوك و إنْ كا   نَ لسانى يُرَى من الشعرآءِ

* See Dieterici's Mutanabbi, p. 633.

Note 39 to p. 45.—The omissions, that are here evident in the text, render it impossible to interpret the author's meaning with any degree of certainty. Those omissions I apprehend to be three in number, as shown by the lacunæ I have left in the translation. In the first, we may infer it to have been related that Khalf's plot was discovered and that he was imprisoned. In the second, that Saba made certain demands, which Jayyāsh, by the advice of his wazīr, met with counter offers; and in the third, that the Arabs refused the proffered terms and proceeded to attack Zabīd.*

I find no mention of these events in either al-Janadi or al-Khazraji; but the former has the following passage (p. 188 obv.), which is copied almost verbatim by Khazraji (p. 88).

Among the leading men of the Abyssinian dynasty was the Wazīr of King Jayyāsh, namely (Abu Sa'īd) Khalf son of Abu 't-Ṭāhir the Omayyad. He was one of the most remarkable men of the day for his distinguished capacity and merits. He attached himself to Jayyāsh when the Ziyadite Kingdom came to an end, and he accompanied him to India. Jayyāsh promised the wazīr, that in the event of their success in the recovery of his kingdom, Khalf should share with him the royal dignity and authority. But when Jayyāsh won the throne, he simply appointed Khalf Wazīr and gave him the title of *Kasīm al-Mulk*, Participator in the royal authority. Khalf's reward was confined to the receipt of that barren title, although but for his assistance, Jayyāsh had never succeeded in his enterprise. Ere long hostility arose between them. The wazīr fled and Jayyāsh wrote him in conciliatory terms, inquiring after his welfare. Khalf replied in the following lines:—

If there be a country where I am not held in honour—though it call unto me, I will not answer.
Even though its loveliness be that of the gardens of Paradise—and so also its sweetness. Yet an abject life therein would make its fragrance hateful.
I would fly to where I may be held in honour—even though it be a land whose barren plains resound with the howls of famished wolves.

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* The statement that the Arabs, after their defeat on that occasion, did not again invade Tihāmah is in contradiction, it will be observed, with what we read elsewhere. *Supra*, pp. 96 and 97.

و من اعيان دولة الحبشة وزير الملك جياش و هو خلف بن ابى الطاهر ابن الاموى كان من افراد الدهر نبلاً و فضلاً و صحب جياشا حتى* زال ملكه و دخل معه الهند و عاهد ان الامر اذا عاد اليه قاسمه اياه فلما عاد اليه الملك استوزره و سماه قسيم الملك ولم يزده على هذا بالاسم و لولا† ما تمّ لجياش ما تمّ ثم حصلت الوحشة بينه و بين جياش فهرب فكتب اليه يستعطفه و يستخبره عن احواله فاجابه بشعر هو

اذا لم تكن ارض لعرضى‡ مُعِزّةً   فلست و ان نادت الّى مجيبها§
و لو انها كانت || كروضة جنةٍ   من¶ الطيب لم يحسن مع الذُلّ طيبها
و سرت الى ارضٍ سواها تُعِزّنى   و ان كان لايعوى** من الجدب ذيبها

NOTE 40 to p. 47.—Kur'ān S. xxxiii. v. 36. It is explained in the *Kashshāf* that this verse was revealed for the purpose of reproving Zaynab daughter of Jaḥsh and cousin of the Prophet. The latter had arranged a marriage between her and his freedman Zayd and had provided the dowry. The marriage took place, but the lady and her brother made no disguise of their profound dissatisfaction with her being the wife, as they complained, of a slave. She aspired, it was said, to being taken in marriage by the Prophet himself. Her wishes were eventually gratified, but for the particulars of that ancient piece of scandal, I may confine myself to referring the reader to Sir William Muir's Life of Muḥammad.

NOTE 41 to p. 47.—Kur'ān xxvii. 29, 30 and 32. These words are those of Bilḳīs Queen of Sheba (Saba), on receiving a letter from Solomon, commanding her and her people to recognise his authority. Bilḳīs sought the advice of her counsellors, an example which Queen Sayyidah declares she will not follow. The King had heard of Bilḳīs and of her splendour from the hoopoe, who said to Solomon that he came unto him from (the country of) Saba with truthful tidings, words which Queen Sayyidah, as will

* Khi, حين   † Khi, الاسم ولولاه   ‡ Khi, لنفسى
§ Khi, اجيبها || Khi, اضحت   ¶ Khi, مع
** لَأَعْوى ? لَيعوى ?

be observed, turns to account in the subsequent sentence. The words *Resist me not, etc.*, are omitted by 'Omārah, but are inserted by Khazraji, as in the text of the Ḳur'ān. The abrupt change from the singular to the plural arises from strict adherence to the sacred text. The expression *Ye have wrested the words from their true sense* is likewise borrowed from the Ḳur'ān, which in several passages applies it to the Jews.

NOTE 42 to p. 48.—Al-Khazraji proceeds as follows (p. 54):—

He (Saba son of Aḥmad the Sulayhite) continued to inhabit his castle of Ashyaḥ until he died in the year 492. At his death, Ṣan'ā and the surrounding country were dissevered from the Ṣulayhite Kingdom. The Queen continued to inhabit Dhu Jiblah, until her death in the year that will be mentioned hereafter (A.H. 532). Ṣan'ā was conquered by Sulṭān Ḥātim ibn al-Ghashīm, whose history will be found in this book.

The same date for the death of Saba, A.H. 492, is given by al-Janadi; but Ibn Khaldūn writes 486 (*supra*, p. 151). Al-Janadi adds the correct orthography of the name *Ashyaḥ*. In the British Museum MS. of 'Omārah it is written *Ashyakh*, which I have rectified in the printed text.

NOTE 43 to p. 49.—Al-Afḍal Shahinshah was wazīr, and virtually absolute ruler of the Fatimite Empire, under the Khalīfahs al-Musta'la and al-Āmir. He was assassinated by order of the latter in A.H. 515.

NOTE 44 to p. 50. The words enclosed within square brackets are absolutely necessary to complete the sense, and we are able to restore them, with little short of certainty, from the corresponding passages of other writers. But another and larger omission may still be suspected, certain particulars on the rise of the family of al-Walīd, supplied at this point both by al-Janadi and by al-Khazraji. The latter writes (p. 54) as follows:—

At-Ta'kar belonged to 'Abd Allah ibn Muḥammad the Ṣulayḥite, brother of 'Aly ibn Muḥammad ibn aṣ-Ṣulayḥi. Al-Mukarram, upon the death of his father and of his uncle 'Abd Allah, appointed his cousin, As'ad son of 'Abd Allah, Governor of the city. As'ad's conduct became bad, and al-Mukarram removed

him and placed him in command of Raymah. He appointed Abu 'l-Barakāt son of al-Walīd over at-Ta'kar and its dependencies, and Abu 'l-Barakāt's brother Abu 'l-Futūḥ son of al-Walīd over the fortress of Ta'izz. Al-Mufaḍḍal, then in his early youth, was in the service of al-Mukarram at Dhu Jiblah and was admitted into the presence of the Princess.

Upon the death of Abu 'l-Barakāt, which occurred after that of al-Mukarram, the Queen confided the Governorship of at-Ta'kar to his son Khālid. The latter remained in command for a period of about two years, at the end of which he was slain by the Jurist 'Abd Allah ibn al-Maṣū'. This Ibn al-Maṣū' was a learned Jurist and a man of an earnestly religious disposition. He professed attachment to the Amīr Khālid ibn Abi 'l-Barakāt, who was ruler over his country Dhu 's-Sufāl.* (Though a Sunni) he ran no danger of being molested and Khālid trusted him. He had issued orders that the Jurist should not be hindered from coming up to him at whatsoever time he listed. This man's soul nevertheless instigated him to slay the Governor, the shedding of whose blood he regarded as lawful, seeing that Khālid was a member of the Ismailite sect. He consulted no person, but persuaded himself that the officials, on finding him prepared with money for the payment of salaries, would submit to him and do his bidding. He engaged the services of an oil-dealer, whose wont it was to go up to the castle with oil, for sale to the people who dwelt in the fortress. He filled his leathern oil-vessel with gold and silver coin and the two went up together. On finding himself alone with the Amīr Khālid, he slew him. In his excitement he cried aloud. The people of the castle hastened unto him, and finding the Amīr dead, they killed the Jurist.

Al-Janadi (Paris MS. fol. 194 rev.) proceeds in the corresponding passage of his history as follows:—

The Queen appointed al-Mufaḍḍal to replace (his brother Khālid). From the day of his arrival at at-Ta'kar he pursued the Jurists with his enmity. He openly manifested the hatred he bore them and he seized the lands both of the assassin and of his family, their ancient possessions situated in Dhu 's-Sufāl. Most of the Jurists fled from the neighbourhood of at-Ta'kar in dread of his severities. I have mentioned what he did to the people of the Jurist Zayd, when relating the latter's history.

Al-Mufaḍḍal became the Queen's trusted adviser and administrator of her kingdom. The Queen decided upon nothing without his advice. He attained great power, and his word was

* Dhu 's-Sufāl is marked on Niebuhr's and Manzoni's maps southwest of Dhu Jiblah. Yāḳūt writes *Safāl* and *Sifāl*.

raised on high. There was not only none among the nobles of the land who could pretend to surpass him, but none that could equal him. He made incursions into Tihāmah on several occasions, with results at times favourable and at others against him. He was a man distinguished by generous and noble qualities. But in supreme nobility and generosity of character, he ranked below Saba (son of Aḥmad) hereinbefore mentioned. Al-Mufaḍḍal was liberal and the object of praise. Poets came to him from all parts and eulogized him, and he rewarded them with surpassing rewards. His Court was visited by Mawāhib ibn Jadīd al-Maghrabi, who panegyrized him in several odes, one of which contains the following lines :—

O thou that ownest the Faith and the World and their people,
That clingest with firm grasp to the saving tenets of Islām,
Men say, he that would riches must dwell by the sea or with a King.
And thus have I done, son of Walīd, for thou art a Sea and thou art a King." *

Among the still existing memorials of al-Mufaḍḍal's rule, is the watercourse he constructed, extending from Hinwah (?) to the city of Janad.† It passes over places where its channel has been excavated in the living rock, in such wise that a description of the work is hard to be believed. Many such channels were made, and a stream of water is led through them. On reaching a spot between two mountains, the craftsmen provided for its passage by means of a wall, about two hundred cubits of the new measure in length from one mountain to the other, its height from the ground about fifty cubits and its width about ten cubits. These are the dimensions according to my own measurements and estimates. A person contemplating that great work, feels convinced that it can have been executed only by the Jinn, and but for absolute certainty of its visible existence, it were impossible to believe in it.

Another great work of al-Mufaḍḍal was the reconstruction of

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* See Note 74.

† Al-Ahdal (fol. 280 rev.), when mentioning the foundation of the city of Manṣūrah by Sayf al-Islām Tughtakīn in A.H. 592, states that it was built at the distance of a quarter of a day's march south of Janad. He adds that the Sulṭān revived the prosperity of its valley, known by the name of *Khanwah* خنوة, which had become the abode of wild beasts, and that in the village of *Hinwah* (?) حنوة, he built a hospital for the entertainment of strangers. The village in question must have stood near the Castle of Dumlūwah.

the mosque of Janad. The portions he built are the front and the two aisles. The rear was built by a Ḳāḍi, one of the Jurists attached to the mosque. The portion erected by al-Mufaḍḍal may be distinguished through its being built of stone. He roofed it and it continued in existence until Mahdy son of ʻAly ibn Mahdy captured the city. He demolished the mosque and burnt it with fire, as will be related hereafter, if it please God. It remained a ruin until the *Ghuzz* (the Turkish and Northern soldiery under the Ayyūbites) arrived in Yaman. The power of the family of Mahdy did not long endure after the destruction of the mosque, nor had it been long in existence before. When Sayf al-Islām reached the city, he restored the mosque and added to its height the existing portion, built of brick. This will be mentioned hereafter, when the history of the Ayyūbite conquest is related.

The Ḳāḍi Abu Bakr al-Yāfʻy mentions the story of the water-channels, in the verses he composed in praise of Manṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal, wherein he eulogized the father as well as the son, extolling al-Mufaḍḍal as the constructor of that great work. I doubted to whom it was to be rightly attributed, until I found the passage in question in the Ḳāḍi's poem. I have already, when giving an account of al-Yāfʻy's life, said enough to render it unnecessary to recur to the subject here, but I desire to add the lines in which he refers to the artificial watercourse, and to its author al-Mufaḍḍal, as follows:—

I say, rendering honour unto him and of his noble work—in leading
    the waters along their rocky bed,
He cleft the lofty mountains and their streams became—as heaven's
    rains, flowing over a level plain.

The words *He cleft the lofty mountains* are sure evidence to the truth of what we have said.

Al-Janadi's doubts as to the authorship of the rock-cut water-channels and aqueduct, suggest the question whether the work were not of far more ancient date than he supposes, and whether al-Mufaḍḍal's share in it may not have been confined to its restoration. It would be interesting to learn from modern travellers the present condition of a monument, of which important remains or traces can hardly fail to be still in existence.

فجعاب السيده المفضل مكانه فمن وقت طلعه تعند بالفقها و اظهر عداوتهم و قبض
اراضى القاتل و قومه و هى الاملاك القديمة فى ذى السفال و هرب غالب الفقها
عن مجاورة التعكر خوفا من سطوته و قد ذكرت ما فعل مع اصحاب الفقيه زيد
عند ذكره و صار المفضل رجل البيت و مدبّر الملك الذات (؟) عنه ولم تكن

تقطع السيدة امرًا دونه فبذلك عظم شانه و علت كلمته ولم يبق فى اعيان الدولة من يُساميه ولا يُساويه و غزا تهامة مرارًا له و عليه و كانت له مكارم و مفاخر لكنها دون مكارم سبا المقدم ذكره و كان المفضل جواداً ممدحا يقصده الشعرا من الانحا و يمدحونه فيثيبهم على ذلك ثوابا مغنيا و اليه قدم مواهيب* بن حددد المعرى† و امتدحه بعزر‡ قصائد من بعضها قوله

يا مالك الدين و الدنيا و اهلهما و من بعزته§ الاسلام ممتسك
قد قيل جاوز لتحظى|| البحرا و ملكًا و قد فعلتُ و انت البحر و الملكُ ¶

و من اثاره المبقيه للذكر جره الغيل من حنوة الى مدينة الجند و لقد مرّ به فى مواضع احتفر بها طريقة فى اصفيةٍ بحيث لا يكاد يصدق بذلك على السماع لانه نقر فى الصفا حفرا عديدة و اجرى الماء فيها ثم لما جاء بين جبلين اجتاز الصُناع فى ذلك فابتنى جدارا طوله من الجبل الى الجبل نحوًا من مائتى ذراعٍ و ارتفاعه فى الارض نحواً من خمسين ذراعًا و عرضه نحواً من عشرة اذراع بالجديد و هذا التقدير منى على طريق الحزر و التقريب و لقد اذا راى شخص يقول ما اقتدر على هذا الحفر الا الجنّ و لو لا ثبوت ذلك و ادعاه مُدْع لم يُصدّقه و من ذلك ابتناوه المسجد الجند و حدّ بنائه المقدم و الجناحين و اما الموخر فبناه بعض القضاة من فقها المسجد و حدّ بناء المفضل من المسجد الاحجار و سقف عليها** حتى جاء المهدى بن على بن مهدى فاخربه و احرقه على ما سياتى ان شاء الله و لم يزل مهدوماً حتى قدم الغزّ و هو على ذلك اذ لم تطل مُدّة المهادية بعد ذلك و لا قبله ثم اما قدم سيف الاسلام ابتنى ذلك و زاد فى سمك المسجد ما هو مبنى الان بالاجر و سياتى بيان ذلك عند ذكرهم و قد ذكر القاضى ابو بكر اليافعى قصة الغيل فى مدحه لابنه منصور لما مدحه وجعل من جملة مدحه مدح ابيه و نبه على فعله فى الغيل و قد اتشكك فيمن جرا†† الغيل حتى وجدته فى شعر القاضى المذكور و قد تقدّم من ذلك مع ذكره ما يعنى عن اعادته لكن احب ذكر ما قاله فى الغيل و ذلك انه لما ذكر المفضل قال

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* Khi, مواهب   † Khi, المغربى   ‡ بعدّة ?   § Khi, بعروة
|| Khi, حاور لتَغْنَى   ¶ Khi, و انت يابن الوليد البحر و الملك
** Khi, فلم تزل كذلك   †† Read أجرى

و اقل مكرمة له و فضيلةٍ اجراءه للغيل فى الاجنادِ
شَقّ الجبال الشامخات فاصبحت و كانّما كانت نعاب* وهاد
و فى قوله شق الجبال الشامخات دليل على صحة ما ذكرنا

NOTE 45 to p. 52.—Khazraji has قطان and Yākūt *Kayẓan* قيظان, in the neighbourhood, he says, of Dhu Jiblah. The tribe of Janb, also called Munabbih (Hamdāni, p. 115), and those of Sinḥān, ʻAns and Zubayd were sub-tribes of the Banu Madhhij.

NOTE 46 to p. 53.—Al-Janadi (p. 185 obv.) says that this man was son of al-Mufaḍḍal's uncle, and such, he adds, is the statement of Ibn Samurrah, whilst ʻOmārah, he continues, attributes the capture of the fortress to certain men among whom was a cousin of his own. Al-Janadi himself is of opinion that both versions may be adopted, to the effect, that is to say, that the insurgents were aided by the co-operation of a person who was kinsman of al-Mufaḍḍal, and by that of ʻOmārah's cousin. He mentions also that al-Mufaḍḍal was buried at ʻAzzān at-Taʻkar (the slopes of Taʻkar ?)

NOTE 47 to p. 54.—Hamdāni speaks of the Banu Baḥr as derived from Rabīʻah (p. 114, l. 20), a name borne by, amongst others, a sub-tribe of Khaulān (Rabīʻah son of Saʻd al-Akbar son of Khaulān (*ib.* l. 13). Rabīʻah was also the name of a sub-tribe of the Banu Janb (Hamdāni, p. 93, l. 9, 13). Baḥr was, moreover, according to Hamdāni, a subdivision of the Ṣadif, a sub-tribe of the Banu Kindah, inhabitants of Ḥaḍramaut and descendants of Murrah and of ʻArīb. And, at p. 112, l. 23, he mentions a tribe or family of the name of Buḥr, descendants of Ḥimyar.

The Banu Ḍinnah he mentions as a sub-tribe of the Banu ʻUdhrah, derived from Ḳudāʻah, and elsewhere as descendants of the Banu Numayr, an Ishmaelite tribe (p. 116, l. 17, and p. 165, l. 1).

The Banu Marran are described as a subdivision of Hamdān (p. 107, l. 9), but also (p. 113, l. 15) as Ḥimyarites. The Banu Zarr, we are told, belonged to the tribe of Jabar (descendants of Yāfiʻ) and consequently Ḥimyarites like-

* Khi, نعار

wise, but in speaking of a member of the family (*supra*, p. 57) it is said that he was a Khaulanite.

The Banu Rāzih and Banu Jumā'ah are stated by Hamdāni to have been Khaulanites (p. 73, l. 18, and p. 114, l. 18, 20).

The tribes of Sha'b and Sha'b-Ḥay, he tells us, dwelt in the Sarāt of Khaulān (p 69, l. 24), and the Banu Ḥay he describes as Khaulanites (p. 114, l. 26).

NOTE 48 to p. 55.—The Queen, says al-Janadi (fol. 185 obv.) appointed in the place of al-Mufaḍḍal the son of his uncle, As'ad son of Abu 'l-Futūḥ, as administrator and guardian of her kingdom. He was the son of Abu 'l-Futūḥ, son of al-'Alā son of al-Walīd. He resided at the fortresses of Ṣabir and Ta'izz, over which his father had ruled before him. He continued to exercise the authority formerly held by al-Mufaḍḍal, until the year 514, when he was assassinated at Ta'izz by two of his retainers.* This event, continues al-Janadi, occurred after the arrival of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah.

NOTE 49 to p. 56.—Al-Khazraji, speaking elsewhere of the Banu Janb (fol. 105), says that when about to march, it was their custom to shout the words mentioned in the text.

NOTE 50 to p. 57.—The *Hujarīyah* were a body of men in the service of the Fatimite Khalifahs. They were so named because they occupied barracks, known by the name of *al-Ḥujar*, the Chambers, situated between the great palace at Cairo and Bāb an-Naṣr. They were originally a body of skilled craftsmen, first selected by the Khalīfah al-Mu'izz, but they were subsequently made use of in a military capacity. Being led by al-Afḍal Shahinshah against the Franks at Ascalon, they deserted their leader, who was compelled to retreat, after setting fire to his stores. The body was re-organized by al-Afḍal. He fixed their numbers at 3000 men and placed them under the command of an Amīr who received the title of *al-Muwaffaḳ*. Previous to that time, the Ḥujariyahs consisted, partly if not wholly, of native Egyptians. They were selected with the greatest care by the provincial governors, from among the

* Khazraji mentions the same date, 514 ; but As'ad, according to 'Omārah, must have lived to a later period. See pp. 60 and 97.

most promising youths or children to be found in each district, special regard being paid to both physical and intellectual capacity. The native element was eliminated by al-Afḍal, who replaced it by a selection of youths from among the families of the foreign soldiery. (Maḳrīzi's Khiṭaṭ, vol. i. p. 443.) Maḳrīzi's words, I may add, are that the new levies were selected from among the children of the *Ajnad*, a word which properly signifies simply *soldiers*. The singular is *Jundy*, which in Egypt is vulgarly pronounced *Gindy*, and is used to denote a Turkish soldier, and also generally a Turk of the poorer class.

So far as I am aware, al-Afḍal's experiment is the only serious attempt ever made to utilize the native population of Egypt in a military capacity, from the time of the Arab conquest down to the days of Muḥammad 'Aly, in the early part of the present century. The fact is all the more curious, considering the incessant struggles there have been for the acquisition of military power. The supremacy of any one of the ever contending factions has invariably depended upon the numbers and bravery of its followers. Muḥammad 'Aly was the first to depart from ancient tradition, and to form an army composed of native levies, but to the end of his life he retained also in his service foreign troops, a policy finally abandoned by his successors some five and twenty years ago. Negro troops have at various times played an important part in the military history of Egypt, and they were especially numerous under the Ṭulūnites and under the Fatimite Khalīfah al-Mustanṣir, whose mother was indeed a negress.

NOTE 51 to p. 57.—The Ismailite Dā'ys taught their neophytes that mystical and spiritual significations attached, not only to passages and single words of the Ḳur'ān, but also to numberless particulars observable in the natural world, and especially in the structure of the human body. It would appear from the text, either that they extended similar occult meanings to accidental marks and blemishes, or that Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah did so, on the occasion in question, on his own authority, for the purpose of impressing upon the people a belief in his supernatural knowledge. See Maḳrīzi's Khiṭaṭ, vol. i. p. 392, and de Sacy's *Exposé de la religion des Druzes*.

NOTE 52 to p. 58.—Maytam was, according to Hamdāni,

the name of a mountain and of a *mikhlāf* or district. The river was probably one of the affluents of the Wādi Raghādah. If I rightly understand Hamdāni's explanations (pp. 75, l. 22; 92, 16; 101, 19, 21), Maytam was south or south-east of Dhamār and probably at no great distance from Jabal Khubbān.

The Banu Ḥimās, spoken of a few lines farther on, are mentioned by Ibn Ḳutaybah as a sub-tribe of Madhhij. (Eichhorn, p. 143.)

NOTE 53 to p. 60.—The allusion is to a verse in the Ḳur'ān: *Say, flight will not serve you, if ye flee from death or from slaughter* (S. xxxiii. v. 16).

NOTE 54 to p. 61.—There can be little doubt that a transcriber's omission occurs here, and indeed if the word *hadha*, this, be not an interpolation, the fact of such an omission may be regarded as absolutely certain. The words I have placed in the translation within square brackets may, I think, be supplied with little or no hesitation, for the purpose of conveying the sense that the story that follows was derived from Abu 'Abd Allah al-Ḥusayn, the same who has figured before as one of 'Omārah's authorities. The subsequent sentence, which I translate "they whom I smite with my hand," etc., has without doubt been incorrectly transcribed.

NOTE 55 to p. 62.—Al-Ma'mūn al-Baṭā'iḥy was arrested by the Khalīfah al-Amir on the fourth of Ramaḍān 519, and was put to death in 522. Al-Maḳrīzi says (Khiṭaṭ, vol. i. p. 463), that al-Ma'mūn was accused of having sent (Ibn) Najīb ad-Daulah Abu 'l-Ḥasan to Yaman, with orders to strike coins bearing the name of the Imām al-Mukhtār Muḥammad son of Nizār.

Nizār was son of the Khalīfah al-Mustanṣir. Upon the latter's death in A.H. 487, Aḥmad, a younger brother, was raised to the throne by the Wazīr al-Afḍal Shahinshah, under the title of *al-Musta'la billah.* Nizār fled to Alexandria, where he caused himself to be proclaimed Khalīfah and assumed the title of *al-Muṣṭafa li-dīn Illah.* He was soon compelled to surrender himself to al-Afḍal, by whom he was conveyed to Cairo and put to death. The Eastern Ismailites embraced the cause of Nizār, who, as they probably with truth asserted, had been appointed by his father

heir to the Empire. They renounced the supremacy of al-Musta'la and of his successors, whom they denounced as usurpers. Hence they are commonly known in Eastern history by the designation *Nizārites*. They were also styled by their enemies *al-Mulāḥidah*, the Impious, and in the popular traditions still current in Egypt, they are remembered under the name of *al-Fidawīyah*, because in the perilous adventures they were in the habit of undertaking, they devoted their lives as a ransom (*fida*) for the liberation and propagation of their Faith. By western historians they are best known under the designation of *the Assassins*. Their Chiefs, now represented by an Imām who resides at Bombay, claim to be descendants of Nizār.

As a curiosity of history, I may add that not many years since certain claims advanced by Indian Dodekite Shiahs, which practically involved the right of existence of the Bombay Ismailites as a separate body, had to be investigated by an English Court of Justice. Sir Joseph Arnould, before whom the case was tried, delivered an elaborate judgment, in which he reviewed the history of the Alides from the days of the Prophet down to the present time, arriving at the conclusion, that a small and obscure sect at Bombay was able to prove its right to be recognised as representatives of the erewhile formidable Karmathians, of the no less dreaded Assassins, and of the once powerful Empire of the Fatimites.

NOTE 56 to p. 64.—According to Ibn Khaldūn (*supra*, p. 169), Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah was drowned at sea, a statement which is probably correct, but for which no authority is given. Al-Khazraji's account of the end of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah's career is copied from 'Omārah, and corresponds in every particular with that supplied by our author, saving only certain verbal distinctions, most of which are shown in the notes I have appended to the printed text. Al-Janadi makes the following remarks (fol. 185 rev.), which clearly prove that if we have not the words of 'Omārah in their original purity, their corruption is of ancient date:—

The Queen then delivered up Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, but she sent along with him one of her secretaries. On reaching Aden, the envoy departed with Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, and the secretary's journey was delayed for some days. Then he was sent off in a ship, the captain of which received orders to drown him, which he did, at Bāb al-Mandab. I am in ignorance of the fate of Ibn

Najīb ad-Daulah, seeing that ʻOmārah does not mention it. The Queen repented of having surrendered Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, and of having sent away her secretary, whose presence with her she esteemed of happy augury.

Al-Janadi's account of the Sulayhite dynasty ends at fol. 185 rev. with the following passage, which al-Khazraji incorporates almost verbatim in his history (p. 58-9).

Upon the death of the Queen, at the date I have mentioned when relating the end of her career,* Manṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal succeeded, by her bequest, to the kingdom of the Sulayhites. He sold Taʻkar and Ḥabb and the fortresses (I read حصنة for حصنى المخلاف) of the Mikhlāf (Jaʻfar) and dependencies to the Dāʻy Muḥammad ibn Saba ibn Abi Suʻūd. This was in the year 547, fifteen years after the Queen's death. The sovereignty of the Sulayhite dynasty, reckoning it from the year 429, endured therefore 119 years. . .

Manṣūr continued to inhabit the fortress of Taʻizz until he died. He was the first to adopt Thaʻbat † as a place of recreation. He was wont to go down and spend there several days. His death occurred in the year 540 and odd. He left a son Aḥmad, who succeeded him, and who followed the same course of life as his father until the year 558. Mahdy son of ʻAly ibn Mahdy then came up from Tihāmah and purchased of him Ṣabir and Taʻizz. Aḥmad then inhabited Janad until the year 563, when he died.

NOTE 57 to p. 65.—An obvious omission here occurs in our text, which is indeed, in this chapter, more than usually mutilated. The general import of the missing passage is not difficult to conjecture, but its sense and doubtless almost its precise words are supplied by Khazraji. I have not hesitated therefore to incorporate the passage in my translation.

This and other amendments are distinguished by being enclosed within square brackets.

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* At fol. 184 rev., al-Janadi says that the Queen died at Dhu Jiblah in A.H. 532. So also in Khazraji. The latter adds that she had attained the age of eighty-eight years, and Daybaʻ says that she was buried in the mosque she had built at Dhu Jiblah, in the foremost part of the building and on its western side. Her reign, he continues, extended over a period of thirty-one years.

† Niebuhr marks upon his map *Thöbad* close to Taʻizz, presumably the place here mentioned. On Manzoni's map the name is written *Thabud*.

The following is Khazraji's version of the early history of the Zurayite dynasty (Leiden MS. pp. 58 and 59), which the reader will be able to compare with the corresponding passages in 'Omārah. The only actual addition to the information given by the latter, is Khazraji's statement that Zuray' gained possession of Dumlūwah in A.H. 480.

قال على بن الحسن الخزرجى وفّقه الله للعمل بما يرضيه كان السبب فى تملك آل
زريع عدن و ما ناهجها من البلاد ان الداعى علىّ بن محمد الصليحى لما استولى
على اليمن و افتتح مدينة عدن فكان فيها يومئذ بنو معن قد تغلّبوا عليها و على
لحج و ابين و الشحر و حضرموت ابقاها تحت ايديهم و جعلهم نوابها من قبله فلما
تزوّج المكرم بالحرة السيدة جعل الصليحى صداقها عدن و ما ناهجها فكان بنو
معْن يرفعون خراجها الى السيدة فى ايام الصليحى فلما قتل الداعى على بن محمد
الصليحى فى التأريخ المذكور اولا تغلب بنو معن على ما تحت ايديهم من البلاد
فقصدهم المكرم الى عدن و اخرجهم منها و ولّاها العباس و مسعودا ابنى المكرم
الهمدانى وكانت لهما سابقة محمودة و بلا حسن فى قيام الدولة المستنصرية مع
الداعى على بن محمد الصليحي ثم مع ولده المكرم يوم نزوله الى زبيد و اخذ
امّه اسماء بنت شهاب من اسرا الاحول سعيد بن نجاح فجعل للعباس حصن
التعكر بعدن و باب البرّ و ما يدخل منه و جعل لمسعود حصن الخضرآ و باب
البحر و ما يدخل منه و اليه امر المدينة و استخلفهما للحرّة السيدة فلم يزل
ارتفاع عدن يحمل الى السيدة فى كل سنة مائة الف دينار وقد يزيد وقد
ينقص الى ان توفى العباس بن المكرم فخلفه ابنه زريع بن العباس على
التعكر و باب البرّ و بقى مسعود على ما تحت يده و كل واحد منهما يحمل ما عليه
و ملك زريع الدملوة يوم الثلثاء لست عشرة ليلة خلت من رمضان سنة ثمانين
و اربعمائة فلما بعثت السيدة المفضل بن ابى البركات الى زبيد كتبت الى زريع
بن العباس و الى عمه مسعود بن المكرم ان يلقياه الى زبيد فلقياه و قاتلا معه
فقتلا معًا على باب زبيد فانتقل امر عدن الى ولديهما ابى السعود بن زريع

و ابى الغارات* بن مسعود فتغلّبا على الحرة ايضا فبعثت اليهما المفضل بن ابى البركات فى جيش عظيم فقاتلهما ثم اتفق الامر على النصف من ذلك فكانا يحملان اليها فى كل سنة خمسين الفا فلما مات المفضل بن ابى البركات تغلبوا على الحرة ايضا فبعث اليهم ابن عمّ المفضّل اسعد بن ابى الفتوح فقاتلهما ثم اتفقا على الربع من الارتفاع فكانوا يحملون اليها فى كال سنة خمسة وعشرين الف دينار ثم تغلّبوا على الربع المذكور اولا و لم يزل كل واحد منهما موَالٍ لابن عمه حتى توفى ابو السعود و ولى جهته سبا بن ابى السعود ثم توفى ابو الغارات و ولى جهته ولده محمد بن ابى الغارات ثم توفى محمد بن ابى الغارات فولى اخوه علىّ بن ابى الغارات و هو صاحب حصن الخضرا و المستولى على البحر و المدينة و كان للداعى سبا حصن التعكر و باب البرّ و ما يدخل منه و كان له من البرّ الدملوة و سامع و مطران و ممن و دحان و بعض المعافر و بعض الجند و كانت اعماله واسعة كثيرة و كان له من الاولاد علىّ الاغر و محمد الداعى و المفضل و زياد و روح و كان السبب فى استيلا الداعى سبا بن ابى السعود و زوال علىّ بن ابى الغارات ان نواب على بن ابى الغارات انبسطت ايديهم على نواب الدعى .

It will be observed that the name borne by the ancestor of the Hamdanite Princes of Aden, stands in our text الكـرزم. In the Leiden MS. of Khazraji and in the Paris MS. of Janadi the name is for the most part written المكرم. But not invariably so. Thus in Janadi, at p. 186 rev. (see *infra*, Note 69), it is distinctly written الكـرم and so also in the corresponding passage in Khazraji, p. 77.

The surname of 'Aly son of Saba is in our text and in Khazraji generally written الاغر. But in some instances the diacritical point is absent. In others it is not quite clear to which letter the point is intended to apply. In Janadi the name is distinctly written الاعز *al-A'azz*. So also in al-Ahdal. In the British Museum text of Ibn Khaldūn the two names are invariably written الكرم and الاعز.

* Written here and elsewhere العارات

NOTE 58 to p. 65.—The author of the Tāj al-'Arūs says that Ta'kar is one of the mountains of Aden, on the left-hand side of a person proceeding from the gate to the mainland. 'Omārah, as will be seen (p. 73), speaks of it as within the city, but we may perhaps understand him to mean within the peninsula. It may perhaps be identified with the spot I find marked on Colonel F. M. Hunter's plan of Aden, under the name of *Orrus al Hosn*, near the "Main Pass Gate." Colonel Hunter mentions the fort of Ta'kar (*Statistical Account*, p. 184) and also the Castle (Ḥiṣn) al-Akhḍar (pp. 190 and 191), but without giving an indication of their position. The latter, I presume, must have stood at no great distance from the Island of Seerah.

NOTE 59 to p. 67.—The name of Muḥammad son of Saba is followed in the text by the words, "and he was the last of the Banu Zuray'." They are clearly erroneous, and I omit them in the translation. Al Janadi confines himself to saying that 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt was the last of the family of Mas'ūd.

The subsequent sentence, in which the conquest of Yaman by Turān Shah is mentioned, is evidently an interpolation. 'Omārah tells us (p. 79) that he wrote his history in 564, and he was executed at Cairo on the 2nd Ramaḍan 569, more than two months before the capture of Aden by the Ayyubites, on the 20th Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah according to Ibn Ḥātim.

NOTE 60 to p. 68.—Al-Janadi adds that 'Aly ibn Abi 'l-Gharāt possessed in Laḥj the city of Za'āzi'. له فى لحج مدينة الزعازع. In enumerating the possessions of Saba ibn Abi 's-Su'ūd, al-Janadi, like Khazraji, omits the name الرما. He writes as follows :— و له معقل الدملوة و سامع و مطران و نمير و دبحان و بعض المعافر و بعض الجند.

The name of the place that follows after مطران looks in Khazraji (p. 69; see Note 57), and also at p. 108 (see foot-note 5 to p. 98 of the printed text of 'Omārah), like نمن or نمر. But both Janadi, as quoted above, and Ibn Ḥātim (see Note 101) have نمير which it may be presumed stands for *Numayr*. For the mountain of Sāmi', see Hamdani, p. 74, 14; 76, 6; 77, 1; and 78, 6. Instead of Za'āzi'

the name in Müller's edition of Hamdāni and also in Sprenger's *Reise-routen* is written Ra'āri'.

Note 61 to p. 69.—The name of this village is written in the text without the diacritical points. But al-Janadi mentions it when speaking of the learned men of Laḥj (fol. 69 rev.). There, as well as at fol. 186 obv., he calls it Bani Abbah al-'Ulyā. He supplies the vocalization of the word, and tells us that it was vulgarly pronounced *Manyabbah*. See also Hamdani, p. 98, 1..

و من لحج ثم من قرية بنا ابه العليا و.استعمل ذلك فسميت بمنيّبه بفتح
الميم و سكون النون و فتح الياء المثناة من تحت و فتح الباء الموحدة مع
تشديدها ثم هاء ساكنة و سميت بالاسم الاول لان اوّل بانيها رجل من قربطه
يقال له أبّه بفتح الهمزة و فتح الباء الموحدة مع تشديد و سكون الهاء .

Note 62 to p. 69.—The line quoted in the text is from the Mu'allaḳah of Ṭarafah ibn al-'Abd, al-Bakri.

و ظلمُ ذوى القُربَى اشدّ مَضاضة   على المرءِ من وَقْعِ الحسامِ المهنَّدِ

Note 63 to p. 70.—The family of Zuray', as has been seen, were members of the Banu Jusham, a sub-tribe of the Banu Yām, themselves a subdivision of the great Sept of Hamdān.

Note 64 to p. 70.—See Dieterici's Mutanabbi, p. 402. The entire verse, of which, for obvious reasons, only the second hemistich was quoted, and which, as will be noticed, is inaccurately rendered, is as follows :—

اعلى الممالكِ ما يُبنى على الأَسَلِ   و الطعنُ عند مُحِبّيهِنَّ كالقُبَلِ

The noblest of Empires are built up with the sword—and to those that love (desire to win) them, lance-thrusts are as kisses.

The affixed pronoun, rendered by *them*, is in the feminine, the word *mamālik*, kingdoms, to which it refers, being a feminine plural.

Note 65 to p. 73.—Aṣ-Ṣuhayb, according to Hamdāni

(p. 54, 24), was inhabited by a people descended from Saba, and they were known by the designation of Saba-Ṣuhayb. Elsewhere (p. 189) he mentions Ṣuhayb as on the pilgrim route from Aden, next after Laḥj. Manzoni marks Jabal "Menif" on his map, about twelve miles north of Laḥj, as also a stream of the same name flowing thence into the Wadi "Saib." Yāḳūt mentions Munīf as the name of a fortress situated on Mount Ṣabir, which, it seems to me, requires confirmation.

The following are the corresponding passages in al-Janadi (fol. 186 obv.). The words of al-Khazraji (p. 70), who indeed cites al-Janadi as his authority, are substantially the same:

"War continued to rage between the two parties and many battles were fought between them, ending eventually in the victory of Saba over his kinsman. 'Aly son of Abu 'l-Gharāt fled to Saba-Ṣuhayb, where he and his friends entrenched themselves in two fortresses, Munīf and al-Jabalah (?). A wonderful thing was, that on the day upon which 'Aly was defeated, Bilāl the freedman of Saba captured the fortress of al-Khaḍrā. He sent a messenger with the glad tidings. . . .

"Bilāl brought down the Honourable Lady Bahjah (from al-Khaḍrā) into the city (of Aden), where she continued to reside until her death. I believe that the mosque known under the name of *Masjid al-Ḥurrah* (the Lady's Mosque), situated near the principal mosque of Aden, is named after her.

"On the termination of the war, the Dā'y Saba entered Aden, where he abode for seven months and then died.* He was buried at the foot of at-Ta'kar, in the year 533. After the year 700, signs of excavation in a mound at the foot of at-Ta'kar became visible through the action of the rains. It was surmised that treasure was concealed on the spot, and information was carried to the Governor of the city. He went up and stood by whilst the workmen uncovered a large chest, closely fastened with nails. It was opened and found to contain the body of a man, wound in sheets, but upon being touched the body crumbled into dust. The chest and remains were restored to their original place, as was also the earth that had been dug out. It may be that this was the body of the Dā'y, but God is all-knowing.†

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* Khazraji (p. 70) quotes Janadi to the effect that Saba died in 533, the same year as stated in 'Omārah; but the event occurred, he adds, in 532, "the year in which Queen Sayyidah also died."

† The practice of burying the dead enclosed in coffins is, so far as I am aware, altogether unknown in Muhammadan countries at

"The Dā'y Saba died after having appointed his son 'Aly al-A'azz to succeed him. The latter did not long survive, and died of consumption.* He had four sons of tender age, whom he placed under the guardianship of an [Abyssinian] eunuch named Anīs [al-A'azzi], the same name, Anīs, as that of the man who slew the last Prince of the Banu Ziyād."

فتهايجت بينهما حروب كثيرة افضت الى انتصار الداى سبا على ابن عمه
فهرب الى † سبا صهيب و تحصّن دو و بنو عمه يحصنين منها منيف و الحمله‡
و من عجيب ماكان فى اليوم الذى انكسر به ابن ابى الغارات فتح بلال مولى
سبا حصن الخضرا فبعث مبشرا . . . . و انزل الحرة بهجة الى المدينة
فلبثت بها حتى توفيت و المسجد الذى يعرف بمسجد الحُرة على قرب من جامع §
عدن اظنه ينسب اليها ثم لما انقضت الحرب دخل الذاعى سبا الى عدن فلبث
بها سبعة اشهر و توفى فقبر بسفح التعكر بتاريخ سنة ٥٣٣ و لما كان بعد سبعمائة
ظهر الناس|| على اكمه ¶ بسفح التعكر حفيرًا اظهره المطر فتوهم الناس انه
مال فاعلموا والى المدينة فطلع والى المدينة وَوَقف و اخرج الحفارون منه صندوقًا
كبيرًا مسمرًا ففتح فوجدوا فيه رجلا ملففًا باثواب متى امسكت صارت رمادًا
فاعادوه على حاله بصندوقه و حفرته و لعله الداعى و الله اعلم و لما توفى

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the present day. But it would seem to have been otherwise in former times. Khazraji (fol. 73) tells a story not unlike the above, to the effect that a coffin made of ebony was found, in the days of Sultān al-Manṣūr 'Omar ibn Rasūl (A.H. 626—647), in a graveyard at Manṣūrah, that upon its being opened it was found to contain remains, believed to be those of the Dā'y Muḥammad son of Saba (who died at Dumlūwah). See also Ibn al-Athīr, vol. xii. p. 269, where it is related that on the grave of Ḳatādah Amīr and Sharīf of Mecca being opened in A.H. 620, the coffin it contained was found to be empty.

* At Dumlūwah in A.H. 534, according to Khazraji. He goes on to say that 'Aly's sons were Jābir, 'Abbās and Manṣūr. The name of the fourth he did not remember. He adds, immediately after, that al-A'azz bequeathed the kingdom to his son Ḥātim.

† Khi, ناحية ‡ Khi, الحمله

§ Khi, جانب || للناس ? ¶ اكمة ? Khi, فى اصل

الداعی بعد ان اقام مقامه ابنه علیّ الاعز فلم یقم غیر یسیر حتی توفی بمرض
السل و له اربعة اولاد صغار جعل کفالتهم الی خادم اسمه انیس خصی * علی
اسم العبد الذی قتل موالیه اخر بنی زیاد .

NOTE 66 to p. 74.—A *Muṣalla* is an enclosed place in the open air, set aside for the performance of prayer. Under the Fatimites, the Khalīfah resorted to the Muṣalla in state, on the occasion of the two great festivals of the year. Maḳrīzi says that the Muṣalla of Cairo was enclosed by Jauhar outside the walls in A.H. 358, and he describes the cremonies that took place on the occasion of the Khalīfah's visits. (Khiṭaṭ, vol. i. p. 451. See also de Sacy's Chrestomathie, note to the Life of al-Ḥākim.)

NOTE 67 to p. 76.—The reason why Manṣūr divorced his wife is explained by Ibn Khaldūn (*supra*, p. 174), and has perhaps been accidentally omitted from our text by the transcribers.

NOTE 68 to p. 78.—'Omārah's verses in praise of the Dā'y Muḥammad ibn Saba probably contained, like those he afterwards wrote at Cairo, eulogistic allusions to the Ismailites and to their pretensions, sure to be regarded by the people of Zabīd as doubly offensive, proceeding as they did, from the pen of one who professed to be an orthodox Sunni.

Al-Ahdal writes as follows:—

'Omārah is profuse in his praise of the Dā'y 'Imrān and speaks in exaggerated terms of his great qualities. This is to be explained by the kindness he received from the princes of the dynasty of Zuray' and by the love he bore them—nay, it is said, by his partiality to their religion, that is to say, to Shī'ism and Isma'ilism. Be this known unto you. لاحسانهم الیه و میله الی محبّتهم
. بل قیل الی مذهبهم ای التشیع و التسمعل فاعلم ذلك

The following is a passage in which 'Omārah speaks of 'Imrān in more legitimate terms:

They will not be contradicted, etc. (See next Note.)

NOTE 69 to p. 79.—Al-Janadi has the following passage

* Khi. انیس الاعزی و هو استاذ حبشی

(fol. 186 rev.), from which it may be inferred that our text of 'Omārah is incomplete at this point. See also Khazraji, p. 77.

The following words of 'Omārah, when relating the history of 'Imrān, are singularly eloquent and appropriate:

"Truly a gift from God were the qualities of the Dā'y 'Imrān. How copious were the showers of his generosity, how abundant the springs of his beneficence? How greatly was he missed in the pathways of life by those who had daily beheld him! How few, in the estimation of Kings and Princes, the occasions on which they enjoyed his companionship.* They will not be contradicted who declare that generosity and beneficence were the nature of 'Imrān, its necessary result, nay, its fulfilment and seal. Were there no other evidence of God's favour unto him, it were proved by his having been rescued from the tyranny of Ibn Mahdy."

He died in the year 560. The learned scholar, Abu Bakr, carried his remains to Mecca and buried them in one of its cemeteries. The mercy of God† . . . . . . for the mightiest of Kings ardently desire to be buried at Mecca, and though striving, at the cost of heavy expenditure to compensate themselves for that of which they are deprived, their efforts are vain. We have here, therefore, another proof of the divine favour, of which 'Imrān was the object. Among the enduring memorials of him in existence at Aden, is the pulpit in the principal mosque. His name is inscribed upon it, and it is a monument comforting to the soul and beautiful to the eye.

'Imrān left three sons, Muḥammad, Abu 's-Su'ūd and Manṣūr, all in their early youth and under the care of the Chamberlain Abu Durr Jauhar al-Mu'aẓẓami, in the fortress of Dumlūwah. The administrator at Aden of the affairs of the kingdom was the Chief Yāsir son of Bilāl, hereinbefore mentioned. In that condition matters remained until the arrival of Sulṭān Shams ad-Daulah Turān Shah son of Ayyūb (in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah 569). He conquered Aden, and Yāsir fled to the fortress of Dumlūwah, where Jauhar was. I have already related what happened to him. The family of Zuray' lost their sovereignty over Aden and its dependencies, and naught remained to them but the fortress of Dumlūwah, in the hands of Abu Durr, until he sold it to Sayf al-Islām (read to Turān Shah—see Note 101), shortly after the year 570.

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* I translate the foregoing sentence with much hesitation. It is omitted by Khazraji.

† I cannot attempt to translate the words that follow. The sentence has no doubt been corrupted and Khazraji omits it.

It now only remains for me to speak of the chief nobles of the Zuray'ite dynasty. The first was the auspicious chief Bilāl, already mentioned. He died in the year 546 or 547. It was he who was eulogised by the accomplished scholar al-'Abdy, as I have hereinbefore stated, when mentioning him. Sulṭān Muḥammad son of Saba appointed Mudāfi' to succeed his father, and then the brother of Mudāfi', Abu 'l-Faraj Yāsir son of Bilāl. Yāsir held his office under Sulṭān Muḥammad and under Muḥammad's son ('Imrān). He exercised great power and enjoyed a wide celebrity. He was greatly praised and liberally rewarded his eulogists, nor did he disappoint any one that came to his court. 'Omārah has given a brief account of Yāsir's life in his memoirs of the Poets (?) He built the mosque at Aden, known as the mosque of Ibn al-Baṣri, the name of one who made it his place of resort for prayer and holy living.

When Yāsir left Dumlūwah he proceeded to Dhu 'Udaynah, in disguise, accompanied by his mamluk Miftāḥ who was surnamed as-Sudāsy. A person gave information against him, to the officials of the Government. He was arrested, and notice of his capture was sent to Shams ad-Daulah, who commanded him to be strangled. The order was carried into execution, and his slave (Miftāḥ) shared his fate. It is also said that Shams ad-Daulah ordered them to be bisected. Yāsir's death took place in the year 571, and he was the last of the Zuray'ite wazīrs.

'Omārah says that the descendants of al-Karam, father of al-'Abbās and Mas'ūd, whom al-Mukarram appointed (over Aden), are known under the designation *family of adh-Dhi'b*, and that next to the Sulayhites, they were the most distinguished Arabs in Yaman.

I have mentioned, in speaking of Jauhar, how he parted with the castle of Dumlūwah, and there now only remains to me to give an account of the Abyssinian kings (of Zabīd).

و ما احسن قول عمارة فيه حين اورد ذكره لله درّ الداعى عمران بن محمد بن
سبا ما اغزر ديمة جوده و اكرم نبعة عوده و اكثر وحشه فى بدرة الطريق من
النظران و اقلّ موانسه فيها من الملوك و الامران و لا يكذب من قال ان
الجود و الوفا ملّة عمران و انه حاتمها بل خاتمها و لو لم يكن من توفيقه آلّا
سلامته عن ابن مهدى و كانت وفاته سنة ٥٦٠ فنقله الاديب ابو بكر* الى
مكّة و دفنه فى مقابرها فرحم الله الابدين احسن هذا و لم يضع على هذا

* Khi, بن محمد العبدى

فان اكابر الملوك يودّوا الدفن بمكة و ان يبذلوا في مقابلة ذلك اموالًا فلا يحصل لهم و هذا ايضاً دليل اخر على توفيقه و من ماثره الباقية فى عدن المنبر المنصوب فى جامعها و اسمه مكتوب عليه و هو منبر له حلاوة فى النفس و طلاوة في العين و توفى عمران عن ثلثة اولاد هم محمد و ابو السعود و منصور كلّهم صغار فى كفالة الاستاذ ابى الدرّ جوهر المعظّمى بحصن الدملوة و القائم بعدن و المدبّر لامور البلاد الشيخ ياسو بن بلال الذى تقدّم ذكره فلم يزالوا كذلك حتّى قدم السلطان شمس الدولة توران شاه ابن ايوب فاستولى على عدن و هرب ياسر الى حصن الدملوة و جوهر يومئذ فيه و قد قدّمتُ ما كان منه و كان انقضاء دولة آل الزريع عن عدن و غيرها بحيث لم يبق الّا الدملوة بيد ابى الدرّ حتّى باعها من سيف الاسلام كما قدمنا لبضع وسبعين و خمسمائة ثم لم يبق الا اعيان دولتهم اولهم الشيخ السعيد بلال المقدم ذكره و ان وفاته كانت سنة ستّ اوسبع و اربعين و خمسمائة و هو الذى اسا * الاديب العبدى كما قدمت ذلك مع ذكره ثم استخلف السلطان محمد بن سبا بعد ابيه مدافع ثم اخوه ابو الفرج ياسر بن بلال فاقام معه ثمّ مع ولده و كان رجلا كبير القدر شهير الذكر ايضاً ممدحًا يثيب المادحين و لايخيّب القاصدين و قد ذكر عمارة فى اخبار الشعراء نبذة من اخباره و له المسجد المعروف بعدن بمسجد ابن البصرى اذ كان يتعانى القيام به ثم انّه خرج من الدملوة و دخل ذا عدينة متنكّراً و معه مملوكه مفتاح الملقب بالسُداسى فحصل من همر † عليه اهل الدولة فقبض و اعلم به شمس الدولة فامر بشنقه وشنق معه عبده و قيل بل امر بتوسيطهما ففعل ذلك بهما و ذلك بتأريخ سنة ٥٧١ و كان هذا اخر وزرائهم قال عمارة و بنو الكرم يعنى والد العباس و مسعود اللذين ولّاهما المكرم يعرفون بآل الذئب و هم بعد بنى الصليحى بقية العرب باليمن و قد ذكرت مع ذلك ‡ جوهر انفصاله عن الدملوة و لم يبق الّا ذكر ملوك الحبشة .

* اثنى عليه ? or اثناه ?

† اعثر ? Khi, فنمّ عليه انسان ‡ ذكره ?

Janadi's statement that the children of 'Imrān were placed under the guardianship of Abu Durr Jauhar is confirmed by Khazraji, who reproduces the preceding passages almost verbatim, and the statement is indirectly confirmed by Ibn Ḥātim. See Note 101. The corresponding passage in our MS. of 'Omārah (*supra*, p. 80, footnote) is hopelessly mutilated, and the sense that can with difficulty be extracted is undoubtedly incorrect. There are, so far as I am aware, no means to attempt a textual restoration, and a restoration of the sense, as no doubt originally conveyed by our author, would require far more thorough amendments than those offered in the footnotes to the printed text.

NOTE 70 to p. 79.—So also in Janadi, A.H. 546 or 547, as in the preceding note. Khazraji says that Bilāl died in 545. From Omārah's own words, on the ensuing page, it would appear that Muḥammad ibn Saba, who he has told us died in 548, survived Bilāl at least two years. But al-Janadi, on the other hand, casts doubt over the precise year of Muḥammad ibn Saba's death, which he says occurred in A.H. 548, or in 549, or in 550. He adds that 'Imrān received, on his accession, the title of al-Mukarram.

NOTE 71 to p. 80.—The *Buhār* (pl. abhirah) is a weight variously described as 300 or 400 or 600 or 1000 raṭl or pounds, also as the proper load of a camel. Our author, it will be seen (*supra*, p. 109), describes it as equal to three ḳanṭārs.

NOTE 72 to p. 85.—See Baron de Slane's ed. of 'Imru 'l-Ḳays, p. 23, Ahlwardt, p. 117.

و انّك لم يَفْخَرْ عليك كفاخرٍ   ضعيفٍ و لم يَغْلبْكَ مثلُ مُغَلَّبِ

The death of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi occurred, according to Janadi (fol. 183 rev.), on the 12th of the month of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah 473. Khazraji adds that three men were spared in the massacre that followed, Wā'il ibn 'Īsa Prince of Wuḥāẓah, 'Aly ibn Ma'n Prince of Aden and Ibn al-Kurandi Prince of al-Ma'āfir.

NOTE 73 to p. 90.—The person here referred to is probably the Khalīfah ‘Omar ibn ‘Abd al-Azīz. See *supra*, p. 9.

NOTE 74 to p. 90.—The word *Baḥr*, the Sea, is in constant use among Arabs, as a figure of speech implying infinity, boundless, that is to say, in generosity, learning, etc. (see *supra*, Note 44, p. 259). Abu ’ṭ-Ṭāmi signifies *Exalted*.

NOTE 75 to p. 93.—Literally, who made himself neither sweet nor bitter. There is a favourite Arab proverb, by which men are warned not to make themselves too sweet or they will be swallowed, nor too bitter or they will be spat forth.

There seems again reason to suspect an omission in this portion of the MS. Al-Janadi and, following him, Khazraji, al-Ahdal and Dayba‘, enter into particulars touching Jayyāsh's literary acquirements. His poetical works, they say, on the authority of ‘Omārah, filled a large volume. They quote a long epistle in rhymed prose, which he is said to have addressed to his son's tutor. They speak also in laudatory terms of his history of Zabīd. Khazraji adds that the book had become excessively rare and could with difficulty be found in any of the libraries of the country. Al-Janadi mentions that according to ‘Omārah, Jayyāsh bore the title of *al-‘Ādil Abu ’ṭ-Ṭāmi*. Among the verses composed by Jayyāsh, he quotes the following :—

If a man's lenity be a help unto his enemy—against himself, then is sternness, of a certainty preferable and more conducive to tranquillity.
In severity is strength. In thy clemency is weakness—if thou extend it to the ungrateful.

اذا كان حلم المرء عون عدوه   عليه فان الجهل* ابقى† و اروحُ
و فى الصفح ضعف و العقوبة قوة   اذا كنت تعفو عن كفور‡ و تصفحُ

‘Omārah, continues al-Janadi, ranks the following line among the most remarkable of Jayyāsh's compositions.

---

* الجبر ?   † Khi, اولى   ‡ Khi, قليل

A mound of the fairest sand, the graceful stem of the bān-tree.—
Over all, the beauteous moon. And its gift a night of watchfulness.

كـثيـب نـقـًا من فوقه خوطُ بانـةٍ باعـلاه بدرٌ نولـه * ليل ساهر

'Omārah's praise seems at first sight somewhat puzzling, but he reckons upon his Eastern reader's quickness to apprehend that the poet is not simply describing a desert moon-lit scene, that he is on the contrary descanting upon the charms of his mistress, her rounded form, her figure flexible and graceful as the *bān-tree*, and her face resplendent with beauty as the full moon.

Khrazraji relates the circumstances that led to the death of Ibn Abi 'Akāmah. Jayyāsh sought the hand of a woman, of whose extreme beauty he had been informed. She was daughter of an Arab tribe, descended from Rabī'ah son of Nizār, inhabiting the valley of Mauza'.† There was a division of opinion among her people, on the question whether the demand should be complied with. The Ḳāḍi, who as a Taghlibite was akin to the tribe, advised them not to consent unless all were agreed. Jayyāsh, by a liberal expenditure of money, eventually gained his ends, and the woman, when she joined her husband, acquainted him with the part played by the Ḳāḍi in the matter.

The same writer gives three, instead of one line only, of the verses composed by Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḳumm, as follows:—

Thou hast dealt unrighteously, O Jayyāsh, in slaying al-Ḥasan—
Thou hast darkened, by his destruction, the glory of his age.

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* نَوْلُه ? Khi, فوقه

† Hamdāni says that the country in the neighbourhood of Mauza', Mukha and Bāb al-Mandab, which was occupied by the Banu Musīh (a tribe derived from the Banu Majīd, themselves a subdivision of the Banu Ḥaydān), was inhabited also by the Banu Farasān, descendants of the Banu Taghlib. The Himyarite genealogists, he adds, claimed them as descendants of Ḥimyar.

The Farasān Islands, he further says, were named after the tribe, who, he also tells us, were originally Christians and at one time possessed churches in the islands. The Banu Farasān are described as enterprising merchants, who conducted a large trade with Abyssinia and protected commerce. (Müller's Hamdāni, p. 53, l. 20 sqq. and p. 98, l. 22 sqq.)

He sought not the accumulation of riches.—Pure and free from evil,
His reward for raising thee to the throne of Yaman,—is his slaughter at thy hands and a dishonoured grave.

اخطأتَ يا جيّاش فى قتل لحسن   فقأت والله به عين الزمن
و لم يكن منطويا على ذخر   مبرأً من الفسوق و الدرن
كان جزاه حين ولاك اليمن   قتلكه و دفنه بلا كفن

Note 76 to p. 94.—Jurayb is described by Hamdāni (pp. 69 and 113) as a place where an important market was held, largely frequented by the people of Tihāmah and by the Arab inhabitants of the country of the Banu Hamdān.

The Banu Jurayb are said to be descendants of Huzayl son of Sharaḥbīl, one of the contemporaries and successors (*tābiʿ*) of the Prophet's Companions, mentioned in Ibn al-Athīr's *Usd al-Ghābah.* (Bul. ed. v. p. 60.) Khazraji writes *al-Ḥārith* instead of Jurayb. The town of Jurayb is described by Hamdāni (p. 113, l. 6) as situated in the district of Ḥajūr. The latter is marked in Dr. Glaser's map.

Note 77 to p. 98.—Al-Janadi, like ʿOmārah, does not mention the date at which Manṣūr son of Fātik died, and Khazraji remarks that he had not been able to ascertain it. But ʿOmārah's words may be held to imply that the death of Manṣūr followed immediately after the accession of Mann Allah as Wazīr.

Note 78 to p. 98.—It is difficult to extract a consistent meaning from this passage, and hardly less so from the version given by al-Khazraji, shown in a footnote to the printed text. His words must signify that the lady received the title of *Ḥurrah* (free, virtuous, honourable, etc.) because she had borne a child to Manṣūr, an explanation which in her case in particular—that of a native of the country—is hardly satisfactory. I have preferred to read بنت as in Khazraji, instead of بيت, but فتنة as in our text in the next line, instead of بنت, repeated in Khazraji. The passage, however, remains very doubtful.

The surname *Abu 'l-Jaysh* is best known through its

having been borne by one of the Princes of the Egyptian dynasty of Ṭulūn, and may be translated the *Possessor of the great Army*. But the word *Jaysh* may also be translated agitation, turmoil, in which sense it is perhaps used in the text. I may add that the name Jayyāsh, derived from the same root, may be translated *high-spirited, fiery*.

NOTE 79 to p. 100.—Al-Khazraji adds that, according to statements made to him by several persons, Mann Allah was buried in a mosque at Zabīd, which stood on a spot called *al-Ḥadd*. In Khazraji's own day it bore the name *Mosque of Ibn ar-Rudād*, after one who, when the building threatened ruin, repaired it. In earlier times, he continues, the mosque was universally known under the name of Mosque of the son of Mann Allah.

NOTE 80 to p. 102.—Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ibn al-Labbān al-Faraḍi, an eminent Jurist and authority on the laws of inheritance, died at Baghdād in A.H. 402.

NOTE 81 to p. 102.—Abu ʿAmru ibn al-ʿAlā, one of the seven principal *readers*, that is to say, recensionists of the Kuranic text, died in A.H. 153 or 157, aged eighty-six years. Of the other six, the earliest died about A.H. 118 and the latest about A.H. 181.

The differences between the several readings are of so slight a character that it would be misleading to speak of them as so many *versions* of the Ḳur'ān.

NOTE 82 to p. 105.—The copyist must be suspected of being again at fault in this passage. It is difficult to make sense of the words واسع الاعال, as they stand in the text, and they are not to be found in the corresponding passage in Khazraji. He writes as follows (p. 89) :—

فاقطعهم دَوال و هو واد شمالی رمع و رمع واد شمالی زبید فلم یـزل الـغـزّ یشتغلون خراج الوادی الخ .

Yāḳūt mentions a village named *Wasāʿ* in the district of ʿAththar, a place which, if it is correctly described, is far too distant to be here in question.

NOTE 83 to p. 107.—It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that, in Muḥammadan countries, a slave who bears a child to her master, thereby becomes free.

NOTE 84 to p. 109.—Al-Khazraji supplies us at this point with a short passage, omitted by the transcriber of our text, but which I include in the translation. The words are as follows :—

ثم انتقلنا الى مجلس الشراب و كنا سبعة انا ثامنهم و كنت الساقى فاسكرت الخمسة الذين حضروا فلما سكروا انصرفوا فقلت لعثمان الخ .

NOTE 85 to p. 110.—My translation here again follows al-Khazraji :—

فلما اصبح الصباح عدت الى عثمان فاعدت اليه الالف دينار الذي كان دفعه اليّ و سالته فى ضيعة من ذوال .

Khazraji proceeds with the words فوقع لى بها. Reading the verb in the passive, the general sense agrees with ʿOmārah.

NOTE 86 to p. 111.—Some words, omitted in the text, I have supplied in the translation, from al-Khazraji's version, as follows :—

فهرب الوصيف و تعلق ببعض غلمان الوزير مفلح فكتب ابو المعالى بسبب غلامه بيتين و هما.

NOTE 87 to p. 113.—It will be observed that further on, ʿOmārah gives this place the alternative name of الكرش. Al-Hamdāni has the same, but for a totally different place, namely between Mount Ṣabir and Aden (p. 77, 6-9). Khazraji vocalizes the name *al-Karish*. Yāḳūt writes *al-Kirsh* and says it is a castle in the district of al-Mahjam, but his information, such as it is, is probably nothing more than what he has gathered from ʿOmārah. Al-Janadi writes : و سكن حصنا من جبل بُرع يقال له الكرس (fol. 187 rev.), intimating in plain words, that the castle stood upon Mount Buraʿ.

The name of the castle of *Dabsān*, mentioned in our text

a few lines further on, is thus likewise given by Khazraji, but I have nowhere else met with it.

NOTE 88 to p. 113.—Ibn Khaldūn says (*supra*, p. 166-7) that Ghānim ibn Yaḥya was a descendant of the Suleymānite Sharīfs of Mecca, who, he tells us, not only here, but also in his chapter on the history of the Suleymānites of Mecca, sought refuge in Yaman upon their expulsion by the Banu Hāshim. But Ibn Khaldūn's statements, in certain portions of his general history require to be received with some caution. Thus he tells us, on the authority of Ibn Sa'īd, that the Suleymānite refugees conquered Ṣa'dah from the Rassites, that they and their descendants were the recognized Imāms of Yaman throughout a period of at least a century and a half, that the Imām Aḥmad (al-Mutawakkil) who brought about the assassination of Fātik ibn Muḥammad in A.H. 553, and even the celebrated Imām al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah, were members of the Suleymānite family. All these statements we know to be absolutely incorrect, as I shall yet have occasion to show.*

It must, however, be observed that not only 'Omārah, but also every writer on the history of Yaman, including the authors of the *Ḥadā'iḳ* and of the *Yawaḳīt* (Brit. Mus. Or. 3786 and 3771) invariably speak of the Ḥasanite family, to which Ghānim ibn Yaḥya belonged, under the designation of the *Suleymānites*. I was for a moment inclined to think that the circumstance simply pointed to the fact of their having obtained possession of the district, commonly known, at that time, as the Province of Suleymān ibn Ṭarf. But the explanation was one which I soon found reason to abandon.

With the exception of Ibn Khaldūn, none of the writers I have referred to, so far as I have been able to discover, explain who these people were, nor whence they came. I have nowhere found any allusion to kinship between them and the Imāms of Ṣa'dah, some trace of which could hardly fail to appear, if it had existed. Ibn Khaldūn, I am much inclined to think, is right so far as the origin of the family of Ghānim ibn Yaḥya is concerned. Khazraji gives us a fuller pedigree of the Sharīf than any I have found elsewhere, and calls him Ghānim son of Yaḥya son of Ḥamzah

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* See Note 130.

son of Wahhās (*infra*, Note 101). It seems not improbable that Ghānim's grandfather Ḥamzah ibn Wahhās was the identical Suleymānite Prince, who unsuccessfully disputed the sovereignty over Mecca with the Banu Hāshim, as may be read in the history of Mecca by Dr. Snouck-Hurgronje.*

I may add that I find mention in the *Ḥadā'iḳ* of two other members of the Suleymānite family, namely, at fol. 128 obv., 'Aly son of 'Īsa son of Ḥamzah son of Wahhās, living in A.H. 540, and at fol. 168 obv., Niẓām ad-dīn Yaḥya son of 'Aly (son of the preceding ?), ruler over the old province of Suleymān ibn Ṭarf in A.H. 594-5, in the days, that is to say, of the Ayyūbite dynasty.

I have made no attempt to trace the subsequent history of the Suleymānites, but I find them mentioned in the life of the Imām al-Mutawakkil Yaḥya (Brit. Mus. Or. 3731). The author says (fol. 59 obv.) that in A.H. 963 (A.D. 1556), the Imām received letters from the Sulaymānite Sharīfs informing him of the success with which they had resisted the troops brought by the Turks from Egypt.

Al-Mutawakkil, a descendant of Yūsuf the Dā'y, died in A.H. 965.

NOTE 89 to p. 115.—The death of Fātik son of Manṣūr occurred, according to both al-Janadi and Khazraji in the month of Sha'bān of the year 531. The omission of the year from our text is probably an accident. Neither al-Janadi nor Khazraji give us particulars of the circumstances under which al-Fātik ibn Muḥammad, the successor of al-Fātik ibn Manṣūr, was raised to the throne. Al-Janadi merely repeats (fol. 187 rev.) what we have been told by 'Omārah, with the addition, as in Khazraji, that the Prince died leaving no issue. (*Supra*, p. 95.) The sentences I have enclosed in square brackets are wanting in the text and are supplied from Khazraji.

NOTE 90 to p. 118.—I have not found to what Arab stems these tribes, the Banu Mash'al, Zi'l and 'Imrān are to be assigned. But it is probable that like the Ḥakamites they were subdivisions of the Banu Madhḥij. The Banu

* See also the passage from Ibn al-Athīr (*supra*, Note 31), in which certain Ḥasanites are spoken of as having removed to Yaman, at some time previous to A.H. 455.

Ḥarām are mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 116) as the principal subdivision of the Banu Nahd.

NOTE 91 to p. 121.—It has been sufficiently shown in the course of 'Omārah's narrative, that at least some ladies of exalted rank in Yaman, were by no means rigorous in their observance of the strict rules, that exclude Eastern women from personal intercourse with men. But in regard to this particular instance, it must be borne in mind, that Surūr was technically the slave of the Lady 'Alam. His admission into her presence was consequently no violation of Muhammadan law.

NOTE 92 to p. 121.—To stand, or even to sit before, that is to say facing a person, is a mark of respect to one superior in rank. (See *supra*, p. 122.)

NOTE 93 to p. 123.—Our text is manifestly corrupt at this point, and the portion of the translation enclosed within square brackets is from al-Janadi's version, which, throughout the description of Surūr's character and habits is, as is likewise that of al-Khazraji, an almost verbatim copy of 'Omārah. The following is the passage as it stands in the Paris MS. (p. 188. obv.).

و كان متى عاد بعد الركوب * وصل† الى دار السلطان يدخل‡ فيسلم ثم يقف بباب السلطان فيقضى حوائج الناس على اكمل الاحوال ثم اذا كان وقت الغدا ذهب الى بيته فقال فيه حتى الزوال ثم يخرج الى المسجد § فلا يشتغل بشى غير الفريضة غير المسندات الصحيحة عن الرسول صلعم حتى العصر فيصليه و يدخل داره يقعد حتى الغروب ثم يخرج الى المسجد الخ.

The words in the translation, placed within ordinary brackets, are taken, as will be seen, from 'Omārah.

NOTE 94 to p. 123.—Al-Janadi continues at this point as follows:—

و مسجده الى الآن يُعرف بمسجد سرور غربى مرتاع || العجوز بمدينة زبيد و لا

* Khi, للزيارة و العبادة كما ذكرنا † Khi, يصل

‡ Khi, فيدخل § Khi, فى اول زوال الظل || Khi, مرباع

يكاد يعرف من هو سرور الا احاد الناس و اما اهل زبيد فيعرفون انه من
المساجد المنسوبة الى الحبشة .

His mosque is known to the present day under the name of Mosque of Surūr. It is situated in the city of Zabīd, on the western side of *Martā‘ al-‘Ajūz* (the Old Woman's Pasturage). Hardly any of the inhabitants of the town, saving a few of the best informed class, know who Surūr was. The vulgar only know that it is one of the mosques, the erection of which is ascribed to the Abyssinians.

Al-Janadi admits that his history of the early dynasties is much abridged. "If," he says to his readers, after recording the death of Mann Allah,—

If you desire fuller information, you will find it in the *Mufīd* of ‘Omārah. I have abridged much of his history, but always in such wise, that in what I mention there shall be, either in express terms or by implication, something that points to what I have omitted.

اذا اردت تحقيق ذلك فانظر مفيد عمارة فانى اختصرت كثيرًا من اخباره لكن
بشرط ان فيما ذكرت دليلا اما (على ما ؟) لم اذكره صريحاً او مفهوماً .

In treating of the life and character of Surūr, al-Janadi departs from his rule, and introduces into his pages an almost verbatim copy of ‘Omārah's account of the celebrated Wazīr. The examples afforded by the life and conduct of a pious Muslim furnish, in the eyes of an Arab writer, a far worthier theme for the historian's pen, than the record of the rise and fall of dynasties or of any merely secular events. Here are al-Janadi's own words on the subject :—

A full account of Surūr's qualities, of his nobility of character, of his bravery and of his righteousness, would be of great length. What ‘Omārah has recorded on the subject is widely known. Let him who more would read, turn to that writer's book al-Mufīd. The student may do so, although, in the case of Surūr, I have written at far greater length than I have allowed myself to do in other instances. Thus have I done on account of Surūr's great merits. I have studied to acquaint myself with all that to which ‘Omārah directs attention, and I have entered into detailed particulars on the subject of Surūr's virtues, such as justify indifference to other things which I have omitted.

فاخباره فى الكرم و الشجاعة و العدل يطول شرحها و قد اورد عمارة من ذلك

ما هو مشهور فليطلب ذلك مريده من مفيده مع انني قد اطلت في ذكره بخلاف غيره لما رايت في استحقاقه و ذالك لانني تحققت حين اشار ذكرت* من محاسنه ما سد† عن البعض المتروك .

NOTE 95 to p. 124.—Al-Janadi mentions the pedigree of ʿAly ibn Mahdy, but it is more fully given by Khazraji (p. 97) as follows:—Abu ʾl-Ḥasan ʿAly son of (Mahdy son of) Muḥammad, son of ʿAly son of Da-ūd, son of Muḥammad son of ʿAbd Allah, son of Muḥammad son of Aḥmad, son of ʿAbd al-Ḳāhir (?) son of ʿAbd Allah son of al-Aghlab son of Abu ʾl-Fawāris son of Maimūn, of the tribe of Ḥimyar and subtribe of Ruʿayn.

Al-Janadi's rendering of the geographical names mentioned in our text is as follows:—

The commencement of his career was at al-ʿIrk, the lower portion of the valley of the river Zabīd. It commences with the village of al-ʿAnbarah and (comprises) al-Ḳuḍayb, al-Ahwāb, al-Muʿtafi (?), Wāsit and its neighbourhood. He acquired there a great reputation for piety.

A few lines further on he supplies us with the vocalization of the name al-Ḳuḍayb.

اول ما ظهر امره بالعرك التي هي سفل وادي زبيد اولها قرية العنبرة و القضيب و الاهواب و المعتفي و واسط و ما قاربها من الاماكن و صار له فيها ذكر في الصلاح .

I have nowhere else met with the name العرك. *Al-ʿIrḳ* العرق has been mentioned at p. 15 as close to Zabīd. See also Janadi, p. 183, and Yāḳūt. Ibn al-Mujāwir (Sprenger, p. 149) says that Wādi ʾl-ʿIrḳ is another name for *Ḳuwayḍ* قويض half a parasang from Wādi Rimaʿ and four from Zabīd. *Al-Fārah* or al-ʿĀrah, it will be noticed, is omitted by both Janadi and Khazraji; but al-Āʿrah is described by Ibn al-Mujāwir, who says that its inhabitants are fishermen and that close to it are the ruins of a city, among which the remains of two mosques could still be distinguished. (Sprenger, p. 149-50.)

To ʿOmārah's description of Ibn Mahdy, al-Janadi adds that he was of a tender heart, quick in shedding abundant

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* و ذكرت ? † يتيه ?

tears, كان رقيق القلب قريب الدمعة غزيرها, an account of him which need not perhaps be regarded as wholly inconsistent with the savage cruelty he displayed. The author's meaning, however, is that Ibn Mahdy was in the habit of lamenting with tears his unworthiness in the face of God.

The words, "he bore between his eyes the traces of his prostrations," are an allusion to a passage in the Kur'ān (S. xlviii. v. 29): *Thou shalt see them (the believers) bowing down and prostrating themselves, winning the grace of God and his approbation. Their distinguishing mark is on their brows, the traces of their prostrations.*

It is related by the commentators that 'Aly Zayn al-'Ābidīn, grandson of 'Aly the Prophet's son-in-law, and 'Aly son of 'Abd Allah son of 'Abbās, ancestor of the Abbasides, were surnamed *Dhu 'th-thafināt,* because the frequency of their prostrations in prayer had caused induration of the skin on the part of their foreheads that touched the ground. There is a tradition that the Prophet disapproved of such marks, but his disapproval is reconciled with the reverence in which the memory of the two 'Alys is held, by an explanation that what the Prophet condemned were marks purposely produced, by undue pressure of the forehead upon the ground. Such marks are signs of hypocrisy and impiety, from which, adds the pious writer quoted by the author of the Kashshāf, we must pray God to deliver us.

The word *i'tazala,* which occurs in Ibn Khaldūn as well as in 'Omārah, and which I have translated *he led a life of retirement,* might also be taken to signify that Ibn Mahdy joined the sect of the Mu'tazilites. But Ibn Khaldūn styles him the Khārijite, and is supported therein by 'Omārah's statement that Ibn Mahdy held the doctrine which treats sin as infidelity (*supra,* p. 132). It deserves, perhaps, to be remarked that 'Omārah speaks of Ibn Mahdy as *al-Khārij* (*supra,* p. 95), which, however, simply signifies *the rebel.*

NOTE 96 to p. 125.—See Dieterici's Mutanabbi, p. 280, where the line is given as follows:—

فكأنّها نُتِجَتْ قياما تحتهمْ و كأنّهم وُلِدوا على صهواتها

Al-Janadi says that it was in the year 536 that the Queen 'Alam relieved Ibn Mahdy and his followers from payment

of the *Kharāj* (land assessment), and that after the death of the queen (in A.H. 545), his followers greatly increased in numbers.

The same writer gives us the following *khutbah* or sermon, delivered by Ibn Mahdy to his followers :—

" 'I swear by Allah, unto none but unto me and unto you hath God committed the doom of the Abyssinians. Soon, under his will, ye shall know. By Allah the most great, the Lord of Moses and of Abraham, I shall be unto them as the suffocating wind of 'Ād and as the exterminating cry of Thamūd.* Verily, I speak unto you and ye are not deceived, I promise and your hopes shall not be frustrated. Of a certainty, though now ye be few ye shall be many, though ye be humble ye shall be honoured, though ye be lowly ye shall be exalted, and your fame shall be a proverb among Arabs and non-Arabs; *that God may requite them that do evil according to their deeds, and that unto them that do good he may grant his surpassing rewards.*† The time is near. Await with patience. By the Divine Truth of God most great, charged unto every believer and maintainer of the Unity, I will of a certainty give unto you the daughters of the Abyssinians and their sisters, to be your servants, and I will deliver into your hands their riches and their children.'

" Then he recited the verse: *God hath promised unto such of you as believe and are well-doing, that they shall of a certainty inherit the earth, as it hath been inherited by those (the faithful) that were before them. Verily, he will establish among them the faith they have willingly received, and of a certainty, for their fears he will substitute safety.*" ‡

و الله ما جعل الله فناء لحبشة الابيّ و بكم و عمّا قليل ان شاء الله سوف
تعلمون والله العظيم ربّ موسى و ابرهيم انّى عليهم ريح عاد وصيحة ثماود و انّي
احدّثكم فلا اكذبكم و اعدكم فلا أُخلفكم و لـئن كنتم اصبحتم اليوم قليلا لتكثرنّ
او وضعا لتشرفن او اذلّا لتعزّنّ حتى تصيروا مثلا فى العرب و العجم ليجزى الله
الذين اساءوا بما عملوا و يجزى الذين احسنوا بالحُسنى فالاناة الاناة فوحقّ الله
العظيم على كل مومن موحدٍ لأُخْدِمَنَّكُم بنات لحبشة و اخواتهم و لاخوّلنّكم

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* The tribe of 'Ād, for its disregard of the prophet Hūd, was destroyed by a suffocating wind. That of Thamūd, for its defiance of the prophet Ṣāliḥ, perished at the sound of an appalling cry that issued from the heavens. (Ḳur'ān, s. vii.)

† Ḳur'ān, liii. 32. ‡ Ḳur'ān, xxiv. 54.

اموالهم و اولادهم ثم قرأ وعد الله الذين امنوا منكم و عملوا الصالحات الى قوله تعالى امناً .

NOTE 97 to p. 126.—Janadi says that after the queen's death, a great number of people swore allegiance to Ibn Mahdy at the village of Kuḍayb. This he adds was in A.H. 546. Ibn Mahdy then proceeded to ad-Dāshir, where he remained for a time, and thence he went up to the fortress of ash-Sharaf. I have substituted in our text the name *Dāshir* for Sharaf. The latter, as is shown by the words that follow, cannot be correct, and Khazraji, as well as Janadi, writes Dāshir. In the printed edition of Yāḳūt's Geographical Dictionary, the name appears as *Dāsir*, and the author says it stood at the distance of a night's journey from Zabīd. (See *supra*, p. 128.) Ash-Sharaf was one of the fortresses situated on Mount Wuṣāb.

Instead of Ḥaywān, the name of the tribe to which ash-Sharaf is said to have belonged, we may perhaps read Ḥaydān. Hamdāni mentions the Banu Ḥaydān as sons of ʿAmru son of al-Ḥāf (p. 53, l. 20). They were, therefore, descendants of Ḳuḍāʿah, but it has been seen (see *supra*, Note 3, pp. 217 and 218), that certain Khaulānites in Yaman were regarded as Ḳuḍāʿites.

NOTE 98 to p. 129.—By omitting the words printed in italics, in accordance with the amendments I have indicated in the footnotes to the printed text, the succession of the Ziyādite Princes here presented will agree with that previously given by ʿOmārah in his history of the dynasty (*supra*, p. 5), and after him by al-Janadi and subsequent writers. The present passage, it is true, may be suspected of being an interpolation and has, perhaps, been corrupted by the transcribers. But the accuracy of ʿOmārah's previous account of the succession is itself by no means free from doubt, and the interpolation, if it be one, is perhaps capable of helping us to a more correct appreciation of the facts. Thus Abu 'l-Jaysh Isḥaḳ is here stated to have been grandson, instead of son of Ibrahīm—Isḥaḳ, son of Muḥammad son of Ibrahīm. The latter, in like manner, is represented as grandson of Muḥammad ibn Ziyād—Ibrahīm son of ʿAbd Allah son of (Muḥammad ibn) Ziyād. Ibrahīm, we have been told, died in A.H. 289, eighty-six years there-

fore after the arrival of Muḥammad ibn Ziyād in Yaman, and Abu 'l-Jaysh Isḥaḳ in A.H. 371, eighty-two years after the death of Ibrahīm, who it is said was Isḥaḳ's father. (See *supra*, Note 13.)

Al-Janadi offers some remarks which may be taken to show that his mind was open to doubt as to the perfect accuracy of 'Omārah's account of the Ziyādite succession. He mentions and quotes (fol. 182 rev.) certain marginal notes he found on a copy of 'Omārah's *Mufīd*. As to their subject matter, it is sufficient to say that the writer omits the reign of Ziyād son of Ibrahīm, that he represents Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah as having, in A.H. 371, succeeded Isḥaḳ, and that *he believes* the latter was he who bore the surname Abu 'l-Jaysh. Al-Janadi proceeds as follows:—

According to the annotator, each of the Banu Ziyād enjoyed a long life, and the members of the dynasty were few in number. According to 'Omārah they were many, of some the life was long, of others it was short. God knoweth the truth. The annotator says also that Ḥusayn ibn Salāmah died in 403, one year later than the date mentioned by 'Omarah. Know that in such historical details, both truth and falsehood, amplitude and scantiness are to be found. This is caused by transcribers' variations, which give rise to diversities in historical works. Discrepancies will be found even between one copy and another of the same book, written by the same author. The well-informed are fully aware of these facts. It may be that some critic will take exception to the matter I have extracted from the *Mufīd* and other works, but the only grounds for his censure will be his own inadequate study of historical works, and his neglect to compare different copies with one another. That which clearly appears is, that the uncontrolled rulership of the Banu Ziyād endured from A.H. 203 to 371, 168 years. . . .

The substance of what follows has already been given in Note 13, and the following is the Arabic text of the entire passage:—

فعلى ما ذكر هذا المعلّق كان بنو زياد ايام كلٍ منهم مستطيلة و هم قليل و على
ما ذكر عمارة هم كثير و مددهم طوال و قصار فالله اعلم بالحقّ و ذكر المعلّق
ان الحسين توفى سنة ٤٠٣ بزيادة سنة على ما ذكر عمارة و اعلم ان هذه
اخبار تدخلها الصدق و الكذب و الزيادة و النقصان و سبب ذلك اختلاف
النقل ثم اختلاف كتب التأريخ قد يكون المصنف واحدًا و التصنيف واحدًا

و يختلف ما يوجد باحدى النسختين عن الاخرى يعرف ذلك العارف فربّما ينكر المنكر ما نقلت عن المفيد و غيره لاصبب لذلك الا قصوره عن الاطلاع على كتب التواريخ و النظر فى عدّة نسخها فقد يمحص لك ان مدة ملك بنى زياد مستقلّ عن مواليهم من سنة ٢٠٣ الى سنة احدى و سبعين و ثلثمائة و ثمانية و ستون سنة * و نيابة عليهم ثمانية و ثلثون سنة لقيام ابن سلامة ثم كانوا اعوانا لمواليهم منادمين معهم حتى كان من انيس ما قدمنا ذكره قال عمارة وذلك سنة ٤٠٧ † فمدّة ذلك ثمانية و ثلثون سنة ثم تنازع هو و سندوله نجاح ثلث سنين يغزوه نجاح و يقاتله مرّة بعد اخرى حتى قتله بالعرق على باب زبيد فى ذى القعدة سنة ٤١٢ . . . . و ذرية هذا توارثوا الملك حتى ازالهم ابن مهدى فيكون الملك بايدى الموال بطريق الانفراد بطريق الاستقلالماية سنة و خمسة و اربعون سنة منها ثلث تنازع فيها نجاح و انيس .

NOTE 99 to p. 131.—I can make no other sense of the words as they stand in the text. They have no doubt been inaccurately transcribed, but they have also very much the appearance of an interpolation, and it is to be remarked that they are not to be found in the corresponding passage of al-Khazraji. We have seen that according to both al-Janadi and Khazraji (*supra*, Note 56), Manṣūr son of al-Mufaḍḍal was living in 547 and died before A.H. 550. On the other hand, the present passage may be compared with what is said by Ibn Khaldūn (*supra*, p. 151 and p. 174). But again it must be remarked that if Manṣūr was twenty years of age, or even less, when his father died in A.H. 504, and if he lived to the age of one hundred or even ninety, then he must have survived 'Omārah. And 'Omārah's history, we are told, was written in A.H. 564. The word ثلاثين, *thirty*, in our text, might be an error for ثمانين, *eighty*. But if, as seems probable, Manṣūr was in his childhood when his father died in 504, then it may well be that when he himself died, say in 548, he had been in possession of his inheritance for about thirty years.

NOTE 100 to p. 132.—*Ash-Shamāḥi* (*sic*) is mentioned by Khazraji (fol. 103 and 108) as also the fortress of *Majmā'ah*,

* Read مائة و ثمانية و ستون   † Read ٤٠٩

Sharyāḳ and *Thālithah*, and he allows it to be inferred that these three were situated in Mikhlāf Ja'far. Yāḳūt says that Majma'ah stood on Wādi Nakhlah. Janadi has *ath-Thālathi* (*supra*, p. 201), and Sharyāḳ is mentioned in the passages borrowed from Ibn Ḥātim in Note 101 (p. 297). *Damt* is included in the list of places given by Khazraji. It is mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 100, l. 18) as situated in the district of Saḥūl, also by the author of the Marāṣid, on the authority of al-Janadi, from whom he adds a not very intelligible extract. *Taḥlah* is not mentioned by Khazraji, and looks as if it might be a careless repetition of *Nakhlah*.

NOTE 101 to p. 134.—According to al-Janadi, 'Aly ibn Mahdy was buried in Zabīd, at a spot he had himself selected. The mosque built over his grave was known as *al-Mashhad* (the Mausoleum) and it stood opposite the college known under the name of al-Maylīn (or al-Maylūn). The minaret was still standing in al-Janadi's days, but the mosque had been converted into a stable for the use of one of the Turkish kings. According to al-Khazraji, the Rasūlite Sulṭān al-Ashraf Isma'īl (A.H. 778-803) laid the foundations of a college on the site of the tomb, but abandoned his intention of building. The spot was converted into a halting-place for the Sulṭān's camels, and continued to be so used down to the writer's days.

Mahdy, son and successor of 'Aly ibn Mahdy, attacked and massacred the inhabitants of Laḥj in 556 and 557. Next he captured Janad, slaughtered its inhabitants and cast the bodies of the slain into the well of the mosque. This was in 558. He returned to Zabīd suffering from a disease under the effects of which his body, after being covered with marks described as having the appearance of being the effects of fire, became a mass of open sores. Such was his condition that he had to be carried down from Ta'izz in a litter lined with carded cotton wool. He died on the first of Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah 558.

Al Khazraji, after quoting the above from al-Janadi, proceeds to say that a different account of the succession is given by the author of the *'Iḳd ath-Thamīn*. According, he says, to that writer, Ibn Mahdy was succeeded by his two sons, Mahdy and 'Abd an-Naby, the latter as general administrator of the affairs of the kingdom and the former as military chief. Mahdy is stated by the writer to have returned from his expedition to the Highlands in Muḥarram

559, and to have died at Zabīd on the 18th of that month. 'Abd an-Naby now became sole ruler, and continued his brother's career of conquest and devastation. In 560 he attacked the Sulaymanite Sharīfs. A party of the enemy, commanded by the Amīr Wahhās ibn Ghānim ibn Yaḥya ibn Ḥamza ibn Wahhās, was utterly destroyed, the Amīr himself being among the slain. Khazraji says that 'Abd an-Naby composed on that occasion a poem of the class styled *Musammaṭah,* which further on (p. 106) he gives in full. He does so after quoting a passage from 'Omārah which is not to be found in the British Museum text. It is to the effect that 'Abd an-Naby was an excellent poet as well as a brave warrior, and that he was the author of a collection of poems in which is included the *Musammaṭah* in question.

Continuing to write on the authority of the author of the *'Iḳd ath-Thamīn,* al-Khazraji gives us particulars of 'Abd an-Naby's conquests and depredations in the Highlands of Yaman. In 568 he laid siege to Aden, whereupon Ḥātim son of 'Aly son of the Dā'y Saba son of Abu Su'ūd proceeded to Ṣan'ā and prevailed upon the Hamdānite Sulṭān 'Aly ibn Ḥātim, ancestor of the historian, to assist the Zuray'ites against the common enemy. 'Aly ibn Ḥātim, a member, like the Zuray'ites, of the sub-tribe of Yām, consented, on condition of his being supported by the tribes of Janb and Madhhij. Ḥātim the Zuray'ite proceeded to Dhamār and obtained promises from Sulṭān 'Abd Allah ibn Yaḥya and from Sheykh Zayd ibn 'Amru, chiefs of the two tribes, to join in the alliance. 'Aly ibn Ḥātim thereupon marched from Ṣan'ā, in the month of Ṣafar 569, at the head of the Hamdānites, accompanied by tribesmen of Sinḥān, Shihāb, Nahd and others.* The Arabs combined their forces in the district of Saḥūl. The army of 'Abd an-Naby was attacked and utterly routed near Ibb, by the allies, who advanced successively to Dhu Jiblah and to Janad, both of which were found to have been abandoned by the enemy. The Mahdyites were again attacked and dispersed at Dhu 'Udaynah near Ta'izz. Intelligence came from Aden that

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* The Banu Shihāb are mentioned by Hamdāni (p. 114, 23) as a sub-tribe of the Banu Kindah. The Banu Nahd were a sub-tribe of Ḳuḍā'ah, but the name was also borne by a sub-tribe of Hamdān. At p. 92, l. 18, Hamdāni calls the Nahdites sub tribe of the Banu 'Ans.

its siege was raised, and that the camp formed by ʿAbd an-Naby at Zaʿāzi had been abandoned. The Hamdānite Sulṭān ʿAly ibn Ḥātim would have pursued the enemy into Tihāmah, but his allies of the tribes of Janb and Madhhij refused, and he returned to Ṣanʿā. His brilliant but brief campaign thus came to an end. He started from Janad on Saturday 19th Rabiʿ Awwal, reached Dhu Ashrak in the evening, and Dhu Jiblah on the following day. Here he halted for six days and ordered the dismantling of the great palace, then occupied by a Sulayhite Princess, Arwa, daughter of ʿAly son of ʿAbdallah son of Muḥammad.

ʿAbd an-Naby returned to Zabīd, where he soon afterwards received intelligence that Tūrān Shah the Ayyūbite was at Maḥall Abi Turāb, and that the Sharīf Kāsim son of Ghānim son of Yaḥya son of Ḥamzah son of Wahhās, eager to avenge the death of his brother, had allied himself with the invaders.

I have mentioned in the Introduction to this book, that the foregoing particulars, extracted by al-Khazraji from the *Iḳd ath-Thamīn* of Ibn Ḥātim, are not to be found in the copy of the MS. by the same author preserved in the Library of the British Museum. The latter commences with a somewhat detailed account of the conquest of Yaman by Tūrān Shah, of which the following is a brief summary.

On the arrival of Tūrān Shah, he was joined at Ḥaraḍ, also called Maḥall Abi Turāb, by the Sulaymanite Amīr Kāsim ibn Ghānim, within whose dominions Ḥaraḍ was situated. The allies marched thence at the end of Ramaḍān A.H. 569. On the 7th Shawwāl they reached Zabīd, of which they gained possession at sunrise on the 9th. The town was looted, ʿAbd an-Naby and his two brothers were taken prisoners, and the Sharīf Kāsim started on his return to his country on the 3rd (read 13th ?) of the month. Tūrān Shah remained at Zabīd until the beginning of the following month of Dhu 'l-Kaʿdah. He then marched upon Taʿizz, which surrendered. Next he took possession of Janad, and thence he marched upon Aden, which was captured on the 20th and looted.* The Sulṭān returned to the Mikhlāf Jaʿfar, possessed himself of Taʿkar, and then marched against the northern provinces. He started from

* The author here says that the children of the Dāʿy ʿImrān were made prisoners at Aden, together with Yāsir son of Bilāl, clearly an error. See next page and *supra*, Note 69.

Dhu Jiblah and ascended Nakīl Ṣayd on the 28th Dhu 'l-Hijjah. At Darwān (?), Sulṭān 'Abd Allah ibn Yaḥya the Janbite tendered his submission. Al-Muṣannafah (Maṣna'ah ?) * was captured from Shaykh Muḥammad ibn Zayd al-Ba'yari al-Janbi. Thence the Sulṭān proceeded to Dhamār, near which he was attacked by the Janbites and other Arabs. The advance of the Ayyūbites was severely contested, but the Arabs were eventually defeated, and driven with heavy loss into the fortress of Hirrān. Tūrān Shah reached the outskirts of Ṣan'ā on the 7th (17th ?) Muḥarram 570. 'Aly ibn Ḥātim escaped to the fortress of Birāsh and Tūrān Shah, without stopping to secure the city, set out on his return to Zabīd. Marching by way of Nakīl as-Sand, he was harassed with attacks by the Banu Sinhān and Shihāb, and next by the people of Bura', but he reached his destination in safety. In Jamādi 'l-Awwal he returned to Janad, and thenceforward occupied himself in gaining possession of the mountain fortresses. He successively captured Ṣabir, Bādīyah (? بدية) Sharyāḳ, 'Azzan-Dhakhir, Numayr which belonged to the Amīr Manṣūr (son of 'Imrān ?) son of Muḥammad son of Saba, then Munīf, then Samadān. He did not attack Sawā, which was held by Ibn as-Sabā'y. Next he besieged Dumlūwah, where the children of the Dā'y 'Imrān were living under the guardianship of Jauhar. Mangonels were erected, wherewith to batter the walls of the fortress, but the missiles rebounded harmlessly from the rocks below. Finally, however, Jauhar surrendered the castle in exchange for certain low-lying lands in the neighbourhood.† In Sha'bān, Tūrān Shah was at Dhu Jiblah, where he received intelligence of disturbances in Tihāmah and ordered 'Abd an-Naby and his two brothers Aḥmad and Yaḥya to be put to death. They were executed at Zabīd on the 7th Rajab, 570. Twelve months later, after ordering the execution of Yāsir ibn Bilāl, Tūrān Shah started from Yaman on his return to Egypt.

NOTE 102 to p. 134.—Our MS. omits the name of Saba son of Aḥmad son of al-Muẓaffar, who, we have been dis-

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* Yāḳūt mentions Maṣna'ah, the name of a fortress that overlooks Dhamār. Hirrān he describes as one of the strongholds of Dhamār. See also Hamdāni, p. 80, l. 20-21.

† See a description of the fortress of Dumlūwah in Note 111.

tinctly told, succeeded to the office of Dā'y, on the death of al-Mukarram (*supra*, p. 42 and Note 37). Saba ibn Aḥmad, as has been seen, died in A.H. 492. Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah arrived in Yaman, bearing the title of Dā'y, in A.H. 513. We have, therefore, an interval of twenty-one years during which, if our MS. can be trusted, the Dā'yship was successively held by two men. The name of one is left in blank, and as to the designation of *Sulṭān*, accorded to the other, it need not perhaps detain us, considering how indiscriminately the title seems to have been used. See, for instance, the two extracts from Ibn Ḥātim in the preceding note, also Hamdāni, p. 119, l. 22-24.

But there is much else calculated to cast doubt upon the accuracy of our text. Its many corruptions obscure the sense of several passages and the unsatisfactory manner in which the edict of the Khalīfah al-Āmir is introduced and interrupts the subject of the chapter, is of itself suspicious. On its being resumed, we find no mention of 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd Allah, the Sulayhite, who, we have been told (*supra*, p. 60), exercised the functions of Dā'y after Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah; nor any explanation of the title of Dā'y given to a certain Muḥammad ibn Abi 'l-'Arab, who is stated (*supra*, p. 57), to have met Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah on his arrival at Dahlak. The sentence (p. 157) beginning with the words, *She next transferred*—or, *the office of Dā'y was next transferred to the family of Zuray'*, is probably an interpolation, borrowed, it may be, from al-Janadi, but anyhow misplaced. Al-Janadi writes as follows (fol. 184 rev.):—

When Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah departed, as will hereafter be related, the queen appointed in his place the Dā'y Ibrahīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidi. When she received tidings of the death of the reigning Khalīfah (al-Āmir) and of the accession of his successor al-Ḥāfiẓ to the Egyptian Khalifate, she transferred the office of Dā'y to the family of Zuray', as will hereafter be clearly explained. "Sufficient," she said, "for the family of aṣ-Ṣulayḥi, is what they have done in the cause of our Lords (the Fāṭimite Khalīfahs), upon whom be the blessings of God." This occurred after the death of the Dā'y Ibrahīm, and the first of the family of Zuray' to be invested with the dignity was Saba son of Abu Su'ūd.

فلما ذهب ابن نجيب الدولة على ما سياتى اقامت مكانه الداعى ابرهيم بن
الحسين الحامدى ثم لما بلغ السيّدة وفاة القائم* و قيام الحافظ بمصر اضافت

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* Read الآمر

دعوته الى آل زريع و قالت خسب آل الصليحي ما عمارة من امر موالينا صلوات الله عليهم كما سياتى مُبينًا ان شا الله تعالى و كان ذلك بعد موت الداعى ابرهيم وكان اول من اقتبلها من آل زريع سبا بن ابى السعود.

Further on (fol. 185 rev.), after relating the end of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah's career in Yaman, al-Janadi repeats the above in almost the same words, but adds that Ibrahīm al-Ḥāmidi did not long survive his appointment, and that at about the time he died, came tidings of the death of the reigning Khalīfah at Cairo, whereupon the queen transferred the office of Dā'y to the Zuray'ites.

Al-Āmir was assassinated at Cairo by the Nizārites, in Dhu 'l-Ḳa'dah (the eleventh month) of the year 524. Our MS. of 'Omārah tells us that Ibrahīm ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidi was appointed in the second year of the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ, say therefore in A.H. 526. If this were so, the presumption would be that the Dā'y 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abd Allah held the office from the date of the disappearance of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah in 520, for six years.

But al-Janadi's version, that Ibrahīm al-Ḥāmidi was appointed on the departure (or not long after the departure?) of Ibn Najīb ad-Daulah, seems the more probable one, and it is supported by his further statement that Ibrahīm al-Ḥāmidi died at about the time when intelligence of al-Āmir's death reached Yaman, say the beginning of A.H. 525.

If we now adopt 'Omārah's statement that Ibrahīm was succeeded by his son Ḥātim, we find ourselves naturally led to the further date mentioned in 'Omārah, namely the second year of the reign of al-Ḥāfiẓ, which, however, must, in such case, be regarded as the probable date when the Dā'yship was finally transferred to the family of Zuray'.

There is, however, another point which requires to be taken into consideration. Ḥātim son of Ibrahīm son of Ḥusayn al-Ḥāmidi is known to have been a powerful Ḥamdānite chief, who for three years disputed the throne of Ṣan'ā with the reigning Sulṭān 'Aly ibn Ḥātim, and this occurred between the years 561 and 564. These dates can only be reconciled with those given above, on the supposition that Ḥātim son of Ibrahīm received the office of Dā'y when little more than a child. But that may pos-

sibly help to explain how it came to pass that he held it for so short a time.

NOTE 103 to p. 136.—The Khalīfah al-Āmir died leaving no male issue, six months after the birth of the child mentioned in the text. The infant son, in whom such brilliant hopes were centred, cannot, therefore, have lived more than a few weeks. But at the death of the Khalīfah, one of the ladies of his ḥarīm was found to be *enceinte*. Al-Ḥāfiẓ was consequently allowed to reign only as regent until the birth of the child, which turned out to be a girl. This may perhaps explain the statement in our text, that in his first communication to the queen, al-Ḥāfiẓ assumed only the title of heir-apparent to the Khalifate.

NOTE 104 to p. 139.—Ibn Khaldūn's narrative is by no means clear at this point, and something has doubtless been omitted, either through inadvertence on the part of the author, or through carelessness on that of the transcribers.

Upon the death of al-Aswad the 'Ansite, Fayruz assumed the government of Ṣan'ā, in which he was confirmed by the Prophet's successor Abu Bakr, who appointed Dadhwayh and Ḳays ibn Makshūḥ to be his colleagues and assistants. But tidings of the Prophet's death having spread in Yaman, a rebellion again broke out. Ḳays placed himself at its head and summoned the apostate followers of al-Aswad to his assistance. He concealed his designs from his colleagues, and invited them to a feast. Dadhwayḥ was the first to arrive and was immediately massacred. Fayrūz, when approaching the appointed spot, obtained information of what had occurred, through accidentally overhearing the conversation of two Arab women. He turned and fled, and reached the mountain of Khaulān in safety. Here he was joined by such as had continued faithful to the religion of the Prophet, and with the aid of the Banu 'Oḳayl, he marched upon Ṣan'ā, attacked and defeated Ḳays and put him to flight. Ḳays eventually fell into the hands of Muhājir ibn Abi Umayyah. He was sent to Abu Bakr, by whom he was pardoned.

The word *Abna* was used to designate a mixed race, the naturalized descendants of the Persian troops sent to Yaman

by Anūshirwān, with whose assistance the Abyssinians were expelled from Arabia.

NOTE 105 to p. 139.—Ya'la is also called son of Umayyah. The latter, it is explained, was the name of his father, and Munyah that of his mother. The Camel which gave its name to the sanguinary battle fought between 'Aly and his opponents in A.H. 36, and upon which 'Ā'ishah was mounted, is said to have been given to her by Ya'la.

NOTE 106 to p. 142.—The assassination of al-Mutawakkil and the abdication of al-Musta'īn occurred long before the reign of Abu 'l-Jaysh. The words in the text must therefore be applied to his predecessors. Cf. *supra*, p. 15 and Note 13.

NOTE 107 to p. 142.—Ibn Khaldūn's account of the Zaydite Imāms of Ṣa'dah, known under the designation of Rassites, will be found at p. 184.

In his chapter on the Shī'ites (vol. i. p. 164), he enters into particulars of the principal sects into which the adherents of 'Aly have divided themselves, and he gives an account, among others, of the Zaydites.

All the Shī'ites, he begins by pointing out, agree upon the fundamental point that 'Aly, son-in-law of the Prophet, was his appointed and legitimate successor. But the question of the principle upon which his rights are founded has become matter of dispute. A large section, the Imāmites, in which are comprised the *Dodekites* * and *Ismailites*, contend that 'Aly's appointment to the office was absolutely in virtue of his personality, that his descendants and heirs have followed in regular succession under the same rule, and that no human right exists to withhold recognition of his or their claims. The Imāmites, therefore, disown the authority of the "two Elders" (Abu Bakr and 'Omar).

The Zaydites, on the other hand, whilst admitting that 'Aly was the appointed heir of the Prophet, maintain that he was appointed not by reason of his individuality, but in virtue of his personal merits. They claim, consequently,

* So named—*Ithna 'asharīyyah*—because they recognize twelve Imāms, the last of whom was the Mahdy, whose re-appearance is awaited by his followers.

the right of selection from among the descendants of Fāṭimah. The person to be invested with the office of Imām must, they contend, be learned, pious, generous and brave. It is further required that he shall stand forth and publicly claim recognition of his authority. They own the existence of a limitation of choice, one that prohibits the actual substitution of the consideration of merit for that of individuality, although they refrain at the same time, from disavowing the Imāmate of the two "elders," consequently admitting, as is remarked, the authority of the inferior (Abu Bakr and then 'Omar), notwithstanding the presence of the superior, namely 'Aly. A charge is moreover made against them, that they are tainted with the doctrines of the Mu'tazilites, and their founder Zayd, it is said, studied under Wāṣil ibn 'Aṭā.

The Zaydites, as was to be expected, have separated themselves from the Dodekites and Ismailites, on the question of the rightful holders of the Imāmate. All agree in the recognition of 'Aly, of his two sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn and, according to Ibn Khaldūn, of his grandson 'Aly Zayn al-'Ābidīn.* But whilst their opponents assign the succession, next after Zayn al-'Ābidīn to his son Muḥammad al-Bāḳir, the Zaydites attribute it to Muḥammad's brother Zayd, the founder of their sect, who, they say, was succeeded by his son Yaḥya. Starting from that point, the Zaydites are not, however, in complete accord. Some, according to Ibn Khaldūn, hold that Yaḥya was followed by his brother 'Īsa. Others assert that Yaḥya before his death bequeathed his office to Muḥammad an-Nafs az-Zakīyyah, *the Pure in Spirit*, thus transferring the Imāmate from the family of Ḥusayn to that of Ḥasan. Muḥammad, they further hold, was succeeded by his brother Ibrahīm, who was killed towards the latter end of A.H. 145, and survived his brother only two months. According to others, Muḥammad's successor was Muḥammad son of al-Ḳāsim son of 'Aly son of 'Omar brother of Zayd. Others again assign the succession to Idrīs, brother of *an-Nafs az-Zakīyyah* and originator of the Idrīsite dynasty in Africa, where he founded the city of Fez.

As a matter of fact, the Zaydites have no authentic

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* The author of the *Yawaḳīt* omits the name of 'Aly Zayn al-'Ābidīn, and substitutes that of Ḥasan son of Ḥasan.

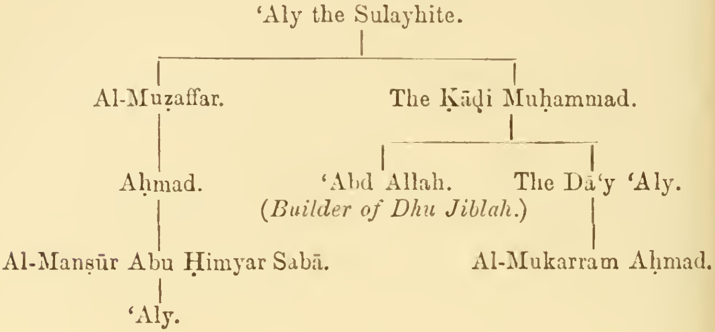
record of the succession of their Imāms. At a subsequent period to that just referred to, the two great sections, that of the Persian and that of the Yamanite or Arabian Zaydites, have in only a few isolated instances submitted to the authority of the same Imām. On both sides the absolute supremacy of the lawful Imām over the entire body is distinctly admitted. But the distance that separated the two sections geographically from one another, and the impossibility of active co-operation between them in the political objects for which they respectively strove, created a practical difficulty, which only in a few rare instances was partially overcome. In Arabia itself, moreover, there has been frequent rivalry between different claimants, each of whom has been recognized by one party and disavowed by the other. It follows, consequently, that great discrepancies are found between the lists of Imāms given by different writers.

Among the books I have had the opportunity of consulting, the *Yawaḳīt as-Siyar* gives the fullest list of the Imāms, and the author brings it down to the middle of the seventh century of the Hijrah. He mentions many names omitted by other writers, and I have included them in the Genealogical Table appended to this note.

The table will enable the reader to follow more easily the relation which the different families bear to one another. The names of the Persian Imāms, who successively gained supreme power in the provinces of Daylam and Ṭabaristān, are printed in italics. Ḥasan son of Zayd and his brother Muḥammad (descendants of Ḥasan son of Zayd son of Ḥasan) are included, because, although they are not reckoned as Zaydites, they undoubtedly prepared the way for the Imāms, who afterwards, like themselves, attained supreme power on the southern shores of the Caspian.

I have added, for the sake of convenience, the succession of the Dodekite and of the early Ismailite Imāms. The former are distinguished by Roman numerals and the latter by capital letters. The Ismailites seceded upon the death of the sixth Imām Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiḳ. His son Isma'īl died before him, but the Ismailites hold that the latter was the designated seventh Imām, and that the succession passed on to his son, Muḥammad al-Maktūm, *the Shrouded* or *Concealed*, from whom 'Obayd Allah "the Mahdy," founder of the Fatimite Khalifate and Imām of the Ismailites, claimed to be descended.

NOTE 108 to p. 149.—In the British Museum MS. of Ibn Khaldūn a genealogical table is added at the end of this chapter, according to which al-Manṣūr Saba was descended from 'Aly the Sulayhite, father of the Ḳādi Muḥammad and grandfather of the Dā'y 'Aly.



NOTE 109 to p. 153.—Ibn Khaldūn seems here to confuse with one another the incidents of the expedition undertaken by the Dā'y al-Mukarram for the rescue of his mother, and those of the conspiracy that brought about the death of Sa'īd son of Najāḥ.

The year 497, as that in which al-Mukarram released his mother from captivity, is so given in both the London and Paris MSS. as well as in the Bulāḳ edition. But it is manifestly wrong, as indeed may be judged from the date 479, which immediately follows. We may probably read 475. Aṣ-Ṣulayḥi was killed at the latter end of 473 (see Note 31), and his mother's captivity, we are told by 'Omārah, lasted an entire year.

Ibn Khaldūn's account of Sa'īd's death also requires correction. The introduction of the name of Ya'fur, although it is to be found in both MSS. as well as in the printed edition, is quite unsustainable, and has perhaps simply arisen through the copyist—perhaps, indeed, the author—having carelessly allowed his eye to be caught with the resemblance (especially in the Arabic character) between the verb *Yughri*, which occurs in the text, and the name *Ya'fur*. The statement that Sa'īd's head was carried to Zabīd is likewise an error.

It will, moreover, be remarked that Ibn Khaldūn's account of the proceedings of Jayyāsh and of his wazīr Khalf, on

their return to Zabīd, differs considerably from that supplied by ʿOmārah. All these errors, it may be suspected, are the result of a careless reading of the original text, for which, however, Ibn Saʿīd is perhaps in the first place responsible.

Note 110 to p. 159.—Bayhaḳ is the name of a district near Naysāpūr, after which several persons of note have been named.

One, Abu Bakr Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAly al-Bayhaḳi, is identified by Johannsen with the writer quoted by Daybaʿ in his history of Zabīd. He died in A.H. 458 and his life is given by Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, i. 57). His son Ismaʿīl ibn Aḥmad al-Bayhaḳi, also a distinguished man, died in A.H. 507.

But the author, so frequently quoted by Ibn Khaldūn, is one who appears to have written on the history of a much later period. He speaks of al-Mūṭi, the title attributed by Ibn Khaldūn to the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn, who arose in A.H. 646. See *supra*, p. 175, and cf. the passage in Ibn Khaldūn's enumeration of the tribes of Kahlān, vol. ii. p. 252 (Bulāḳ ed.). Ibn al-Athīr (vol. xi. p. 249) quotes a work entitled *Kitāb Masārib it-Tajārib* by Abu 'l-Ḥasan ibn Abi 'l-Ḳāsim al-Bayhaḳi, who was apparently a contemporary of the historian and who may have survived him. If, however, this be the person referred to by Ibn Khaldūn, he must have lived and have continued to write down to a period more than twenty years subsequent to the death of Ibn al-Athīr in A.H. 630.

Touching the descent of the Banu Maʿn, see Notes 19 and 20.

Note 111 to p. 160.—A description of the fortress of Dumlūwah is given by al-Hamdāni in his Geography of Arabia (ed. D. H. Müller, p. 76). It was built, he says, upon a hill, the summit of which, measuring four hundred cubits in length and the same in width, comprised dwelling-places, a large mosque, and a tree capable of sheltering one hundred men, which he calls *al-Kulhumah.** The hill was an offshoot of Mount Ṣilu, from which it was, however, completely isolated, and which rose at a distance of one

* See Note to Juynboll's ed. of the Marāṣid, vol. v. p. 489, where it is stated that the tree was a species of oak.

hundred cubits on the south. On its eastern side, Khadīr was distant two hours' journey.* On the north was the market-place of Juwwah and the stream Wādi al-Jannāt. On the west, where the height of the hill was double that on the south, was a tethering-place for the horses belonging to the owner of the fortress. He inhabited a castle on Mount Ṣilu, at the distance of a bow-shot. The gate of the fortress of Dumlūwah was on its northern side, and access was obtained to the summit by means of two ladders, each of fourteen steps. Between the two was the prison, and the guard house above it. Water of excellent quality was abundantly supplied to the inhabitants by a stream, flowing close to the foot of the lower flight of steps.

This stream flowed into Wādi al-Jannāt, which, after receiving numerous other streams and torrents, was joined by the Wādi Warazān (see *U. Uarasan* on Manzoni's map), and the united waters, increased on their way by other tributaries, flowed down to the sea in the neighbourhood of Aden.

Hamdāni's words as above, in speaking of Juwwah, indicate a position for that place at or very near the town, marked in Manzoni's map under the name of *Mavia* (Māwīyah ?). Juwwah, as is shown by our text, stood on the highway from Aden, and it seems very probable that it and *Mavia* are one and the same place. Reynaud, in his translation of Abu 'l-Fada, writes : "Aldjoue, nom d'une petite ville très-connue sur la grande route des montagnes."

Hamdāni (p. 190, l. 8,) mentions the castle of Juwwah, which seems to be one and the same with Dumlūwah.

Note 112 to p. 161.—The life of the poet Ibn Ḳalāḳis the Lakhmite is given by Ibn Khallikān (de Slane's translation, vol. iii. p. 537), where a continuation of the line quoted in the text is supplied. Ibn Ḳalāḳis, we are told, was born at Alexandria in 532 and died in 567.

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* In the "district of Khadīr" there existed in Hamdāni's days the vestiges of a large and ancient town, Salūḳ, "now known," he says, "under the name of *Ḥabīl ar-Raybah*, حبيل الريبة." (In Yāḳūt, who copies Hamdāni, the name is written حسل الزينة.) Among its remains, adds Hamdāni, iron scoriæ, fragments of gold and silver and coins are found. Ṣalūḳīyah armour and dogs, he further says, were so named, after the Yamanite city. This last statement, though in accordance with the commonly received definition, I am disposed to think requires confirmation.

NOTE 113 to p. 161.—Ibn Khaldūn, it will be observed, derives most of his information touching the Zurayite dynasty from Ibn Sa'īd, who himself is without doubt indebted, directly or indirectly, to 'Omārah. But Ibn Khaldūn seems to be misled by the ambiguity of language, be it his own or be it borrowed from Ibn Sa'īd, which he uses when speaking of the rivalry between the two brothers 'Aly and Muhammad, sons of Saba. In a genealogical table he appends to the chapter, he evidently confuses 'Aly al-A'azz with 'Aly son of Abi 'l-Gharāt, and the table is so incorrect that I omit it altogether.

I understand the Hamdanite Princes of Aden to have succeeded one another in accordance with the subjoined list.

The Banu Zuray'.

Al-Karam, of the sub-tribe of Jusham the Yāmites.

I. Mas'ūd, A.H. 476.	I. 'Abbās, A.H. 476.
,,	II. Zuray', his son.
II. Abu 'l-Gharāt, his son.	III. Abu Su'ūd, his son.
,,	IV. Saba, his son, died 533.
III. Muhammad, his son.	,,
IV. 'Aly, his brother, deposed A.H. 533 (died 545).	,,
	V. 'Aly al-A'azz al-Murtada, his son, 533–534.
	VI. Muhammad, his brother, 534–548.
	VII. 'Imrān, his son 548–560.
	VIII. The wazīr Yāsir son of Bilāl, under the nominal supremacy of the sons of 'Imr n, until the Ayyubite conquest in A.H. 569.

Of their predecessors, the Banu Ma'n, we have only a

very meagre account. They established their power over Aden, in the days of al-Ma'mūn according to Ibn Khaldūn, or, according to 'Omārah, on the downfall of the Ziyādite dynasty, previous to which time, we are told, Aden was subject to the Banu Ziyād. In about A.H. 454, the Banu Ma'n submitted to 'Aly the Sulayhite, who imposed a tribute upon them which, in A.H. 461, he settled upon his niece and daughter-in-law Sayyidah. Upon 'Aly's death, in A.H. 473, the Banu Ma'n declared their independence, but two or three years later, their country was reconquered by al-Mukarram son of 'Aly. He deposed the family of Ma'n and placed Aden under the joint authority of the two brothers 'Abbās and Mas'ūd sons of al-Karam, who were tribesmen of the Sulayhites, and to whom both 'Aly and his son were indebted for past services.

Our MS. of 'Omārah represents 'Abbās and Mas'ūd as having survived al-Mukarram the Sulayhite, who died in A.H. 484. But, as I have already had occasion to remark, the MS. is, at this particular point, exceedingly corrupt. The statement is, moreover, not confirmed by Khazraji, from which it can only be gathered that the tribute due to Queen Sayyidah was regularly paid until the death of Mas'ūd and Zuray'. Khazraji says that Dumlūwah was conquered by Zuray' in A.H. 480, whence it may be inferred that he had succeeded his father previous to that date.

Zuray' and his uncle Mas'ūd were killed at Zabīd; but the only clue to a date is the fact that the event occurred during the lifetime of al-Mufaḍḍal, who died in A.H. 504.

The dates of the death of Abu Su'ūd and of Abu 'l-Gharāt, under whose reign the payment of tribute finally ceased, are also wanting; but it may perhaps be inferred from what is elsewhere stated by 'Omārah (*supra*, p. 60), that Abu 'l-Gharāt and Saba son of Abu Su'ūd were both on the throne in 519.

The appointment of Saba as Dā'y was probably in A.H. 525, or A.H. 526. (See Note 102.)

From and after the capture of Aden by Saba in 533, the Banu Zuray' held undivided sway over the principality of Aden.

NOTE 114 to p. 166.—The Banu 'Anz son of Wā'il were a sister tribe to the Banu Bakr and Banu Taghlib, and descendants of Rabī'ah son of Nizār.

NOTE 115 to p. 171.—Ibn Khaldūn makes elsewhere (vol. ii. p. 64) the same statement, and professes to do so on the authority of as-Suhayli,* to the effect, namely, that the ancient name of Ṣan'ā was *Uwāl* (or Uwwāl). Two of the MSS. used by Juynboll for his edition of the *Marāṣid* have likewise the name in that form. It is not therefore through mere inadvertence that the word is so written. But the generality of Arab writers have *Azāl*, which is identified with the biblical *Uzal*.

NOTE 116 to p. 172.—The *Kharīdat al-Kaṣr wa Jarīdat ahl il-'aṣr* was written by 'Imād ad-dīn al-Isfahāni, who died in A.H. 597. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān, vol. iii. p. 300, de Slane's translation. Another book, the *Kharīdat al-'Ajā'ib* has for its author Zayn ad-dīn 'Omar ibn al-Wardi, who died in A.H. 749.

NOTE 117 to p. 175.—Hamdāni mentions Ḳutabah (p. 69) as the name of a village or town in the less elevated portion of Sarāt Ḳudam, and it may have stood on or near a mountain of the same name. The town seems to have been situated not far from Ḥajjah, consequently almost directly south of Ṣa'dah, and at a considerable distance from it. Manzoni has *Qataba* on the road from Aden to Yarīm, which, it is needless to say, cannot be the place here in question. It is probably a name of much more recent date.

NOTE 118 to p. 175.—A sub-tribe of Hamdān may possibly have borne the name of Ḥarāz, but it seems more likely that Ibn Khaldūn is here in error. Al-Hamdāni says, in his Geography of Arabia (p. 105, Müller's ed.), that the Banu Ḥarāz were a tribe descended from Ḥimyar the elder, and sons of al-Ghauth son of Sa'd son of 'Auf son of 'Ady (son of Mālik son of Zayd al-Jamhūr). See also 'Omārah, p. 18.

NOTE 119 to p. 179.—Both the Banu 'Ijl and the Banu Yarbū' were Moḍarite tribes. The former, stated by Ibn Khaldūn to have become extinct, were a sister tribe of the Banu Ḥanīfah and descendants, through the Banu Bakr ibn Wā'il, of Rabī'ah son of Nizār. The Banu Yarbū' were, as stated in the text, derived from the Banu Tamīm, descen-

* See for as-Suhayli, who died in A.H. 581, Baron de Slane's translation of Ibn Khallikān, vol. ii. p. 99.

dants of Tābikhah son of al-Ya's son of Modar. But another tribe, of the same name, claimed to be descendants, through the Banu Hanīfah, of the Banu Bakr ibn Wā'il, and were therefore closely connected with the Banu 'Ijl. The latter, as well as the Banu Hanīfah and other sub-tribes of the Banu Bakr, are mentioned by Hamdāni among the inhabitants of Yamāmah.

Tasm and Jadīs, grandsons, or the one grandson and the other great-grandson of Shem, were the ancestors of two great aboriginal tribes of Arabia, and their language is said to have been Arabic.

Saksak, who according to our author was ancestor of the Banu Hizzān, was, as he tells us elsewhere (vol. ii. p. 302), son of Wāthil (or Wā'il) son of Himyar.* But according to other and perhaps preferable authorities (see Hamdāni, p. 162, and Yākūt, vol. iv. p. 417), the Banu Hizzān of Yamāmah were derived from the Banu 'Anazah, descendants of Rabī'ah son of Nizār, and were consequently of the same stem as the Banu Hanīfah, the Banu 'Ijl and, according to what is stated above, as the Banu Yarbū'. The name Hizzān was also borne by the ancestor of an ancient people, descendants of Lāwadh son of Shem. (Tabari, vol. i. p. 213; Ibn Khaldūn, vol. ii. p. 7.)

The story of 'Amlīk, or 'Amlūk, and Yamāmah will be found in Mas'ūdi (Barbier de Maynard, vol. iii. p. 276, *sqq.*). It tells how Hassān ibn Tubba', King of the Himyarites, marched at the head of an army against the Jadīsites. The king was warned that a certain woman at Jaww, as it was then still called, possessed such marvellous strength of vision, that she was able to descry a horseman at a distance of three days' journey. He ordered his soldiers each to hew down a tree and to carry it before him. Yamāmah watched the enemy's army and reported that she beheld a forest advancing against them, with a man behind each tree. She was disbelieved, the city was surprised and taken, and the Jadīsites, who had exterminated the Tasmītes, in revenge for the tyranny to which they were subjected by the Tasmite king 'Amlūk, were now themselves massacred to the last man.†

* The name *Hamdān*, which occurs in the passage above mentioned, is clearly a misprint for Hizzān.

† Yamāmah's words describing what she first saw, are somewhat more intelligible as given by Yākūt (iv. 1033) than according to to Tabari's and Mas'ūdi's versions.

The story is to be found not only in Masʻūdi, who wrote in A.D. 944, but it is also told by Ṭabari (i. 771) who died in A.D. 923. And the latter relates it on the authority of Ibn Isḥāḳ, who died in A.H. 151, A.D. 768.

NOTE 120 to p. 180.—The tribe of ʻAd has been mentioned in Note 96. The ʻĀdites were, like Ṭasm, Jadīs, Thamūd, etc., one of the aboriginal Arab tribes, all of whom have disappeared. The statement in the text, relating to the people conquered by the posterity of Yaʻrub, must, I presume, be applied to the second or later ʻĀdites, descendants of those members of the tribe who escaped destruction in the days of the prophet Hūd.

Both Ḥaḍramaut and Yaʻrub are usually described as sons of Ḳaḥṭān.

NOTE 121 to p. 182.—Ẓafār was conquered in A.H. 678 by Sulṭān al-Muẓaffar, the second king of Yaman of the dynasty of the Banu Rasūl. The Prince of Ẓafār was at that time Sālim son of Idrīs, grandson, it is to be presumed, of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, the person mentioned in the text, and the founder of a short-lived dynasty. A full account of al-Muẓaffar's conquest is given by Ibn Ḥātim (fol. 100 obv. *sqq.*). It is also mentioned by al-Janadi (p. 181 obv.), and Khazraji, in his *ʻUḳūd* (fol. 115 obv.), follows Ibn Ḥātim.

Khazraji calls the city Ẓafār al-Ḥamūḍi (الحموصى *sic*). In Ibn Baṭūṭah's travels the name is written ظفار الحموض which his translators have rendered *Zhafar aux plantes salines et amères*. Ẓafār al-Ḥamūḍi may be the correct reading, but whether or not, we may infer that the town was named after the founder of the dynasty. In Janadi he is called *al-Ḥabūḍi* الحوضى (*sic*) and in al-Ahdal (fol. 260 rev.), who, in his account of the place, simply copies al-Janadi, the word appears as al-Ḥabuṭi الحبوطى. Sprenger (p. 144, 146) has الحبوضى.

In saying that the seaport of Ẓafār was the seat of the Tubbas, Ibn Khaldūn evidently confuses it with the ancient city of the Ḥimyarites of the same name, which stood south of Ṣanʻā, and of which some traces still exist (see *supra*, Note 22).

NOTE 122 to p. 183.—The Kaʻbah of Najrān is said to

have been a Christian church, built by the family of 'Abd al-Madān ibn Dayyān (Rayyān?), of whom mention will be made in a subsequent note (No. 126).

For Ḳuss ibn Sā'idah, see Mas'ūdi's Golden Meadows (Barbier de Meynard, i. 133). He died towards the commencement of the Prophet's career, and the Tāj al-'Arūs mentions, on the authority of the Lisān al-'Arab, that Ḳuss ibn Sā'idah was styled Bishop of Najrān.

NOTE 123 to p. 183.—A translation of the story of the sons of Nizār and of the Jurhumite Af'ā of Najrān will be found in Mas'ūdi (Barbier de Meynard, iii. 228).

Mushallal is the name of a place situated between Mecca and Medinah.

The Jurhumites were descended from Jurhum son of Ḳaḥṭān and brother of Ya'rub. The patriarch Ishmael married a daughter of the tribe, and from them was descended 'Adnān grandfather of Nizār and ancestor of the Ishmaelite or insititious Arabs. Another, a primeval tribe known as the first Jurhumites, is mentioned by Arab writers. They were contemporaries of the 'Ādites, and like them they perished and utterly disappeared. I do not know whence Ibn Khaldūn derives his authority for the name and pedigree given in the text to the Āf'ā, but he mentions both name and pedigree elsewhere likewise (vol. ii. p. 255).

NOTE 124 to p. 183.—Faymiyyūn was a Syrian Christian, but a follower of the true faith afterwards re-established by the Arabian Prophet. Having been captured by a band of wandering Arabs, he was brought to Najrān and there sold into slavery. Through the example of his piety, and through the influence of the miracles he wrought in the name of the true God, the people of Najrān, until then steeped in idolatry, became converted to the faith.* The period at which this occurred is not mentioned, but not long before the birth of the Prophet, the Christians of

* Ṭabari, i. 920, *sqq*. The inhabitants of Najrān, we are told, worshipped a palm tree, which on certain feast days, they decorated with coloured cloths and with the ornaments of their women. At so late a period as that of the Prophet, the Madhhijites of Najrān appear to have worshipped the idol *Yaghūth*. See Professor Robertson-Smith's "Kinship," p. 192.

Najrān became victims to the hostility of Dhu Nuwās, the last of the long line of the Tubbas or Himyarite Kings of Yaman. He sought to force them into the acceptance of Judæism, the religion he had himself adopted, and the savage cruelty with which he pursued his design is denounced in the Ḳur'ān (S. lxxxv.), where he is proclaimed as doomed to the torments of hell. These persecutions of the Christians of Najrān brought about the invasion and conquest of Yaman by the Abyssinians, who were themselves subsequently expelled by the Persians.

The Arab traditions on the proficiency acquired by the people of Najrān in the practice of supernatural arts, may serve to show that long before the rise of Islām, the Christian inhabitants of that province had made considerable progress in civilization.

It will be noticed that they are spoken of in our text as having themselves held the Jewish faith in early days. Ṭabari mentions that when Baruch fulfilled his mission to Bukht Naṣṣar (*supra*, Note 3), he came from Najrān.

NOTE 125 to p. 184.—Abu 'Omar Yūsuf ibn 'Abd al-Barr, a famous traditionist, was a native of Cordova and died in A.H. 463. His life is included in the biographies of Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, iv. p. 398).

It may be remarked that (in vol. ii. p. 256), Ibn Khaldūn himself omits the name of Yazīd and substitutes that of his brother 'Abd al-Ḥajr son of 'Abd al-Madān. In his biography of the Prophet (p. 53) he, however, follows the narrative of Ṭabari.

NOTE 126 to p. 184.—Ibn Khaldūn repeats in vol. ii. p. 255, that a portion of the Azdites remained in Najrān and shared the authority of the Madhhijites over the country; but he makes there no mention of the Banu 'l-Ḥārith ibn Ka'b of the tribe of Azd. Al-Mas'ūdi tells us (Barbier de Meynard, iii. 390) that the Azdites in Najrān were absorbed in the tribe of Madhhij, a statement which seems more probable than that quoted in our text from Ibn Ḥazm. The chieftainship seems to have remained permanently in the hands of the Banu Ḥārith the Madhhijites. It passed on to a family of that tribe, known as the Banu Dayyān (or Rayyān?), descendants of Yazīd surnamed Dayyān. His son was 'Abd al-Madān, mentioned in the text and in Note 122, father (ancestor?) of Yazīd son of 'Abd al-Madān, who

was converted to Islām. Ibn Khaldūn proceeds with a quotation from Ibn Sa'īd, to the effect that in the sixth century, supreme power was held by 'Abd al-Ḳays of the family of Abu 'l-Jūd descendant of 'Abd al-Madān. He says in our text, probably on the same authority, that 'Abd al-Ḳays was deposed by Ibn Mahdy, but it will be observed that there is no mention of him in our copy of 'Omārah, nor is Najrān mentioned as one of the places over which Ibn Mahdy ever exercised authority. I must add that I know of no other instance in which the name 'Abd al-Ḳays was borne by any person in Muḥammadan times.

NOTE 127 to p. 185.—I have nowhere found confirmation of Ibn Khaldūn's statement that al-Ḳāsim fled to India and died there. Al-Khazraji says (p. 291) that certain Yamanites, on the appearance of the Karmathians in their country, proceeded to the Mountain of *Rass* at Medinah, in A.H. 284, and raised to supreme authority the Imām al-Hādy Yaḥya son of Ḥusayn son of al-Ḳāsim, who, with their assistance, conquered the country between Ṣa'dah and Ṣan'ā. Al-Ahdal tells us (fol. 12 rev.) that al-Ḳāsim died at ar-Rass, leaving two sons, Muḥammad and Ḥusayn.

The Zaydite MSS. recently acquired by the library of the British Museum, give a fairly consistent account of the life of al-Ḳāsim, the ancestor of the long line of Imāms of Yaman. According to the *Ḥadā'iḳ al-Wardīyah* (Or. 3786 and 3813), when Muḥammad son of Ibrahīm Ṭabāṭabā died in A.H. 199, his brother al-Ḳāsim was in Egypt. He remained there about ten years, living in a state of obscurity and in concealment, but recognized as the successor of his brother by the Alides, who sent him emissaries from all parts of the empire, from Mecca and from Medinah, from Kūfah, from Rayy and from Kazwīn.

When 'Abd Allah ibn Ṭāhir was appointed to the Government of Egypt (in A.H. 211 according to Makrīzi, in A.H. 210 or 211 according to Ibn al-Athīr), the new Governor adopted measures for the arrest of al-Ḳāsim.* The latter contrived, however, to make his escape from Egypt and to reach Ḥijāz. There he sought refuge with an Arab tribe, among whom he lived concealed, throughout the reign of al-Ma'mūn and of his immediate successors. The lapse of years brought about a relaxation of the enmity

* Cf. Ṭabari, vol. iii. p. 1094, *sqq.*

with which he had been so long pursued, and towards the end of his life al-Ḳāsim purchased a property, named *ar-Rass*, situated near Dhu Ḥulayfah "on the further side of Jabal al-Aswād."* Here he built himself a house, in which he died in A.H. 246.

The successor of al-Ḳāsim to the Imāmate was, according to the author of the *Yawaḳīt*, Muḥammad son of al-Ḳāsim, descendant of 'Aly Zayn al-'Ābidīn and of Ḥusayn brother of Ḥasan. As Muḥammad is generally admitted to have disappeared in A.H. 219, the introduction of his name seems an anachronism, but the case is not exceptional.

Of Ḥusayn and Muḥammad, the two sons of al-Ḳāsim the Rassite, no record seems to have been preserved.†

Yaḥya son of Ḥusayn, who afterwards assumed the title *al-Hādy ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ*, the Leader unto Truth, was born a year before the death of his grandfather. Al-Hādy asserted his claim to the Imāmate in A.H. 280 and proceeded to Ṣa'dah, where he used his influence to put an end to the strife with which the city was distracted. But he was soon compelled to abandon his task and to return to the Ḥijāz. Early in 284, he received invitations from the citizens to place himself at their head, and accordingly, in Ṣafar of that year, he re-appeared at Ṣa'dah accompanied by his uncle Muḥammad. He conquered Najrān, and was next engaged in warfare with the Karmathians. The Zaydite author of the Ḥadā'iḳ is silent over most of the particulars given by al-Khazraji (*supra*, Note 8) as well as by the author of the History of the Karmathians in Yaman, but he mentions that al-Hādy sent his son Muḥammad al-Murtaḍa to assist the people of Ṣan'ā against the Ismailites, to which he adds that the Imām became master of Yaman. Al-Hādy died at Ṣa'dah in Dhu 'l-Hijjah 298, of poison it is said. He left three sons, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad al-Murtaḍa, Aḥmad surnamed an-Nāṣir and Ḥasan.

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* Dhu Ḥulayfah is described by Yāḳūt as a village situated six or seven miles from Medinah and as the *Miḳāt* (see Note 16) of the people of that city.

† The names of other sons are mentioned by genealogists, and there seems little doubt that certain descendants of al-Ḳāsim settled in Egypt. See the Tāj al-'Arūs, *s.v.* Rass, and cf. Ibn Khallikān (de Slane), vols. i. 115 and ii. 46.

The next Imām of the Zaydites, it is stated, was Ḥasan ibn 'Aly surnamed an-Nāṣir lil-Ḥakk, but better known in history as *al-Uṭrūsh*. He arose in Persia in A.H. 301, and died at Āmul in Ṭabaristān in 304.

But we are also told that next in succession to al-Hādy was his son *Muḥammad al-Murtaḍa*. He succeeded upon the death of his father, and abdicated in 301 in favour of his brother Aḥmad an-Nāṣir. This leaves no room for al-Uṭrūsh. The author of the *Yawakīt*, on the other hand, tells us that the Imāmate of both the sons of al-Hādy is disputed. Al-Murtaḍa died at Sa'dah in A.H. 310.

Aḥmad an-Nāṣir li-din Illah was chiefly engaged in wars with the Karmathians of Maswar, whose ruler, it is stated, was 'Abd al-Ḥamīd son of Muḥammad son of al-Ḥajjāj.* A battle is said to have been fought in Sha'bān 307, in which the Karmathians were utterly defeated, but 'Abd al-Ḥamīd succeeded in making his escape. Aḥmad an-Nāṣir died, according to the author of the Ḥadā'iḳ, in A.H. 325.

For the subsequent Imāms down to the middle of the seventh century of the Hijrah, I may content myself with referring the reader to the Genealogical Table, Note 107, and to Note 130.

I must add that I have not been able to identify the writer *Ibn al-Mujāb*, mentioned by Ibn Khaldūn.

NOTE 128 to p. 186.—Abu Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥya aṣ-Ṣūli died in A.H. 335. His life is given by Ibn Khallikān (de Slane, vol. iii. p. 68). He was a voluminous writer, and it will be noticed that among his works was a History of the Karmathians. He is doubtless the author quoted by adh-Dhahabi, as reproduced by Prof. de Goeje in his "Histoire des Carmathes" (p. 35).

NOTE 129 to p. 188.—Kamāl ad-dīn 'Omar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz, surnamed Ibn al-'Adīm, was author of an important work in ten volumes on the history of Aleppo, entitled *Bughyat aṭ-Ṭalab fi tarīkh Ḥalab*, a title which may be translated "Object of the Student's furthest desires in respect to the History of Aleppo." He afterwards wrote an

* This 'Abd al Ḥamīd, it must be presumed, was father of Ibrahīm ibn 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, mentioned in Janadi's history of the Karmathians (*supra*, p. 210).

abridgment of the work, to which he gave the name *Zubdat al-Ḥalab*, a portion of which has been published by Freytag. Ibn al-'Adīm was born in A.H. 580 and died in 660.

NOTE 130 to p. 190.—Ibn Khaldūn's chapter on the Rassite Imāms is so incorrect that I have felt inclined to omit it altogether. But I have eventually thought that a more useful purpose may be gained by allowing it to form part of this volume, and by pointing out its inaccuracies. Touching the Suleymanite Sharīfs of Yaman, it will be sufficient to refer to what I have said in Note 88.

I have there pointed out Ibn Khaldūn's error in respect to the Imām Aḥmad (al-Mutawakkil) son of Suleymān, whom he erroneously calls son of Ḥamzah, and of whom he still more inaccurately says, that he was nearly related to the Suleymanite Ghānim ibn Yaḥya. The Imām in question was in point of fact a direct descendant of an-Nāṣir Aḥmad son of al-Hādy Yaḥya. 'Omārah is therefore right in styling him *the Rassite*. (See the Genealogical Table to Note 107.)

AḤMAD AL-MUTAWAKKIL 'AL' ALLAH issued his proclamations asserting his claims to the Imāmate in A.H. 532, and was recognized in Najrān as well as at Ṣa'dah. With the assistance of the neighbouring Arab tribes, he attacked and defeated the Hamdānite King of Ṣan'ā, Hātim ibn Aḥmad, in A.H. 545. In 549, he marched against the Karmathian tribe of Yām, who, if the Zaydite historians are to be believed, still persisted in the practices described in Janadi's account of the sect (*supra*, pp. 199 and 203). The country was plundered and laid utterly waste by the Imām's troops, the remnant of the population seeking refuge in Najrān. His expedition to Zabīd took place in A H. 552. The account of it given by the Zaydite writers differs materially from 'Omārah's. The Prince of Zabīd, Fātik son of Muḥammad, was, they say, a man of unparalleled wickedness and addicted to unnatural crimes. He fell into the hands of the Imām, who, refusing an enormous ransom, ordered his prisoner to be put to death in obedience to the Divine law. The Imām remained eight days at Zabīd. He appointed a governor over the city and departed victorious and triumphant. He continued to wage war in defence of the faith and his fame spread abroad. The Khuṭbah was recited in his name in Khaybar and at Yanbu'. He reigned thirty-three

years. Towards the latter end of his life he became blind, and he died in A.H. 566.

AL-MANṢŪR BILLAH 'ABD ALLAH was likewise a member of the Rassite family, descendant of Ḥamzah (son of the Imām Abu Hāshim al-Ḥasan) and of 'Abd Allah grandson of al-Ḳāsim the Rassite (see the Genealogical Table, Note 107). He was born in A.H. 561, proclaimed himself Imām in 593, and was solemnly recognized in the following year. He took up his residence for a time at Ṣa'dah, then moved southwards, and in 594 or beginning of 595, he entered Ṣan'ā, where the citizens submitted to his rule. In 595 he made himself master of Dhamār and its neighbourhood, but was soon compelled to relinquish his conquests and to retreat northward.* He nevertheless continued to increase in power and reputation, which not only extended into the Ḥijāz, but his authority as Imām was formally recognized by the Zaydites of Persia. In A.H. 600 he restored and strengthened the fortress of Ẓafār. In 611 he regained possession of Ṣan'ā and Dhamār and occupied himself in subjecting the *Muṭarrifiyah*, whom, according to his own historians, he treated with great cruelty.†

At the instigation of the Abbaside Khalīfah an-Nāṣir, a strong force was sent, in A.H. 612, against al-Manṣūr by al-Mas'ūd, the last Ayyubite Sulṭān of Yaman. The Imām retreated to the neighbourhood of Kaukabān and intrenched himself in a strong position, where he built a substantial house for himself and quarters for his followers, and where he also set up a mint. That position he occupied for three months and a half, during which time frequent engagements took place between his troops and their enemies. In 613 a truce was agreed upon. The Imām removed to Kaukabān and then to Ẓafār. His health now gave way, and he died at the former place in the first month of A.H. 614.

The death of al-Manṣūr billah was followed by a division in the ranks of the Zaydites. The people of Ṣa'dah and

* Ibn al-Athīr mentions in his Chronicles (vol. xii. 113) the defeat of al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah by the Ayyubite Sulṭān al-Mu'izz Isma'īl, and the date he gives is A.H. 597, not 592 as in our text of Ibn Khaldūn.

† The word المطرفية frequently occurs in the Zaydite histories. I have nowhere met with an explanation, but it seems to be a designation for the Sunnite Muslims and is very generally accompanied by the epithet *shaḳīyah*, the vile.

its neighbourhood recognized as Imām the Sharīf Majd (or Najm) ad-dīn Yaḥya ibn al-Muḥsin (read Muḥammad),* who adopted the surname of al-Hādy ila 'l-Hakk, the same as that of his namesake and ancestor, the originator of the dynasty. In the southern districts, 'Izz ad-dīn Muḥammad, surnamed an-Nāṣir li-dīn Illah, son of al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah, was proclaimed Imām. He was defeated in A.H. 623, in an engagement near Ṣan'ā with the troops of the Ayyubite King al-Mas'ūd. He fled to Thula, wounded by an arrow in the eye, and died before the end of the year. He was succeeded by his brother Shams ad-dīn Aḥmad, al-Mutawakkil 'al' Allah. Al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah, it must be stated, left a large family of sons besides the two I have here mentioned.

The Imam Ahmad ibn Ḥusayn (ibn Aḥmad ibn al-Ḳāsim), surnamed *al-Mahdi*, was proclaimed at Thula in A.H. 646. On the question of his descent there is a singular disagreement between the writers I have had the means of consulting, a thing all the more strange considering the importance attached by the Zaydites to the purity of their Imām's pedigree. Al-Ahdal makes Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn great grandson of Ḳāsim (Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al Ḥusayn?) son of al-Mu'ayyad Aḥmad (one of the Persian Imāms), descendant of Zayd son of Ḥasan and consequently not a member of the Rassite family.† The author of the *Yawaḳīt* identifies his great-grandfather with al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim, who died in A.H. 393, and among whose children no son of the name of Aḥmad has been mentioned. The author of the *Bughyat al-Murīd* says that he was descendant, as well as Mālikah the mother of the Imām Aḥmad ibn Suleymān, of Aḥmad son of Isma'īl Abu 'l-Barakāt, descendant of Muḥammad son of al-Ḳāsim the Rassite. This agrees with what is said by the author of the *Jawāhir*, who, however, confines himself to the statement that the Imām's great-grandfather al-Ḳāsim was descended from Muḥammad son of al-Ḳāsim the Rassite. On the other hand, a comparison of dates—the Imām Aḥmad ibn Suleymān having been born in A.H. 500—leaves the question in a doubtful condition.

The designation *al-Mūṭi* I find nowhere but in Ibn

* Compare the *Kāshifat al-Ghummah*, fol. 22 rev., with the *Ḥadā'iḳ*, fol. 206 rev. l. 14.

† See the Genealogical Table to Note 107.

Khaldūn, who, it would appear, has borrowed it from al-Bayhaḳi.* The word signifies *one appointed to subjugate.*

Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn was raised to the Imāmate with the full consent and approval of the family of al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allah. Ere long he was able to treat on terms of equality with the Rasūlite Sulṭān, at that time al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf. Such a state of things was necessarily most distasteful, not only to the Sulṭān, but to all orthodox Muslims. Khazraji tells us, in his 'Uḳūd, that the Abbaside Khalīfah al-Musta'ṣim sent the Sulṭān orders to put an end to the dominion of the heretical Imām. The Zaydite historians relate a different and a somewhat curious story. According to their version (Yawaḳīt, fol. 171 rev.), al-Muẓaffar asked assistance of al-Musta'ṣim against the Imām. The Khalīfah, it is related, sent the Sulṭān certain *Ḥashīshiyīn,* otherwise called, he continues, *Fidāwiyīn.* These are persons, he further explains, "who sell themselves and risk their lives in accomplishing the slaughter of a person whose death is required of them." † It is not without interest to observe that the word *Ḥashīshiyīn* (or Ḥashīshiyūn) is the same as that found by Mr. Lane ("Thousand and One Nights," Note 46 to ch. ii.) in Idrīsi's Geography, applied to the people we call *the Assassins.* The word, as Mr. Lane remarks, is precisely synonymous with *Ḥashshāshīn.* The latter is the form in common use at the present day, though it now simply signifies persons addicted to the use of the drug.

Sulṭān al-Muẓaffar sent the assassins on a pretended mission to the Imām. They were received in audience, and very nearly succeeded in effecting their purpose. The Imām was wounded by the dagger of his assailant, but was rescued from the struggle by his attendants. ‡

Ere long the Imām was beset with more serious trouble. The fidelity of the family of al-Manṣūr to their oaths of allegiance did not long endure. The distribution of commands brought about jealousy and dissensions, not only on

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* See *supra*, p. 175, and compare with the passage in vol. ii. p. 252 of Ibn Khaldūn's General History (Bul. ed.).

† See *supra*, Note 55.

‡ We are told by the same writer (fol. 166 obv.) that the Persian Imām Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Aly al-Hādi al-Ḥaḳayni, who pursued the Ismailites with his enmity, was murdered in A.H. 440 by a Hashīshy, sent for the purpose from the castle of Almūt.

their part, but also on that of other powerful chiefs. Denunciations were launched against the Imām, of whom it was declared that he was devoid of the qualities required by Divine law for his sacred office. The people were called upon to transfer their allegiance to the Sharīf Ḥasan ibn Wahhās. Certain acts of extortion committed by order of the Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥusayn filled up the measure of his unpopularity. The malcontents called upon Shams ad-dīn Aḥmad (al-Mutawakkil), chief of the Ḥamzites and son of the Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allah, to place himself at their head. They received support and assistance from the Rasūlite king of Yaman. The rival forces met at Shuwābah in A.H. 656.* The Imām's troops were defeated and fled, leaving him almost alone on the field of battle. Surrounded by a band of his enemies, he was overpowered and killed, and his head carried to the tent of Shams ad-dīn. The event is said to have occurred on the identical day upon which the last Abbaside Khalīfah of Baghdad was put to death by Hulaku. The Sharīf Abu Muḥammad al-Ḥasan ibn Wahhās was proclaimed Imām, but was not universally acknowledged.

For about two years before that time, the country had been devastated by famine, which now resulted in pestilence. Among its earliest victims was Shams ad-dīn Aḥmad, and he was followed, before the end of the year, by two other sons of al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allah, Najm ad-dīn Musa and Ḥasan. The chieftainship over the Ḥamzites consequently devolved upon their brother, Ṣārim ad-dīn Da-ūd, son of the Imām al-Manṣūr ʿAbd Allah.

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the Imāmate of Yaman was held by a family descended from *al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim* son of Muḥammad son of ʿAly al-Amlaḥi, a descendant of Yūsuf ad-Dāʿy great-grandson of

* For Shuwābah see *supra*, Note 6 (footnote). The author of the Jawāhir says that it stood east of Ẓafār; Yāḳūt, that it was at a distance of four miles from Ṣanʿā (elsewhere he says four parasangs) on the banks of the river *Ḍarawān*, which he tells us, flowed between Shuwābah and a town named after the river. The distance from Ṣanʿā, as will be seen, must have been considerably more than even four parasangs. Yāḳūt adds a strange account of the savage and desolate nature of the country. No bird, he says, will pass over it, and the bed of the river, he continues, is strewn with stones resembling the fangs of a dog.

al-Hādy Yaḥya, the founder, as has been seen, of the Rassite dynasty.

Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim was born in A.H. 967 and died in A.H. 1029 (A.D. 1620), after a reign of twenty-three years. He is the Imām "Khassem ibn Mohamed" spoken of by Niebuhr as ancestor of al-Mahdi 'Abbās, the reigning Imām of Yaman at the time of the traveller's visit to Ṣan'ā in A.D. 1763. Niebuhr prints in his *Description de l'Arabie* a genealogical table giving the names and tracing the descent, from al-Ḳāsim, of the Imāms who successively occupied the throne down to the accession of al-Mahdi 'Abbās. The *Bughyat al-Murīd* contains a minute account of the numerous descendants of al-Ḳāsim, the effect of which is to show that Niebuhr's table requires correction. Thus, al-Ḳāsim was succeeded, according to the *Bughyat*, not by his son Isma'īl, but by his eldest son, al-Mu'ayyad Muḥammad, born in A.H. 990, and who reigned from A.H. 1029 until his death in A.H. 1054, twenty-five years. His successor was his brother Isma'īl al-Mutawakkil, who died in A.H. 1087 (A.D. 1676), aged sixty-six years.* The life of the Imām al-Manṣūr al-Ḳāsim forms the subject of a MS. in the British Museum library, Or. 3329.

The biography of an earlier Imām, *al-Mutawakkil 'al' Allah Yaḥya*, will be found in one of the Zaydite MSS. (Or. 3731). Al-Mutawakkil, who died in A.H. 965 (A.D. 1558), likewise claimed to be a descendant of Yūsuf the Dā'y, but the line of descent is separate and distinct from that of al-Ḳāsim.

NOTE 131 to p. 191.—Some words are, I think, here omitted in the text, but the general sense of the passage is sufficiently obvious.

There is some difficulty in arriving at the correct names of the two personages who play so important a part in the history of the Karmathians, or Ismailites, in Yaman. Ibn Faḍl is called Muḥammad by Ibn Khaldūn, so also by Ibn al-Athīr, and probably therefore by other writers whose works I have not within reach. On the other hand, he is called 'Aly not only by 'Omārah, but also by Janadi, Khazraji, etc., by Mas'ūdi and by the author of the *Dastūr*

* The year of al-Ḳāsim's birth is recorded in a chronogram بر تقى و جراد وهب ربك = 967; also the date of al-Mutawakkil Isma'īl's accession رب شرح لى صدرى = 1054.

al-Munajjimīn, whom I have already had occasion to mention (*supra,* Note 26). See also the footnote to the printed edition of Ṭabari, iii. p. 2256.

In the case of his companion, the discrepancies between the different names attributed to him are even greater. But in styling him *Manṣūr,* as if it were a proper name, Janadi and Khazraji have allowed themselves to be led into error, through the fact that the Ismailite emissary was known by the designation *Manṣūr al-Yaman,* he, that is to say, who was endowed with divine assistance in Yaman, meaning further, he who was victorious or who triumphed in Yaman. Khazraji gives him the name of Manṣūr son of Ḥusayn.

The author of the *Dastūr* calls him Abu 'l-Ḳāsim (see *supra,* p. 193), al-Faraj ibn Ḥasan ibn Ḥaushab ibn Zadān al-Kūfi (native of Kūfa). In Maḳrīzi (vol. i. p. 349) we read Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn ibn Faraj ibn Ḥaushab al-Kūfī; in Ibn 'l-Athīr (vol. viii. p. 22), Rustam ibn al-Ḥusayn (or al-Ḥasan) ibn Ḥaushab ibn Dadhān an-Najjār. The difference between the two last mentioned is somewhat singular, seeing that a comparison of the two passages relating to Ibn Ḥaushab clearly shows that both writers have borrowed, whether directly or indirectly, from one and the same source. In Maḳrīzi, it may be remarked, the word *kharraba,* to ruin or devastate, has been wrongly substituted for *ḥaratha,* to plough, with the result of destroying the sense of the phrase.

NOTE 132 to p. 191.—There is here a divergence between the statements of al-Janadi and Khazraji touching the pedigree of Ibn Faḍl, all the more noticeable, since both evidently derive their accounts of the Karmathians in Yaman from the same origin, that is to say, from Ibn Mālik, the writer mentioned in the text.

In Khazraji there is no mention of Dhu Jadan. Ibn al-Athīr, it deserves perhaps to be noticed, says that Ibn Faḍl was member of a family, natives of al-Janad. Al-Khazraji simply says that Ibn Faḍl was descendant of "Khanfar son of Saba son of Ṣafi (Ṣayfi ?) son of Zur'ah (Ḥimyar the younger) son of Saba the younger."

The tribe or family of Khanfar is mentioned by al-Hamdāni (p. 204, l. 10), and elsewhere (p. 53, l. 19) the same writer tells us that Khanfar was the name of a town in Abyan.

NOTE 133 to p. 192.—It is of course altogether out of the question to suppose that Ibn Ḥaushab and Ibn Faḍl were sent to Yaman by Maymūn, or that 'Obayd Allah the Mahdy was his son.

'Abd Allah son of Maymūn, the real author of the Ismailite conspiracy, was perhaps still living when the two emissaries were despatched; but Prof. de Goeje shows that it was doubtless Abdallah's son Aḥmad who organized the mission to Yaman.

'Obayd Allah must at that time have been in his childhood. He died in A.H. 322, at the age, according to Ibn al-Athīr, of sixty-three years.

NOTE 134 to p. 193.—These words are founded upon a traditionary saying of the Prophet. It is cited in both the works of Khazraji preserved in the Leiden Library, and also in the book by ar-Rāzi at the British Museum.

NOTE 135 to p. 194.—Al-Khazraji here adds that Ibn Ḥaushab and Ibn Faḍl arrived in Yaman shortly after the assassination of Muḥammad ibn Ya'fur, an event which we have been told by al-Janadi, on the authority of Ibn al-Jauzi, occurred in the first month of A.H. 279 (*supra*, Note 8, p. 225).

Prof. de Goeje arrives at the conclusion that the Ismailite mission was sent to Yaman in A.H. 266, a date in accord with Maḳrīzi and with the author of the Dastūr. The latter states that the two missionaries were despatched in 266, whilst both agree in saying that they arrived in Yaman in 268 and that the Ismailite supremacy began to be freely preached in 270.

It would follow that Ibn Faḍl's final conquest of Ṣan'ā (see Note 138) must have occurred thirty-one years and Ibn Ḥaushab's death (A.H. 302) thirty-four years after their arrival in the country. It would in fact appear that they laboured for many long years, before they gained the commanding position which they eventually held for a brief period.

NOTE 136 to p. 196.—It will be noticed that Abu 'Abd Allah is here represented as having been sent to Africa by Maymūn, or as it may be understood, by the ruling chief of the Ismailites at that period, and not by Ibn Ḥaushab as is stated by other writers. But it is probably true that

some time previous to his mission, Abu 'Abd Allah was absent from his native country, that he had an interview with the "grand master" (de Goeje, p. 19, footnote), and that he returned thereafter to Yaman.

As regards the question of the date at which his mission to Africa occurred, the year 290 is to be found in Khazraji as in our text. Makrīzi says (vol. i. p. 350) that Abu 'Abd Allah arrived in the country of Katāmah in A.H. 288. In Ibn al-Athīr we read 280, the date adopted by de Sacy, on the authority of Baybars al-Manṣūry and of Abu 'l-Fada. According to Ibn al-Athīr, not only was Abu 'Abd Allah in North Africa before the death (at the latter end of A.H. 289) of Ibrahīm ibn Aḥmad the Aghlabite, but it would further appear that he had previous to that event acquired sufficient power in the country, to enable him to enter into a state of open warfare with the troops of Ibrahīm. (Ibn al-Athīr, vol. viii. pp. 25, 26.) The author of the Dastūr cannot be accepted as a safe guide, but it is not without interest to notice that, although he explicitly mentions the totally inadmissible year 296 as that of Abu 'Abd Allah's arrival, he does so immediately after mentioning figures, 145 + 135 (245 + 35?) which gives us the date of A.H. 280.

The year 296, mentioned in our text as that in which 'Obayd Allah started for North Africa, must be wrong. Our author is, it is true, by no means singular in his error, but Professor de Goeje shows that 'Obayd Allah's departure from Syria occurred, in all probability, not later than AH. 287 or 288.

A statement by the author of the Dastūr may be noted, to the effect that when 'Obayd Allah arrived in Egypt he intended proceeding to Yaman, that he was deterred by news of the insubordination of Ibn al-Faḍl, and that he remained in concealment in Egypt until he departed for North Africa.

NOTE 137 to p. 199.—Professor de Goeje has reproduced these verses from Khazraji. Two lines are added, expressive of the indignation they aroused in the mind of the orthodox Muslim who has preserved them. The two lines are of the same character as the following, interpolated by Dayba', immediately after the passage in which the supposed new Prophet is represented as proclaiming the abolition of prayer and of fasting :—

لعنه الله فی کلّ بلدة   و اخزاه الله فی کل مذهب

May God curse him in every land.—May God abase him whithersoever he go (or *among the followers of all religions*).

NOTE 138 to p. 199.—According to Khazraji, Ibn Faḍl first obtained possession of Ṣan'ā in 293, a statement which is indeed confirmed by Ṭabari (vol. iii. pp. 2256 and 2267), and by Ibn al-Athīr (vii. p. 378). Al-Khazraji's narrative (pp. 34, 35) is to the effect that Dhamār having been seized by the Karmathians, As'ad ibn Ya'fur tendered his submission, but that he fled upon Ibn Faḍl making his entry into Ṣan'ā. The citizens applied for aid to the Zaydite Imām of Ṣa'dah, al-Hādi Yaḥya, who despatched against their enemies an army under the command of his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim Muḥammad al-Murtaḍa. They gained possession of Dhamār and compelled the Karmathians to abandon Ṣan'ā. But the latter recaptured Dhamār from the hands of al-Murtaḍa in A.H. 294, and drove him to seek refuge at Ṣan'ā, where he joined his father. Al-Hādi was now attacked by the troops of As'ad ibn Ya'fur and, the citizens of Ṣan'ā refusing to support the Imām against their old masters, he abandoned the city and retreated to Ṣa'dah. The Karmathians again regained possession of the city for a short period, until they were for a second time expelled with the assistance of al-Hādi. But again the latter was put to flight by the approach of a strong force of the enemy. Al-Hādi died in 298. The Banu Ya'fur once more succeeded in wresting the city from the hands of the Karmathians, but they were themselves soon again driven forth, and Ibn Faḍl, in Ramaḍān 299, made his entry into Ṣan'ā, which remained thenceforth under his dominion, until the termination of his career.

NOTE 139 to p. 201.—These two words have a truly ghastly signification. They are derived from the verbs daḥaṣa, *to agitate one's limbs in the agonies of death*, and shakhaṣa, *to fix one's eyes in the stare of death*. Al-Khazraji calls the place al-Mashāḥīṭ, from shaḥaṭa, *to welter in blood*. Müller's Hamdāni mentions al-Malāḥīẓ, situated on the banks of the river Zabīd (p. 71, l. 17, and 100, l. 21).

NOTE 140 to p. 201.—The author of the Tāj al-'Arūs writes as follows :—

Ḥuṣayb, pronounced like *Zubayr*, is the name of the river (or valley) of Zabīd. It has an excellent climate, and its women are distinguished for their surpassing beauty and for their grace and kindliness. Hence the well-known saying: "On entering the town of Ḥuṣayb put your beasts to the trot"—meaning, hasten your pace lest you fall a victim to the women's fascinations.

See also Hamdāni, p. 53, l. 24, and 119, l. 17.

Note 141 to p. 202.—Abu Sa'īd al-Jannābi was chief of the Karmathian Principality of Baḥrayn. He died in A.H. 301, and throughout his life remained faithful in his allegiance to 'Obayd Allah. I do not know how to explain the allusion in the text to his having declared his independence of the Mahdy, excepting by the fact that his fidelity seems at one time to have been suspected. See de Goeje's Carmathes, p. 69.

Note 142 to p. 211.—Egypt was conquered by Jauhar, the Fatimite general, and the foundations of the fortress of al-Ḳāhirah (Cairo) were laid, in A.H. 358. Al-Mu'izz arrived in Egypt and established the seat of the Fatimite Empire at Cairo in A.H. 362.

Note 143 to p. 211.—Dayba' adds here that Ibn al-Asad exercised the office of Dā'y under the reigns of the Fatimite Khalifahs al-Ḥākim and aẓ-Ẓāhir (A.H. 411-427), and during the earlier years of al-Mustanṣir (A.H. 427-487).

Note 144 to p. 212.—Instead of *al-Aḥrāj* or *Akhrāj*, I think we must read *al-Akhrūj*, which, Hamdāni tells us (p. 106), adjoins the lower country of Ḥaḍūr and was in his day the dwelling-place of the Banu Ṣulayḥi, the Hamdānites. See Dr. Glaser, pp. 38 and 10. He identifies the district with the modern Ḥujrah, shown upon his map, east of Ḥarāz. The place is mentioned, I may add, by al-Mukaddasy, who, according to Professor de Goeje's edition, writes *Ukhrūj*.

GENERAL INDEX.

[*The letters Ḥ, Ḳ, Ṣ, and Ṭ, form separate headings. For geographical names, see page* 352.]

G.

H.

I.

L.

M.

Ṣ.

T.

GEOGRAPHICAL INDEX.

[*An asterisk indicates that the name will be found on the map. The word Wādi signifies either Valley or River. Excepting after heavy rains, the river-beds in Yaman are, as a general rule, dry before they reach the sea.*]

CORRIGENDA.

P. ١ footnote 1, for تزار read نزار

,, ٢ ,, 11, ,, عن طامة ,, عن طاعة

,, ٨ line 7, ,, الحادّة ,, الجادّة

,, ١٦ f.-note 2, for حثمت الخ read حثمت الخ?

,, ١٩ l. 14, for مولاننا read مولاتنا

,, ٢٠ l. 14, لا نزال تري I have read لا يَزَال يري

,, ٢٥ l. 1, for ليست read لستُ

,, ٣٩ l. 19, ,, لبيعة ,, البيعة

,, ٤٠ l. 14, ,, ما منهم ,, مأْمَنهم

,, ٤٣ l. 2, ,, بن ,, ابن

,, ٤٨ footnote 4, for ملا read بلاء

,, ,, ,, 5, ,, اسر ,, اسراء

,, ٤٩ ,, 1, ,, الى وفاه ,, الى ان توفى

,, ,, ,, 5, for ثم ولد الخ ,, نم ولد الخ?

,, ٥٠ l. 14, ,, لبابها ,, لبابها

,, ٥١ f.-note 6, ,, عنس ,, عنس?

,, ٥٥ l. 20, ,, طبمب ,, طبيب

P. ٦٩ l. 9, for الا ستاذون and الا مارة read الامارة and الاستاذون

,, ٧١ l. 2, for و اسعة read واسعة

,, ٨٦ f.-note, for البراسل read التراسل

,, ٨٩ l. 16, for يايا read يابا

,, ,, l. 17, read بل و مولانا بل و رجلنا

,, ,, l. 18, ,, فيضجّ

,, ٩٢ l. 12, ينحدث read يتحدث

,, ٩٣ f.-note 5, for لتصوف read التصوف

,, ١٠٧ l. 19, for ندعوة read بدعوة

,, ١١٠ ll. 5, 6. for لن تكون read ان يكون (see p. ٣٥)

,, ١٢٨ l. 10, for و هو read و هم, as in vol. ii., p. 252 of Ibn Khaldūn's General History.

,, ١٢٩ l. 20, اجوان. So in L. In B, اجواف

,, ١٣٣ l. 3, ظفا read ظفار

,, ١٣٥ f.-noto 2. و ثلا? Add و كحلان?

,, ١٣٠ l. 10. The MS. has دى حدن

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

Ah. Ahdal.

D. Dayba' (Ḳurrat al-'Uyūn).

J. Janadi.

Kan. Ibn Khallikān.

Kdn. (or Kn.). Ibn Khaldūn.

B. Ibn Khaldūn, Bulāḳ Ed.

L. ,, British Museum, Add. 23,272.

P. Ibn Khaldūn, Bibl. Nat., Suppl. Ar. 742 M.

Yak. Yāḳūt's *Mu'jam*.

عليهم ينهبون و يسبّون و يقتلون ثم حصل بين ابن العرجاء و ابن عبد الحميد اتفاق و اقسما البلاد و رجع ابن عبد الحميد عن مذهب منصور و ابتنى جامعا و عمل منبرا و بايع الخطبة لبنى العباس و جعل يتتبع القرامطة حيث سمع بهم حتى افناهم و لم يبق منهم غير شىء ندمة قليلة بناحية مسور كاتمين أمرهم مقيمين ناموسهم برجل يقال له ابن رحدم[1] حازما لا يكاد يعرف ابن قراره خوفا ان يناله المنتاب او غيره من أهل السنّة و هو مع ذلك يكاتب اولاد المهدى الى القيروان و الى مصر و فى ايامه قدم المعزّ بن القائم بن المهدى من القيروان الى مصر و ابتنى القاهرة و جعلها دار اقامته ثم لمّا دنت و فاته استخلف على أهل مذهبه رجلا منهم يقال له يوسف ابن الاسح[2] ثم توفى و ولى الأمر يومئذ الحاكم فكان ابن الاسح يدعو اليه و يبايع له سرّا حتى دنت وفاته و استخلف رجلا يقال له سليمان بن عبد اللّه الرواحى من طلع شبام و كان ذا مال جزيل يدارى به و يدفع به عن أهل مذهبه و كلّما همّ احد من الناس بقتله يقول له انا رجل من المسلمين اقول لا اله الا اللّه كيف يحلّ لكم دمّى و أخذ مالى فيمسكون عنه و لما دنت و فاته استخلف علىّ بن محمد الصليحى و أصله من الاحراح[3] شيع من اشياع حرار[4]

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[1] D. برجل منهم يقال له ابن الطفيل فقتله ابرهيم فانتقلت الدعوة الى رجل منهم يقال له ابن جفتم فى ايام المنتاب بعد موت ابيه ابرهيم بن عبد الحميد الشيعى

[2] D. الاسد [3] ?الاخروج [4] ?حراز

و انه يكمل للدعوة و خشى عجز اولاد منصور عنها و لم يكن ابن منصور علم بما فى كتاب الشاورى فاجاب المهدى للشاورى بالاستقلال و عاد ولد منصور خائبًا فعاد البلاد و هو مضمر السرّ فاوصل جواب المهدى الى الشاورى و صار هو و اخوته يواصلونه و هو يكرمهم و يبجلهم و لا يحجب احدا منهم بل يدخلون عليه متى شاؤا من غير حاجب ثم ان الذى وصل من المهدى دخل عليه فى بعض الغفلات فقتله و استولى على البلاد و لما صار مستوليا جمع الرعايا من أنحاء بلده و اشهدهم انه قد خرج الى مذهب السنة و ترك مذهب أبيه فاعجب الناس ذلك و احبّوه و دانوا له فدخل عليه أخ له أسمه جعفر فنهاه عن ما فعل و قبحه عليه فلم يلتفت اليه فخرج عنه مغضبا و قصد المهدى الى القيروان فوجده قد توفى و قام ابنه بعده القائم و ذلك سنة اثنتين و عشرين و ثلثمائة اعنى موت المهدى و قيام القائم فلبث ابن منصور عنده ثم ان اخاه قتل أهل مذهب أبيه و شرّدهم حتى لم يبق حوله الّا من لا يعرف بل بقى فى البلد جماعة قليلة يكاتبون بنى عبيد بن ميمون الى القيروان ثم ان ابن منصور خرج من مسور الى عين محرم المذكور اولا و كان به رجل من بنى العرجاء سلاطين تلك الناحية و استخلف على مسور رجلا يقال له ابرهيم بن عبد المجيد الشيعى[1] و هو جدّ بنى المنتاب الذى اليه ينسب مسور فيقال المنتاب فلما صار بعين محرم وثب عليه ابن العرجاء فقتله و حين سمع ابن عبد الحميد ذلك[2] خرج من بقى معه بمسور من أهل منصور و حرمه الى جبل الحسب[3] فوثب الناس

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[1] الحميد ؟ التبعى ؟

[2] D. فلزم مسورا و ادعى الامر لنفسه و

[3] D. جبل بنى اعشب

و سبى بناته و كنّ ثلثا اصطفى أسعد منهنّ واحدة اسمها معاذة وهبها لابن اخيه قحطان فولدت له عبد الله الاتى ذكره و الاثنتان صارتا الى رعيين فكانت مدّة حصار المسلمين و أسعد للمذيخرة سنة كاملة قيل انه لم ينزع أسعد فيها درعه و لم ينزل متقلدا لسيفه و انقطعت دولة القرامطة من مخلاف جعفر و لم تنزل المذيخرة خرابا منذ ذاك الى عصرنا و اما منصور فهو على الحال المتقدم لكنّه كان رئيسًا لبيبًا يحبّ المباقاة و لم يبرح فى جهة لاعة حتى توفى قبل ابن فضل سنة اثنتين و ثلثمائة بعد ان اوصى لولد له اسمه الحسن و رجل اخر من أصحابه اسمه عبد الله بن العباس الشاورى كان خصيصًا به و كان قد ارسله الى المهدى برسالة و هدية و صار عند المهدى منه صُورة و معرفة و ذلك أنّ منصورا لما احسّ بالموت جمع بينهما و قال اوصيكُما بهذا الأمر فاحفظاه و لا تقطعا دعوة بنى عبيد بن ميمون فنحن غرس من غروسهم و لولا ما دعونا اليه من طاعتهم لم تتم لنا مراد و عليكم بمكاتبة أمامنا المهدى فلا تقطعا أمراً دون مشاورته فان هذا الأُمر لم آخذه بكثرة مال و لا رجال و لم آت هذا البلاد الّا بغضًا و بلغت ما لم يخفِ ببركة المهدى الذى بشّر به النبى صلعم و كثيرًا ما كان يقول ذلك فى ملأ من الناس ثم لما توفى منصور كتب وصيته الشاورى الى المهدى و هو مقيم بالمهدية يخبره بوفاة منصور و ترك أمر الدعوة مرخى حتى يردّ أمره و اعلم المهدى بانه يقوم بأمر الدعوة قيامًا سافيًا [1] وافيًا دون اولاد منصور و بعث بالكتاب مع بعض اولاد منصور فسار به حتى قدم المهدية و دفع الكتاب الى المهدى فلما قرأه و كان قد عرف الشاورى من وقت قدم عليه برسالة منصور

[1] ? صافيًا

و حمل هداده على حمار[1] له و خرج من المذيخرة مبادرا الى أسعد بن يعفر و لما قعد ابن فضل ساعة احسّ بالسمّ و علم انه قد أُكيد على يد القاصد فأُمر بطلبه فلم يوجد فازداد تبغّيا و أُمر ان يلحق حيث كان و يؤتى به فخرج العساكر فى طلبه بنواحٍ شتّى حتى ادركه بعضهم بوادى السحول عند المسجد المعروف بقيذان فلم يلتزم بل مانع عن نفسه حتى قتل و قبره هنالك و هو مسجد جامع له منارة يزار و يتبرّك به دخلته فى المحرم سنة ست و تسعين و ستمائة و توفى ابن فضل عقيب ذلك ليلة الخميس منتصف ربيع الاخر سنة ثلث و ثلثمائة و كان مدّة امتحان المسلمين بتملكه سبع عشرة سنة و لما علم أسعد بوفاته فرح و كذلك جميع أهل اليمن فرحوا فرحا شديدا ثم كاتبوا أسعد على انه يغزو المذيخرة و يستأصل شان القرامطة فاجابهم الى ذلك و تجهّز بعسكر جرّار من صنعاء و نواحيها ثم لما صار بمخلاف جعفر اجتمع اليه أهله ثم أهل الجند و المعافر و التفت العساكر الى المذيخرة و كان قد خلف ابن فضل ولدا له يعرف بالغافا لعاواه[2] كانت به فحصر أسعد المذيخرة بمن معه من الناس و كانت محطته بجبل ثومان الذى تقدم ذكره عند ذكر الجعفرى الذى يعرف الآن بجبل خولان لانّ به عرباء منهم يعرفون ببنى البِعْم فلم تنزل العساكر فيه و كلّما خرج لهم عسكر من المذيخرة كسرهم المسلمون و تتابع ذلك مرّة على مرّة حتى ذلّوا و خضعوا ثم نصب أسعد على المدينة المنجنيقات فهدس[3] غالب دورها و دخلها قهرًا ثم قتل ابن على بن فضل و جميع من ظفر به من خواصّه و أهله و من دخل بمذهبه

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[1] Or هُداره على حماد [2] بالغافاى لغفاءة ? [3] فهدم ?

ابن جرير و كان عنوان كتب ابن فضل الى أسعد بن يعفر من باسط
الارض و داحيها و مزلزل الجبال و مرسيها علىّ بن الفضل الى عبده
أسعد و كفى بهذا الكلام دليلا على كفره فنسئل الله العصمة و فى اثناء
نيابة أسعد له قدم رجل غريب يزعم انه شريف بغدادى فصحب
أسعد و أنس به و قيل ان قدومه كان بارسال من صاحب بغداد لما
بلغه من تقوّم ابن فضل ليعمل الحيلة فى قتله فلبث عند أسعد مدّة
و كان جرائحيا ماهرا بصناعة الادوية بصيرا بفتح العروق و مداواة الاجرحة
و سقى الاشربة النافعة و لما شدّ خوف أسعد لابن فضل قال اننى
عزمت ان اهب نفسى لله و تصدّقا على المسلمين لاريحهم من
هذا الطاغية فعاهدنى ان انا عدت اليك على تقاسمنى ما يصير
اليك من الملك فاجابه أسعد الى ما سأل فتجهّز الغريب و خرج
من عند أسعد و هو اذذاك مقيم بالجوف ببلد همدان على تخوّفٍ
من ابن فضل فسار الغريب حتى قدم المذيخرة فخالط وجوه الدولة
و كبرآءها و فتح لهم العروق و سقاهم الادوية النافعة و اعطاهم المعجونات
فرفعوا ذكره الى ابن فضل و اثنوا عليه عنده و وصفوه بما فيه من
الصنعة و قيل له انه لا يصلح الا لمثلك فلما كان ذات يوم احبّ
الافتصاد فبحث عنه و طلبه فجى له به و حين وصله الطالب عمد
الى سمّ فعمله بشعرة فى مقدم راسه و كان ذى شعر كثير ثم لما دخل
عليه أمره ان يتجرد من ثيابه و يلبس غيرها من ثياب كانت عند
ابن فضل ثم أمره بالدنو منه ليفصده ففعل و قعد بين يديه ثم أخرج
المفصد و امتصه تبرّيةً له من السمّ ثم مسحه برأسه فى موضع السمّ
فعلق منه بعض شىء ثم فصده بالكحل و ربطه و خرج من فوره

ابن فضل طوّقه بطوق من ذهب و انهمك فى المذيخرة على تحليل محرمات الشريعة و اباحة محظوراتها و عمل بها دارا واسعة يجمع فيها غالب أهل مذهبه نساء و رجالا متزيّنين متطيّبين و يوقد بينهم الشمع ساعة و يتحادثون فيها باطيب الحديث و اطربه ثم يطفى الشمع و يضع كل منهم يده على امراة فلا يترك الوقوع عليها و ان كانت من ذوات محارمه و قد يقع مع احدهم ما لا يعجبه اما لعجز او لغيره فيريد التفلّت منها فلا يكاد تعذره فقد حكى ابن مالك ان رجلا من القوم وقعت يده على عجوز كبيرة محدودية[1] فحين تحقق حالها اراد التفلّت منها فقالت له دو بُد من ذى حكم الامير و دو بالدال المهملة فى لغة بعض اليمانيين بمعنى لا فكأنّها قالت لا بدّ من ذى حكم الامير و ذى بالذال المعجمة بمعنى الذى كأنّها قالت لا بدّ من الذى حكم[2] الامير يعنى ابن فضل و هذه مخزية عظيمة شاغب عنه عمت[3] جميع من انتسب الى التشمعل و هى شىء لم تحقق عن احد غيره و لقد سألت جمعا من الذين يتحقق منهم المذهب فانكروا ذلك و رأيتهم مجتمعين على ان ابن فضل زنديق و ان منصور اليمن من اعيان مذهبهم و اخيارهم و ذلك هو الذى يقرر فى ذهنى و كان ابن فضل لما طابت له المذيخرة و جعلها دار اقامته استناب على صنعاء أسعد بن يعفر المقدّم ذكره استنابه مكانه لأنّه لم يثبت ان أسعد اجتمع به بل كان حذرا من غدره فاقام أسعد بصنعاء نائبا له و هو يودّ ان يأخذ بثار المسلمين منه و هو ايضا حذر منتعص و كان لا يكاد يستقرّ بصنعاء خشية غازية من ابن فضل او هجمة قال

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[1] ? مجدرِدية

[2] Or حكم به

[3] ? عامّة

و قال حجّوا الحرف موضعا بالقرب من المذيخرة و اعمروا الدالى و هو واد بالقرب من الحرف و لما علم ان قد استحكم له امر اليمن خلع عبيد بن ميمون الذى كان يظهر انه داع اليه ثم كاتب صاحبه منصور بذلك فعاد جوابه اليه يعاتبه و يقول له كيف تخلع من لم تنل خيرا الّا به و تترك الدعا اليه فما تذكر ما بينك و بينه من العهود و ما أكّد علينا جميعا من الوصية على الاتفاق و عدم الافتراق فلم يلتفت اليه بل كتب كتابا يخبره و يقول انّ لى بابى سعيد الجنّابى اسوءه اذ قد دعا الى نفسه و انت ان لم تنزل الىّ و تدخل باحانتى[1] نابذتك الحرب فلما ورد كتابه الى المنصور بذلك غلب على ظنه صحته و طلع جبل مسور و اخذ بتحصينه و قال انّما حصنت هذا الجبل من هذا الطاغية و امثاله و لقد عرفت الشرّ بوجهه حين اجتمعنا بصنعاء ثم ان ابن فضل بعد مديدة من تصديره الكتاب تجهّز الى غزو منصور و انتدب لذلك عشرة الاف رجل من المعدودين فى عسكره و سار من المذيخرة حتى دخل شبام فحصل بينه و بين عسكر منصور حرب و تكرر ذلك ثم دخل ابن فضل بلد لاعة و صعد جبل الجَميمه بالجيم مفتوحة و هو جبل فائش على قرب من مسور و هو لقوم يقال لهم بنو المنتاب فاقام به ثمانية اشهر يحاصر منصور فلم يدرك منه طايلا و شقّ به الوقوف و علم منصور بذلك فراسله بالصلح فقال ابن فضل لا افعل الّا ان يرسل الىّ ولده يقف معى على الطاعة و الّا فلا يسمع منى انّنى رحت بغير قضا حاجة و يشيع ذلك عند العالم انى تركته تفضّلا لا عجزا ففعل منصور ذلك و تقدم معه بعض اولاد منصور ثم ان

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[1] Khi, طاعتى

اعجبته أخذ بها الى المنارة و افتضّها حتى قيل انه افتضّ عدّة من البكور و امر[1] ذلك المآء و تحقنه على السقف حتى يوجد اثر ذلك الى اليوم ذكره القاضى سرى الآتى ذكره ثم انّه حلق رأسه فحلق معه موافقة مائة الف نفس و أمر باخراب دار ابن عنبسة ظنّ انه يجد بها ذهبا فلم يجد غير عشرة الاف دينار و ان كان ابن عنبسة من اعيان صنعاء خرج مع اسعد حين خرج فلما بلغه اخراب بيته اخذته بطنه و مات و حين بلغ منصور دخول ابن فضل صنعاء سرّه ذلك و تجهز حتى جاه و اجتمعا و فرح كل منهما بصاحبه ثم خرج ابن فضل الى حراز ثم نزل المهجم فأخذها و سار الى الكدرا فأُخذها ايضا ثم قصد زبيد فهرب صاحبها و هى يومئذ بيد ابى جيش اسحاق ابن ابرهيم بن محمد الواصل من بغداد فقيل هرب و قيل قاتل فقتله ابن فضل و استباح زبيد و سبا الحريم فذكر نقلة الاخبار انّه أخذ منها نحو اربعة الاف بكر سوى الجارح ثم خرج منها يريد المذيخرة على طريق الميراد[2] جبل شرقى زبيد فلما صار بعسكره بموضع يسمّى المداحيص او المشاخيص أمر صايحه فصاح بالعسكر بالنزول فلما نزلوا ناداهم نداء الاجتماع فاجتمعوا اليه و حضروا لديه قال[3] لهم قد علمتم انما خرجتم للجهاد فى سبيل الله و قد غنمتم من نسا الحصيب ما لا يخفى و ليست امنهنّ عليكم ان يفتنّكم و يشغلنكم عن الجهاد فليذبح كل رجل منكم ما صار معه منهنّ ففعلوا ذلك فصار الدم فى ذلك اثره سنين كثيرة و لذلك سمّى بالمداحيص او المشاخيص ثم توجه الى المذيخرة فلما صار بها امر بقطع الطرق لا سيما طرق الحجّ

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[1] أبنّ ? [2] Or الميران ? [3] فقال ?

شرب الخمر و نكاح البنات و الاخوات ثم دخل الجند فى موسمها اوّل خميس من رجب و صعد المنبر و قال الابيات المشهورة و هى

خذى الدفّ يا هذه و العبى و غنّى هزاريك ثم اطربى
تولّى نبى بنى هاشم و هذا نبى بنى يعرب
لكلّ نبى مضى شرعة و هذى شريعة هذا النبى
فقد حطّ عنّا فروض الصلوة و حطّ الصيام و لم تتعب
اذا الناس صلّوا فلا تنهضى و ان صوموا فكلى و اشربى
و لا تطلبى السعى عند الصفا و لا زورة القبر فى يثرب
و لا تمنعى نفسك المعرسين من الاقربين مع الاجنبى
فبم ذا حللت لهذا الغريب و صرت محرّمة للاب
اليس الغراس لمن ربّاه و سقاه فى الزمن المجدب
و ما الخمر الّا كماء السماءِ محلّ فقدست من مذهب

ثم استقام امره و غلب على مخلاف جعفر و الجند عزم[1] على غزو صنعاء و بها يومئذ اسعد بن ابرهيم بن يعفر فمرّ بذمار و أخذ حصن هران و دخل والية و غالب من معه فيه بالمذهب و لحق بقيتهم باسعد بن يعفر و لما سمع اسعد بن يعفر بكثرة جيوشه خرج من صنعاء هاربا و دخلها ابن فضل يوم الخميس لثلث مضين من رمضان سنة تسع و تسعين و مائتين فنزل الجامع و حصل بقدومه مطر عظيم فأمر بسدّ الميازيب التى للجامع و اطلع النسا التى سبين من صنعاء و غيرها و طلع المنارة ثم جعلوا يلقوهنّ الى الماء منكشفات عرايا فمن

[1] ? ثم عزم or و عزم

و تسعين و مائتين و هذا عبد الله الملقب بالمهدى هو جدّ
ملوك المغرب ثم بمصر فابن خلكان يقول فى نسبهم العبيديين
نسبة الى هذا عبيد و ناس يسمّونهم العلويين على صحة دعواهم
فالله عالم بالصواب فهذه نبذة بيّنت فيها حال القرامطة فى اليمن
و حال منصور و الذى دعا اليه و كان منصور ملكا مسدّدا و امّا ابن
فضل فسيأتى من ذكره ما تبيّن حاله فقد مضى نسبه و أصل بلده
فذكر من نقل سيرته انه لما فارق منصورا من غلافقة كما قدمنا ذكره
طلع الجبل و دخل الجند ثم خرج منها الى أبين و هى اذذاك بيد
رجل من الاصابع يقال له محمد بن ابى العلى ثم خرج عنها الى بلد
يافع فلقيهم[1] رعاعا فجعل يتعبد فى بطون الاودية و يأتونه بالطعام فلا
يأكل منه الّا اليسير لمن يحقّق حاله فاعجبوا به و هم يسكنون بروس
الجبال فسألوه ان يسكن معهم فلم يكد يجبهم الّا بعد مدّة حتى الحّوا
عليه فذكر لهم انما يمنعه عن مساكنتهم الّا عدم امتثالهم الامر بالمعروف
و النهى عن المنكر و شرب الخمور و التظاهر بالفجور فحلفوا اله على
الطاعة و ان لا يخالفوه بما أمر فوعدهم خيرا و صاروا يجمعون له زكواتهم
حتى اجتمع له شىء جيّد ثم انه قصد أبين فقتل صاحبها و استباحها
و أخذ اموالا جليلة ثم قصد المذيخرة بلد الجعفرى و كانت مدينة
عظيمة بجبل ريمة فحاربه مرارا كانت الدايرة له فقتله و استباح بلده
و سبا الحريم و قد ذكر ابن مالك ذلك برسالته على اكمل وجه
و ليس هو من ملازم الكتاب فيأنى[2] به و لما صار بالمذيخرة اعجبته
فاظهر بها مذهبه و جعلها دار ملكه ثم ادعى النبوة و احلّ لاصحابه

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[1] Khi, فوجدهم | [2] فيُؤْتى ?

حصن كان لقوم يعرفون ببنى العدعا و نقلت اليه ما كان قد تحصل
عندى من طعام و دراهم فحين سرت اليه بما معى و قد عاهدنى
خمسمائة رجل على النصر صعدوا معى الحصن بما معهم من مال
و اولاد فاظهرت حينئذ الدعوة الى عبيد الله المهدى ابن الشيخ ميمون
و مال الى موافقتى حلق داشر[1] ثم لما أخذ جبل مسور و استعمل
الطبول و الرايات بحيث كان له ثلثون طبلا اذا اقبل الى مكان
سمعت الى مسافة بعيدة و كان للحوالى حصن بجبل مسور له به والٍ
انتزعه منه ثم حين علم استقامة أمره كتب الى ميمون يخبره بقيام
أمره و ظهوره على ما عانده و بعث له بهدايا و تحف جليلة و ذلك
سنة تسعين و مائتين فحين بلغه الأمر و وصلت الهدايا قال لولده
عبيد هذه دولتك قد قامت لكن لا احبّ ظهورها الّا من المغرب
ثم بعث ابا عبد الله الحسين بن احمد بن محمد بن زكريا المعروف
بالشيعى الصنعانى الى المغرب و أمره بدخول افريقية و سياسة أهلها
و استمالهم الى طاعة ولده عبيد فقدم المغرب حيث أمره و كان من
رجال العالم الذين يضرب بهم المثل فى السياسة فلم يستحكم أمره الا
فى سنة ست و تسعين و مائتين فكتب الى المهدى يخبره بقيام
الأمر و طاعة الناس له و يأمره بالقدوم اليه فبادر عبيد الملقب بالمهدى
و قدم افريقية و قد كان الشيعى غلب على ملكها و صار بيده فحين
قدم المهدى سلمه اليه فندمه[2] و ذمّه اخوه و قال له بئس ما صنعت
بيدك ملك تسلّمه لغيرك و جعل يكرر ذلك عليه حتى اثّر عنده
و همّ ان يغدر بالمهدى فبلغه ذلك فاستشعر منه و دبّر عليه من قتله
و قتل اخاه فى ساعة واحدة منتصف جمادى الاخرة سنة ثمانى

[1] ? الخلق بأسرهم | [2] ? فندّمه

الله الله اوصيك بصاحبك خيرًا وقّره و اعرف حقّه و لا تخرج عن أمره فانّه أعرف منك و منّى فان عصيته لم ترشد ثم ودعنا و خرجنا مع الحاجّ حتى أتينا مكّة فحججنا ثم سرنا مع حاجّ اليمن حتى جئنا غلافقة ثم تواصينا لا ينسى أحد منّا صاحبه و لا يقطع خبره عنه ثم سرت حتى قدمت الجند و هى إذذاك بيد الجعفرى قد تغلب عليها و انتزعها من ابن يعفر و كان الشيخ قد قال لى ايّاك ان تبتدى بشىء من أمرك الّا فى بلد يقال لها عدن لاعة فانها البلد الذى يتمّ ناموسك و تنال غرضك فيها فلم اعرفها فقصدت عدن أبين و سالت عن عدن لاعة فقيل لى انها بجهة حجة فسالت عن من تقدم من أهلها فأرشدت الى جماعة قدموا لغرض التجارة و اجتمعت بهم و صحبتهم و تطلعت عليهم حتى احبونى و قلت انا رجل من أهل العلم بلغنى ان لكم بلد جبلا و اريد أصحبكم اليه فرحّبوا و اهّلوا ثم لما ارادوا السفر خرجت من جملتهم و كنت فى اثناء الطريق احدّثهم[1] بالاخبار و احضّهم على الصلوة و كانوا يأتمّون بى فحين دخلت لاعة سألت عن المدينة فيها فأرشدت اليها فاتيتها و لزمت بعض مساجدها و اقبلت على العبادة حتى مال الىّ جمع من الناس فلما علمت ان قد استحكمت محبّتى فى قلوبهم اخبرتهم و انى انّما قدمت عليهم داع للمهدى الذى بشّر به النبى صلّى الله عليه و سلّم فحالفت منهم جمعا على القيام فصار يُوتى لى بالزكوة فلما اجتمع عندى منها شىء كثير قلت انه ينبغى ان يكون لى معقلاً يحفظ به هذه الزكوة يكون بيت مال للمسلمين فبنيت عين محرم و هو

[1] أتحفهم ?

بالتبييت و الوقوف حتى ينظر فى الأمر و كان ميمون فى الاصل يهودي قد حسد الاسلام و اعتاز[1] على دينه فلم يجد حيلة غير العكوف على تربة الحسين بكربلا و اظهار الاسلام و اصله من سلمية مدينة فى الشام و انتسب الى العلويين و اكثرهم ينكر صحة نسبه فالله اعلم و قطع ابن مالك بانه يهودى و صحبه رجل من كربلا يعرف بمنصور بن زادان بن حوشب بن الفرج ابن المبارك من ولد عقيل ابن ابى طالب كان جدّه زادان اثنى عشرى المذهب احد اعيان الكوفة و سكّن اولاده على تربة الحسين فحين قدم ميمون تعرّش بمنصور[2] النجابة و الرياسة فاستماله و صحبه و كان له دينا[3] يستمد بها و كان ذا علم بالفلك فادرك ان له دولة و انه يكون احد الدُعاة الى ولده فلما قدم ابن فضل و صحبه رأى انه قد تمّ له المراد و ان ابن فضل من اهل اليمن خبير به و بأهله فقال ميمون لمنصور يا با القاسم انّ الدين يمان و الكعبة[4] يمانية و الركن و كلّ امر يكون مبتداءه من قبل اليمن فهو ثابت لثبوت نجمه و قد رأيت ان تخرج انت و صاحبنا علىّ بن فضل الى اليمن و تدعوان الى ولدى فسيكون لكما بها شان و سلطان و كان منصور قد عرف من ميمون اصامات[5] كثيرة فاجابه الى ما دعا فجمع بينه و بين علىّ بن فضل و عاهد بينهما و أوصى كلّاً منهما بصاحبه خيرًا قال منصور لما عزم ميمون على ارسالنا اليمن أوصانى بوصايا منها اننى متى دخلت اليمن سترت امرى حتى ابلغ غرضى و قال لى اللّه اللّه مرّتين صاحبك يعنى ابن فضل احفظه و احسن اليه و أمره بحسن السيرة فانّ له شانا و لا آمن عليه ثم قال لابن فضل

[1] ? اعتاذ
[2] ? و لما رأى ما فيه من النجابة
[3] ? ذهنا
[4] Read الحكمة Khi; so also ar Rāzi.
[5] Khi, اصابات

اخبار القرامطة باليمن المنقول من كتاب السلوك للقاضى ابى عبد اللّه يوسف المعروف بالبهاء الجندى

و فى ايامه[1] ظهرت القرامطة علىّ بن فضل ببلد يافع و منصور بن حسن يعرف بمنصور اليمن فحينئذ اذكر نبذة من احوالهما على ما ذكره الفقيه ابو عبد الله محمد بن مالك ابن ابى العبائل احد فقها اليمن و علما السُنة و كان ممن دخل فى مذهبهما ايام الصليحى و تحقق اصل مذهبهما فلما تحقق فساده رجع عنه و عمل رسالة مشهورة يخبر بامور اصل مذهبهم و يتبين عوارهم و يحذر من الاغرار بهم فقال كان على بن فضل من عرب يقال لهم لاحْدون[2] ينسبون الى ذى جدن و كان شيعيا على مذهب الاثنى عشرية فحج مكة ثم خرج مع ركب العراق يريد زيارة مشهد الحسين فلما وصله جعل يولول و يصيح و يقول ليت من كان حضرك يابن رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و سلم حين جاءك جيش الفجرة و ميمون ملازم للضريح و معه ولده عبيد يخدمه فحين رأيا ابن فضل على تلك الحال طمعا فى اصطياده ثم خلا به ميمون و عرّفه انه لا بدّ لولده عبيد من دولة تقوم و يتوارثها بنوه لكن لا يكون حتى تكون بدأتها فى اليمن على يد بعض دُعاته فقال له ابن فضل ذلك ممكن فى اليمن و الناموس جائز عليهم فامره

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[1] اى ايام أسعد بن يعفر | [2] ? الاجدون

بصعدة آووا الى جبل قطابة بشرقى صعدة فلم يزالوا هنالك و فى كل عصر منهم امام شائع بأنّ الامر اليهم الى أن بايع الزيدية أحمد الموطئ و كان فقيها أديبا عالما بمذهبهم قوّاما صوّاما بويع سنة خمس و أربعين و ستمائة و اهمّ نور الدين عمر بن رسول شأنه فحاصره بحصن تلا سنة و امتنع عليه فأفرج عنه و حمل العساكر من الحصون المجاورة لحصاره ثم قتل عمر بن رسول و شغل ابنه المظفر بحصن الدملوة فتمكن الموطئ و ملك عشرين حصنا و زحف الى صعدة فغلب السليمانيين عليها و قد كانوا بايعوا لاحمد ابن امامهم عبد الله المنصور و لقبوه المتوكل عند ما بويع للموطئ بالامامة فى تلا لانهم كانوا ينتظرون استكمال سنه فلما بويع الموطئ بايعوه و لما غلبهم على صعدة نزل له أحمد المتوكل امامهم و بايع له و أمنه و ذلك سنة تسع و أربعين ثم حج سنة خمسين و بقى أمر الزيدية بصعدة فى عقب الموطئ هذا و سمعت بمصر أنّ الامام بصعدة كان قبل الثمانين و السبعمائة على بن محمد من اعقابهم و توفى قبل الثمانين و ولى ابنه صلاح و بايعه الزيدية و كان بعضهم يقول ليس هو بامام لعدم شروط الامامة فيقول هو انا لكم ما شئتم امام أو سلطان ثم مات صلاح آخر سنة ثلاث و تسعين و قام بعده ابنه نجاح و امتنع الزيدية من بيعته فقال انا محتسب لله هذا ما بلغنا عنهم بمصر ايام المقام فيها و الله وارث الارض و من عليها

يقتلوا فاتكا فقتلوه سنة ثلاث و خمسين و خمسمائة و ملكوا عليهم
أحمد بن حمزة فلم يطق مقاومة علىّ بن مهدىّ ففرّ عن زبيد
و ملكها ابن مهدىّ قال و كان عيسى بن حمزة أخو أحمد فى عثر من
حصون اليمن و منهم غانم بن يحيى ثم ذهب ملك بنى سليمان
من جميع التهائم و الجبال و اليمن على يد بنى مهدى ثم ملكهم
بنو أيوب و قهروهم و استقرّ ملكهم آخرا فى المنصور عبد الله ابن
أحمد بن حمزة قال ابن العديم ورث الملك بصعدة عن أبيه
و امتدت يده مع الناصر العباسى و كان يناظره و يبعث دعاته الى
الديلم و جيلان حتى خطب له هنالك و صار له فيها ولاة و أنفق
الناصر عليه أموالا فى العرب باليمن و لم يظفر به قال ابن الأثير
جمع المنصور عبد الله بن احمد بن حمزة أمام الزيدية بصعدة سنة
ثنتين و تسعين و خمسمائة و زحف الى اليمن فخاف منه المعز بن
سيف الاسلام طغتكين بن ايوب ثم زحف اليه المعز فهزمه ثم جمع
ثانية سنة ثنتى عشرة و ستمائة جموعا من همدان و خولان و ارتجت
له اليمن و خاف المسعود بن الكامل و هو يومئذ صاحب اليمن
و معه الكرد و الترك و أشار أمير الجيوش عمر بن رسول بمعاجلته
قبل ان يملك الحصون ثم اختلف أصحاب المنصور و لقيه المسعود
فهزمه و توفى المنصور سنة ثلاثين و ستمائة عن عمر مديد و ترك ابنا
اسمه أحمد ولاه الزيدية و لم يخطبوا له بالامامة ينتظرون علوّ سنه
و استكمال شروطه و لما كانت سنة خمس و أربعين بايع قوم من
الزيدية بحصن تلا للموطئ من بنى الرسّى و هو أحمد بن الحسين
من بنى الهادى لانهم لما اخرجهم بنو سليمان من كرسى امامتهم

صعدة و توفى سنة ثمان و تسعين لعشر سنين من ولايته هكذا قال
ابن المجاب قال و له مصنفات فى الحلال و الحرام و قال غيرة كان
مجتهدا فى الاحكام الشرعية و له فى الفقه آراء غريبة و تواليف بين
الشيعة معروفة قال الصولى و ولى بعده ابنه محمد المرتضى و اضطرب
الناس عليه و هلك سنة عشرين و ثلثمائة لثنتين و عشرين سنة
من ولايته و ولى بعده أخوه الناصر أحمد و استقام ملكه و اطرد فى
بنيه بعده فولى بعده ابنه حسين المنتخب و مات سنة أربع
و عشرين و ولى بعده أخوه القاسم المختار الى ان قتله ابو القاسم
الضحاك الهمدانى سنة أربع و أربعين و قال الصولى ولى من بنى
الناصر الرشيد و المنتخب و المختار و المهدى و قال ابن حزم
لما ذكر ولد أبى القاسم الرسى فقال و منهم القائمون بصعدة من
ارض اليمن أوّلهم يحيى الهادى له رأى فى الفقه و قد رأيته و لم يبعد
فيه عن الجماعة كل البعد كان لابيه أحمد الناصر بنون ولى منهم
صعدة بعده جعفر الرشيد و بعده أخوه القاسم المختار ثم الحسن
المنتخب و محمد المهدى قال و كان اليمانى القائم بماردة سنة
ثلاث و أربعين و ثلثمائة يذكر انه عبد الله بن أحمد الناصر أخو
الرشيد و المختار و المنتخب و المهدى و قال ابن المجاب و لم تنزل
امامتهم بصعدة مطردة الى أن وقع الخلاف بينهم و جاء السليمانيون
من مكة عند ما اخرجهم الهواشم فغلبوا عليهم بصعدة و انقرضت
دولتهم بها فى المائة السادسة قال ابن سعيد و كان من بنى سليمان
حين خرجوا من مكة الى اليمن أحمد بن حمزة بن سليمان
فاستدعاه اهل زبيد لينصرهم على علىّ بن مهدى الخارجى حين
حاصرهم وبها فاتك بن محمد من بنى نجاح فاجابهم على أن

الباخودة و كان تاجرا كثير المال تقرّب الى صاحب مرباط بالتجارة حتى استوزره ثم هلك فملك احمد الباخودة ثم خربها و خرب ظفا سنة تسع عشرة و ستمائة و بنى على الساحل مدينة ظُفَار بضم الظاء المعجمة و سماها الاحمدية باسمه و خرّب القديمة لانها لم يكن لها مرسى

نجران قال صاحب الكمائم هى صقع منفرد عن اليمن و قال غيره هى من اليمن قال البيهقى مسافتها عشرون مرحلة و هى شرقىّ صنعآء و شماليها و توالى الحجاز و فيها مدينتان نجران و جُرَش متقاربتان فى القدر و البادية غالبة عليها و سكانها كالاعراب و بها كعبة نجران بنيت على هيئة غمدان كعبة اليمن و كانت طائفة من العرب تحج اليها و تنحر عندها و تسمى الدير و بها كان قس بن ساعدة يتعبد و نزلها من القحطانيه طائفة من جُرهم ثم غلبهم عليها بنو حمير و صاروا ولاة للتبابعة و كانوا كل من ملك منهم يلقب الافعى و كان منهم افعى نجران و اسمه القَلَمّس بن عمرو بن همدان بن مالك بن منتاب بن زيد بن وائل بن حمير كان كاهنا و هو الذى حكم بين أولاد نزار لما أتوه حسبما هو مذكور و كان واليا على نجران لبلقيس فبعثته الى سليمان عليه السلام و آمن و بثّ دين اليهودية فى قومه و طال عُمره و يقال انّ البحرين و المشَلل كانتا له قال البيهقى ثم نزل نجران بنو مذحج و استولوا عليها و منهم بنو الحرث بن كعب و قال غيره لما خرجت اليمانيه فى سيل العرم مرّوا بنجران فحاربتهم مذحج و منها افترقوا قال ابن حزم و نزل فى جوار مذحج بالصلح الحارث بن كعب ابن عبد الله بن مالك بن نصر بن

الشحر من ممالك جزيرة العرب مثل الحجاز و اليمن و هو منفصل عن حضرموت و عمان و الذى يسمى الشحر قصبته و لا زرع فيه و لا نخل انما اموالهم الابل و المعز و معاشهم من اللحوم و الالبان و من السمك الصغار و يعلفونها للدواب و تسمى هذه البلاد أيضا بلاد مهرة و بها الابل المهرية و قد يضاف الشحر الى عمان و هو ملاصق لحضرموت و قيل هو ساحلها و فى هذه البلاد يوجد اللبان و فى ساحله العنبر الشحرى و هو متصل فى جهة الشرق و من غربيها بساحل البحر الهندى الذى عليه عدن و فى شرقيها ببلاد عمان و جنوبها بحر الهند مستطيلة عليه و شمالها حضرموت كانها ساحل لها و يكونان معا لملك واحد و هى فى الاقليم الاوّل و أشدّ حرّا من حضرموت و كانت فى القديم لعاد و سكنها بعدهم مهرة من حضرموت أو من قضاعة و هم كالوحوش فى تلك الرمال و دينهم الخارجية على رأى الاباضية منهم و أوّل من نزل بالشحر من القحطانية مالك بن حمير خرج على أخيه وائل و هو ملك بقصر غمدان فحاربه طويلا و مات مالك فولى بعده أبنه قضاعة بن مالك فلم يزل السكسك ابن وائل يحاربه الى ان قهره و اقتصر قضاعة على بلاد مهرة و ملك بعده ابنه الحاف ثم مالك بن الحاف و انتقل الى عمان و بها كان سلطانه قال البيهقى و ملك مهرة ابن حيدان بن الحاف بلاد قضاعة و حارب عمه مالك بن الحاف صاحب عمان حتى غلبهم عليها و ليس لهم اليوم فى غير بلادهم ذكر و ببلاد الشحر مدينة مرباط و ظفار على وزن نزال و ظفار دار ملك التبابعة و مرباط بساحل الشحر و قد خربت هاتان المدينتان و كان أحمد بن محمد بن محمود الحميرى و لقبه

و منهم اليمامة التى سميت مدينة جَوّ بها و اخبارها معروفة ثم استولى على اليمامة بعد طسم و جديس بنو حنيفة و كان منهم هودَةُ بن عدى[1] ملك اليمامة و تتوّج و يقال انما كانت خرزات تنظم و لم يتتوَّج احد من بنى معدّ قط ثم كان تمامة بن اثالٍ[2] ملك اليمامة على عهد النبوّة و أسر و أسلم و ثبت عند الردّة و كان منهم مسيلمة و اخباره معروفة قال ابن سعيد و سألت عرب البحرين و بعض مذحج لمن اليمامة اليوم فقالوا لعرب من قيس عيلان و ليس لبنى حنيفة بها ذكر

بلاد حضرموت قال ابن حوقل هى فى شرقى عدن بقرب البحر و مدينتها صغيرة و لها أعمال عريضة و بينها وبين عدن و عمان من الجهة الاخرى رمال كثيرة تعرف بالاحقاف و كانت مواطن لعاد و بها قبر هود عليه السلام و فى وسطها جبل شَبَام و هى فى الاقليم الاوّل و بعدها عن خط الاستواء ثنتا عشرة درجة و هى معدودة من اليمن بلد نخل و شجر و مزارع و أكثر اهلها يحكمون بأحكام علىّ و فاطمة و يبغضون عليا للتحكم و أكبر مدينة بها الآن قلعة شبام فيها خيل الملك و كانت لعاد مع الشحر و عمان ثم غلبهم عليها بنو يعرب بن قحطان و يقال انّ الذى دلّ عادا على جزيرة العرب هو رقيم بن ارَم كان سبق اليها مع بنى[3] هود فرجع الى عاد و دلّهم عليها و على دخولها بالجُوار فلما دخلوا غلبوا على من فيها ثم غلبهم بنو يعرب بن قحطان بعد ذلك و ولى على البلاد فكانت ولاية ابنه حضرموت على هذه البلاد و به سميت

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[1] Read هوذة بن على [2] Read ثمامة بن أُثال [3] ? النبى

و الجبال و نجد من اليمن و الحجاز كَسَراة الفرس و بنو نهد من قضاعة سكنوا اليمن جوار خثعم و هم كالوحوش و العامّة تسميهم السَّرْوَ و أكثرهم أخلاط من بجيلة و خثعم و من بلادهم تبالة يسكنها قوم من عنز بن وائل و لهم بها صولة و هى التى وليها الحجاج و استحقرها فتركها

البلاد المضافة الى اليمن

اوّلها اليمامة قال البيهقى هو بلد منقطع بعمله و التحقيق انه من الحجاز كما هى نجران من اليمن و كذا قال ابن حَوْقَل و هى دونها فى المملكة و ارضها تسمى العَرُوض لاعتراضها بين الحجاز و البحرين ففى شرقيها البحرين و غربيها أطراف اليمن و الحجاز و جنوبها نجران و شمالها نجد من الحجاز و فى طولها عشرون مرحلة و هى على أربعة ايام من مكة و قاعدتها حَجْر بالفتح و بلد اليمامة كانت مقرّا لملوك قبل بنى حنيفة ثم اتخذ بنو حنيفة حجرا و بينهما يوم و ليلة و بظواهرها أحياء من بنى يربوع من تميم و أُحياء من بنى عجل قال البكرى و اسمها جَوّ و سميت باسم زرقآء اليمامة سماها بذلك تبع الآخر و هى فى الاقليم الثانى مع مكة و بعدهما عن خط الاستواء واحدٌ و من منازلها تُوضِح و قَرْقَرَا و قال الطبرى انّ رمل عالج بين اليمامة و الشحر و هى من أرض وبار و كانت اليمامة و الطائف لبنى هِزَّان بن يعفُر بن السَّكْسَك و غلبتهم عليها طَسْمٌ و جَدِيس ثم غلب بنو هِزَّان آخرا و ملكوا اليمامة و طسم و جديس فى تبعهم و كان آخر ملوك بنى هزان قُرط بن جعفر فمات و غلبتهم طسم على الملك و كان منهم عمليق و اخباره معروفة ثم غلبت جديس

مخلاف بنى أصبح هو بوادى سحول و ذو أصبح الذى ينسبون اليه قد تقدّم ذكره فى انساب حمير من التبابعة و الاقيال و مخلاف يحصب مجاور له و هو أخو أصبح

مخلاف بنى وائل مدينة هذا المخلاف شاحط و صاحبها أسعد بن وائل و بنو وائل بطن من ذى الكلاع و ذو الكلاع من سبا تغلبوا على هذه البلاد عند مهلك الحسن[1] ابن سلامة عامل الجبال لبنى نجاح

مخلاف يربوع من الجبال تغلّب عليه بنو عبد الواحد بعد موت الحسن[1] بن سلامة و كان اهل الاطراف قد استبدوا على الثغور فقاتلهم الحسن[1] ابن سلامة حتى عادوا الى الطاعة و اختط مدينة الكدراء على مخلاف سهام و مدينة المعقر على وادى ذوال و مات سنة ثنتين و أربعمائة

بلاد كندة و هى من جبال اليمن مما يلى حضرموت و ابجر و الرمل و كان لهم بها ملوك و قاعدتهم دَمّون ذكرها امرؤ القيس فى شعره

بلاد مذحِج توالى جهات الجَنَد من الجبال و ينزلها من مذحج عَنْس و زُبَيد و مراد و من عَنْس بافريقية فرقة وبرية مع ظواعن اهلها و من زُبيد بالحجاز بنو حرب بين مكة و المدينه و بنو زبيد الذى بالشام و الجزيره فهم من طَىّء و ليسوا من هؤلاء

بلاد بنى نهد فى أُجوان السروات و تَبَالَة و السَروات بين تهامة

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[1] حسين

المظفر بحصار حصن الدَّمْلُوَة فتمكن الموطئ و ملك حصون اليمن و زحف الى صعدة و بايعه السليمانيون و امامهم أُحمد المتوكل كما مرّ فى أخبار بنى الرسى

و اما قطابة فهو جبل شاهق شرقى صعدة و فيه حصن و قُرى و أنْضَوَى اليه بنو الهادى عند ما غلبهم بنو سليمان على صعدة الى ان كان ما ذكرناه

حراز و مسار اما حراز فهو اقليم من بلاد همدان و حراز بطن من بطونهم كان منهم الصُّليحى و حصن مسار هو الذى ظهر فيه الصليحى و هو من اقليم حراز قال البيهقى بلادهم شرقية بجبال اليمن و تفرّقوا فى الاسلام و لم تبق لهم قبيلة وبريَّة الا فى اليمن و هو أعظم قبائله و بهم قام الموطئ و ملكوا جملة من حصون الجبال و لهم بها اقليم بكيل و اقليم حاشد و هما ابنا جُشَم ابن حَبْوان[1] بن نوف بن همدان قال ابن حزم و من بكيل و حاشد افترقت قبائل همدان انتهى و من همدان بنو الزريع أصحاب السلطنة و الدعوة فى عدن و الجوة و منهم بنو يام قبيل الصليحى و بنو همدان سبعة[2] و هم الآن فى نهاية من التشيع ببلادهم و أكثرهم زيدية

بلاد خولان قال البيهقى هى شرقية من جبال اليمن و متصلة ببلاد همدان و هى حصون الجبال و مخلاف جعفر دخلوا اليها فى الدولة الصليحية و تغلب بنو الزرّ منهم على حصن خُدَد و التعكر و غيرهما و هم أعظم قبائل اليمن مع همدان و لهم بطون كثيرة و افترقوا على بلاد الاسلام و لم يبق منهم وبَرِيَّة الا باليمن

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[1] Read خيوان | [2] شيعة ?

لداعى ابن المظفر و الداعى النزريعى الى أن بقى بيده حصن تعز
فأخذه منه ابن مهدى

معقل أشيح من اعظم حصون الجبال و فيه خزائن بنى المظفر
و كان للداعى المنصور ابى حمير سبا بن أحمد بن المظفر من
الصليحيين صارت له بعيد المكرّم ابن عمه صاحب ذى جبلة و قلده
المستنصر الدعوة و توفى سنة ست و ثمانين و أربعمائة و غلب ابنه
علىٌّ على معاقل الملك أشيح و أعيا المفضّل أمرُهُ الى ان تحيل
عليه و قتله بالسمّ و صارت حصون بنى المظفر لبنى أبى البركات ثم
مات المفضل و خلف ابنه منصور و استقل بملك أبيه بعد حين
وباع جميع الحصون فباع ذا جبلة من الداعى الزريعى صاحب عدن
بمائة ألف دينار و حصن صبر بعد ان كان حلف بالطلاق على بيعه
فطلق زوجته الحرّة و تزوجها النزريعى و طال عمره بملك ابن عشرين
و بقى فى الملك ثمانين و أخذ منه معقل تعز على بن مهدى

صعدة مملكتها تلو مملكة صنعاء و هى فى شرقيها و فى هذه
المملكة ثلاثة قواعد صَعْدة وجبل قطابة و حصن تلا[1] و حصون أُخرى
و تعرف كلها ببنى الرسى و قد تقدّم ذكر خبره

و اما حصن تلا[1] فمنه كان ظهور الموطئ الذى اعاد امامة الزيدية
لبنى الرسى بعد ان استولى عليها بنو سليمان فأووا الى جبل قطابة
ثم بايعوا لأحمد الموطئ سنة خمس و أربعين و ستمائة و كان فقيها
عابدا و حاصره نور الدين بن رسول فى هذا الحصن سنة ثم جمّر عليه
عسكرا للحصار ثم مات ابن رسول سنة ثمان و أربعين و شغل ابنه

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[1] Read ثلا

حصونهم الى ان انقرض أُمرهم على يد على بن مهدى و كان لهم مخلاف جعفر الذى منه مدينة ذى جبلة و معقل التعكر و هو مخلاف الجند و مخلاف معافر و مقر ملكهم السّمدان و هو أحصن من الدّملوه

قلعة منهاب من قلاع صنعاء بالجبال ملكها بنو زريع و استبدّ بها منهم المفضل بن على بن راضى بن الداعى محمد بن سبا بن زريع نعته صاحب الخريدة بالسلطان و قال كانت له قلعة منهاب و كان حيا سنة ست و ثمانين و خمسمائة و صارت بعده لاخيه الاعزّ ابى على[1]

جبل المذيخرة و هو بقرب صنعآءَ و قد اختط جعفر مولى ابن زياد سلطان اليمن مخلاف جعفر فنسب اليه

عدن لاعة بجانب المذيخرة أوّل موضع ظهرت فيه دعوة الشيعة باليمن و منها محمد بن الفضل الداعى و وصل اليها أبو عبد الله الشيعى صاحب الدعوة بالمغرب و فيها قرأ علىّ بن محمد الصليحى صبيا و هى دار دعوة اليمن و كان محمد بن الفضل داعيا على عهد أبى الجيش بن زياد و أسعد بن يعفر

بيحان ذكرها عمارة فى المخاليف الجبلية و ملكها نشوان بن سعيد القحطانى

تعز من أجلّ معاقل الجبال المطلة على تهامة ما زال حصنا للملوك و هو اليوم كرسى لبنى رسول و معدود فى الامصار و كان به من ملوك اليمن منصور بن المفضل بن ابى البركات من اقارب الصليحيين و ابوه صاحب معقل أَشيَح و استولى على حصون بنى ابى البركات و بنى المظفر و ورثها عنه ابنه منصور ثم باعها حصنا حصنا من

[1] Read بن على ?

و النعكر و حصن خُدَد و لما غلبت خولان على حصن خدد من يد عبد الله بن يعلى الصليحى و لحق بحصن مصدود كما ذكرناه ثم غلبوه على حصن مصدود و استولى عليه منهم زكريا بن شَكِير البحرى و كان بنو الكُرُندى من حمير ملوكا قبل بنى الصليحى باليمن و انتزع بنو الصليحى ملكهم و كان لهم مخلاف جعفر بحصونه و مخلاف معافر و مخلاف الجند و حض و حصن سمدان ثم استقرّت لمنصور بن المفضل بن ابى البركات و باعها من بنى الزريع كما مرّ

صنعآء قاعدة التبابعة قبل الاسلام و أوّل مدينة اختطت باليمن و بنتها فيما يقال عاد و كانت تسمى أُوال من الاوّلية بلغتهم و قصر غمدان قريب منها أحد البيوت السبعة بناه الضحاك باسم الزهرة و حجت اليه الامم و هدمه عثمان و صنعاء أشهر حواضر اليمن و هى فيما يقال معتدلة و كان فيها أوّل المائة الرابعة بنو يعفر من التبابعة و دار ملكهم كحلان و لم يكن لها نباهة فى الملك الى ان سكنها بنو الصليحى و غلب عليها الزيدية ثم السليمانيون من بعد بنى الصليحى

قلعة كحلان و من أعمال صنعاء قلعة كحلان لبنى يعفر من التبابعة بناها قرب صنعاء ابرهيم و كانت له صعدة و صنعاء و نجران و غيرها من جبال اليمن و حاربهم بنو الرسى ائمة الزيدية الى ان ملكوا صعدة و نجران و اعتصم بنو يعفر بقلعة كحلان و قال البيهقى شيد قلعة كحلان أسعد بن يعفر و حارب بنى الرسى و بنى زياد أيام ابى الجيش

حصن السَّمَدان من أعمال صنعاء كانت فيه خزائن بنى الكُرُندى الحميريين الى أن ملكه على الصليحى و رد عليهم المكرم بعض

الدولة داعيا و نزل مدينة جَنَد و اعتضد بهمدان فحاربته السيدة بجنب و خولان الى ان ركب البحر و غرق و كان يتولى أُمورها المفضل بن أُبى البركات بعد زوجها المكرّم و استولى عليها

التعكر من مخلاف جعفر كان لبنى الصليحى ثم لسيدة من بعدهم ثم طلبه منها المفضل بن أُبى البركات فسلمته اليه و أُقام به الى ان سار الى زبيد و حاصر فيها بنى نجاح و طالت غيبته فثار بالتعكر جماعة من الفقهاء و قتلوا نائبه و بايعوا لابراهيم ابن زيدان منهم و هو عم عمارة الشاعر و استظهروا بخولان فرجع المفضل و حاصرهم كما مرّ ذكر ذلك من قبل

حصن خُدَد كان لعبد الله بن يعلى الصليحى و هو من مخلاف جعفر و كان المفضل قد أُدخل من خولان فى حصون المخلاف عددا كثيرا من بنى بحر و بنى منبه و رزاح و شعب فلما مات المفضّل ملكت خولان حصن التعكر و بقى ذو جبلة لمنصور بن المفضل فى كفالة سيدة كما مرّ و وثب مسلم بن الزرّ من خولان فى حصن خُدَد و ملكه من يد عبد اللّه بن يعلى الّصليحى و لحق عبد اللّه بحصن مَصْدُود و رشحته سيدة لمكان المفضل و استخلصته و اخويه عمران و سليمان و مات مسلم فملك ولده سليمان حصن خدد مع سيدة مكان اخيه مسلم و زوجته بنت القائد فتح عاملها على التعكر فغدر بفتح و ملك التعكر من يده و استطالت ايدى خولان على الرعايا و استظهرت سيدة عليهما بجنب و كان عمران و سلمان ناصحين فى خدمتها وهم اللذان اخرجا الداعى ابن نجيب الدولة من مدينة الجند و من اليمن بأمرها

حصن مصدود من حصون مخلاف جعفر وهى خمسة ذو جبلة

عدن من ممالك اليمن فى جنوب زبيد وهى كرسى عملها و هى على ضفة البحر الهندى و كانت بلد تجارة منذ أيام التبابعة و بعدها عن خط الاستواء ثلاث عشرة درجة و لا تنبت زرعا و لا شجرا و معاشهم السمك و هى ركاب الهند من اليمن و أوّل ملكها لبنى معن بن زائدة استقاموا لبنى زياد و أعطوهم الاتاوة و لما ملك الصليحيون أقرّهم الداعى بها ثم اخرجهم ابنه أحمد المكرّم و ولاها بنى الكرم من جشم بن يام رهطه من همدان و صفا الملك فيها لبني الزّرَيع منهم و ورث دعوة الصليحيين و ملكهم و قد تقدم خبر ذلك كله و لما ملك على بن مهدى لم يظفر بها منهم و قنع منهم بالاتاوة حتى ملكها من أيديهم شمس الدولة بن أيوب كما تقدّم

عدن أبين من بُنَيات المدن و هى الى جهة الشِّحْر

الزعازع باودية عدن و كانت لبنى مسعود بن الكرم المقارعين لبنى الزريع

الجَوَّة اختطها ملوك الزريعيين قرب عدن و نزلها بنو أيوب ثم انتقلوا الى تعز

حصن ذى جبلة من حصون مخلاف جعفر اختطه عبد الله الصليحى أخو الداعى سنة ثمان و خمسين و أربعمائة و انتقل اليه ابنه المكرّم من حصن صنعاء و زوجه سيدة بنت أحمد المستبدّة عليه و هى التى كملت تشييده سنة ثمانين و مات المكرّم و قد فوّض الامر فى الملك و الدعوة الى سبا بن احمد بن المظفر الصليحى و كان فى معقل أشيح و كانت تستظهر بقبيل جَنْب و كانوا خاملين فى الجاهلية و ظهروا بمخلاف جعفر ثم وصل من مصر ابن نجيب

البحر و كان سليمان بن طرف ممتنعا بها على ابى الجيش بن زياد و كان مبلغ ارتفاعه خمسمائة ألف دينار ثم دخل فى طاعته و خطب له و حمل المال ثم صارت هذه المملكة للسليمانيين من بنى الحسن امراءِ مكة حين طردهم الهواشم عن مكة و كان غالب بن يحيى منهم يؤدّى الاتاوة لصاحب زبيد و به استعان مفلح الفاتكى على سرور ثم ملك بعد غانم عيسى بن حمزة من بنيه و لما ملك الغزّ اليمن أُخذ يحيىُ أخو عيسى اسيرا و سيق الى العراق فحاول عليه عيسى فتخلصه من الأَسر و رجع الى اليمن فقتل أخاه عيسى و ولى مكانه

المهجم من أعمال زبيد على ثلاثة مراحل عنها و عربها من سعد العشيرة من حكم و جعفر[1] قبيلتين منهم و يجلب منها الزنجبيل

السِّرَين آخر أعمال تهامة من اليمن و هى على البحر دون سور و بيوتها اخصاص و ملكها راجح بن قتادة سلطان مكة أعوام الخمسين و ستمائة و له قلعة على نصف مرحلة منها

الزّرائِب من الاعمال الشمالية عن زبيد و كانت لابن طرف و اجتمع له فيها عشرون ألفا من الحبشة و لما ثار الداعى الصليحى لقيه بها فى نحو من ثلاثة آلاف فهزمه و قتل الحبشة الذين معه جميعا و قال ابن سعيد فى اعمال زبيد و الاعمال التى فى الطريق الوسطى بين البحر و الجبال و هى فى خط زبيد فى شماليها وهى الجادّة الى مكة قال عمارة هى الجادّة السلطانية منها الى البحر يوم أو دونه و كذلك الى الجبال و يجتمع الطريقان الوسطى و الساحلية فى السرين و يفترقا

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[1] جُعفى ?

و لنذكر الآن طرفا من الكلام على قواعد اليمن و مدنه واحدةً واحدةً كما أشار اليه ابن سعيد

اليمن من جزيرة العرب تشتمل على كراسىّ سبعة للملك و هى على قسمين تهامة و الجبال ففى تهامة مملكتان مملكة زبيد و مملكة عدن و معنى تهامة ما انخفض من بلاد اليمن مع ساحل البحر من السرين من جهة الحجاز الى آخر أعمال عدن دورة البحر الهندى قال ابن سعيد و جزيرة العرب فى الاقليم الاوّل و يحيط بها البحر الهندى من جنوبها و بحر السويس من غربها و بحر فارس من شرقها و كانت اليمن قديما للتبابعة و هى اخصب من الحجاز وأكثر اهلها القحطانية و فيها من عنز ابن وائل و ملكها لهذا العهد لبنى رسول موالى بنى أيوب و دار ملكهم تعز بعد أن نزلوا الجَوَّةَ اوّلا و بصعدة من اليمن أئمة الزيدية

زبيد و هى من مملكة اليمن شمالها الحجاز و جنوبها البحر الهندى و غربها بحر السويس اختطها محمد بن زياد أيام المأمون سنة أربع و مائتين و هى مدينة مسورة تدخلها عين جارية جلبها الملوك و عليها غيطان نخل يسكنونها أيام الغلة و هى الآن من ممالك ابن رسول و بها كان ملك بنى زياد و مواليهم ثم غلبهم عليها بنو الصليحى و قد مرّ خبرهم

عَثّر و حَلْى و الشرجة من أعمال زبيد فى شماليها و تعرف باعمال ابن طرف مسيرة سبعة أيام فى يومين من الشّرجة الى حلى و بين حلى و مكة ثمانية أيام و عَثّر هى منبر الملك و هى على

يَبْرَأُ من على و عثمان و يكفر بالذنوب و له قواعد و نواميس فى مذهبه يطول ذكرها و كان يقتل على شرب الخمر قال عمارة كان يقتل كل من خالفه من اهل القبلة و يستبيح نساءهم و اولادهم و كانوا يعتقدون فيه العصمة و كانت اموالهم تحت يده ينفقها عليهم فى مؤنهم و لا يملكون معه مالا و لا فرسا و لا سلاحا و كان يقتل المنهزم من أصحابه و يقتل الزانى و شارب الخمر و سامع الغناء و يقتل من تأخر عن صلاة الجماعة و من تاخر عن وعظه يوم الاثنين و الخميس و كان حنفيا فى الفروع و لما توفى تولى بعده ابنه عبد النبى و انتقض عليه اخوه عبد الله و غلبه على زبيد و خطب له فيها بالامامة ثم غلبه عبد النبى و اخرجه من زبيد و استولى على اليمن أجمع و به يومئذ خمس و عشرون دولة فاستولى على جميعها و لم يبق له سوى عدن ففرض عليها الجزية و لما دخل شمس الدولة توران‌شاه بن أيوب أخو صلاح الدين سنة ست و ستين و خمسمائة و استولى على الدولة التى كانت باليمن فقبض على عبد النبى و امتحنه و أخذ منه أموالا عظيمة و حمله الى عدن فاستولى عليها ثم نزل زبيد و اتخذها كرسيا لملكه ثم استوخمها و سار فى الجبال و معه الاطباء يتخيّر مكانا صحيح الهواء و الماءِ ليتخذ فيه سكنا فوقع اختيارهم على مكان تعز فاختط به المدينة و نزلها و بقيت كرسيا لملكه و ملك بنيه و مواليهم بنى رسول كما نذكر فى أُخبارهم و بانقراض دولة بنى مهدى انقرض ملك العرب من اليمن و صار للغز و مواليهم

و قوى جمعهم و كان يقول فى وعظه دنا الوقت يشير الى وقت ظهوره و اشتهر ذلك عنه و كانت أم فاتك تصد أهل الدولة عنه الى ان ماتت سنة خمس و أربعين و كان أهل الجبال قد حالفوه على النصرة و خرج من تهامة سنة ثمان و ثلاثين و قصد الكِدرآء فانهزم و عاد الى الجبال و أقام بها الى سنة احدى و أربعين ثم اعادته الحرّة أم فاتك الى وطنه و ماتت سنة خمس و أربعين فخرج الى خولان و نزل ببطن منهم يقال له حبوان[1] فى حصن يسمى الشرف و هو حصن صعب المرتقى على مسيرة يوم من سفح الجبل فى طريقه أوعار فى واد ضيق عقبه كؤد و سماهم الانصار و سمى كل من صعد معه من تهامة المهاجرين و امّر للانصار رجلا اسمه سبا و للمهاجرين آخرا سماه شيخ الاسلام و اسمه القوبة و احتجب عمن سواهما وجعل يشن الغارات على أرض تهامة و اعانه على ذلك خراب النواحى بزبيد فقطع سابلتها و اخرب نواحيها و انتهى الى حصن الداثر على نصف مرحلة من زبيد و اعمل الحيلة فى قتل سرور مدبر الدولة فقتل كما مرّ و أقام يتحيّف زبيد بالزحوف قال عمارة زاحفها سبعين زحفا و حاصرها طويلا و استمدّوا الشريف أحمد بن حمزة السليمانى صاحب صعدة فامدّهم و شرط عليهم قتل سيّدهم فاتك بن محمد فقتلوه سنة ثلاث و خمسين و ملك عليهم الشريف ثم عجز و هرب عنهم و استولى على بن مهدى عليها فى رجب سنة أربع و خمسين و مات لثلاثة اشهر من استيلائه و كان يخطب له بالامام المهدى أمير المؤمنين و قامع الكفرة و المعتدين و كان على رأى الخوارج

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[1] B. حيوان ; Read حيدان ?

صغيرين هما محمد و أبو السعود فحبسهما ياسر بن بلال فى القصر و استبد بالامر و كان ياسر ممدّحا كثير العطية للشعراء و ممن وفد عليه و مدحه ابن قلاقس شاعرالاسكندرية و من قصائده فى مدحه

سافِر اذا حاولتَ قدرا   سار الهلالُ فصار بدرَا

و هو آخر ملوك الزُّرَيعيين و لما دخل شمس الدولة سيف الاسلام أخو صلاح الدين الى اليمن سنة ست و ستين و ستمائة و استولى عليها جاء الى عدن فملكها و قبض على ياسر بن بلال و انقطعت دولة بنى زريع و صار اليمن للغُزّ و فيه ولاتهم بنو أيوب كما نذكر فى أخبارهم و كانت مدينة الجَوّة قرب عدن اختطها ملوك الزريعيين فلما جاءت دولة بنى ايوب تركوها و نزلوا تعِزمن الجبال كما يأتى ذكره

اخبار ابن مهدى الخارجى و بنيه و ذكر دولتهم باليمن بدايتها و انقراضها

هذا الرجل من اهل العنبرة من سواحل زبيد و هو على بن مهدى الحميرى كان أبوه مهدى معروفا بالصلاح و الدين و نشأ ابنه علىّ على طريقته فاعتزل و نسك ثم حجّ و لقى علمآء العراق و أخذ الوعظ من وعاظهم و عاد الى اليمن و اعتزل و لزم الوعظ و كان حافظا فصيحا و يخبر بحوادث أحواله فيصدق فمال اليه الناس و اغتبطوا به و صار يتردّد للحجّ منذ سنة احدى و ستين و يعظ الناس فى البوادى فاذا حضر الموسم اتاه على نجيب له و لما استولت أم فاتك على بنى جيش ايام ابنها فاتك بن منصور أحسنت فيه المعتقد و أطلقت له و لقرابته و أصهاره خرجهم فحسنت أحوالهم و آثروا و ركبوا الخيول

الكرم من عشيرة جُشَم بن يام من همدان و كانوا أقرب عشائره اليه فاقامت فى ولايتهم زمنا ثم حدثت بينهم الفتنة و انقسموا الى فئتين بنو مسعود ابن الكرم و بنو الزريع بن العباس بن الكرم و غلب بنو الزريع بعد حروب عظيمة قال ابن سعيد و أوّل مذكور منهم الداعى سبا بن أبى السعود بن الزريع أوّل من اجتمع له الملك بعد بنى الصليحى و ورثه عنه بنوه و حاربه ابن عمه على بن ابى الغارات بن مسعود بن الكرم صاحب الزعازع فاستولى على عدن من يده بعد مقاساة و نفقات فى الاعراب و مات بعد فتحها بسبعة أشهر سنة ثلاث و ثلاثين و خمسمائة و ولى ابنه الاعزّ و كان مقيما بحصن الدَّمْلُوَةِ المعقل الذى لا يرام و امتنع عليه بعدن بلال بن جرير مولى بنى الزريع و اراد ان يعدل بالملك لمحمد بن سبا بن أبى سعود بن زريع من مواليه و خشى محمد بن سبا على نفسه ففرّ الى منصور بن المفضَّل من ملوك الجبال الصليحيين بذى جبلة ثم مات الاعزّ قريبا فبعث بلال عن محمد بن سبا فوصل الى عدن و كان التقليد جاء من مصر باسم الاعز فكتب مكانه محمد بن سبا و كان فى نعُوته الداعى المعظم المتوج المكين سيف أمير المؤمنين فوقعت كلها عليه و زوجه بلال بنته و مكنه من الاموال التى كانت فى خزائنه ثم مات بلال عن مال عظيم و ورثه محمد بن سبا و أنفقه فى سبيل الكرم و المروآت و اشترى حصن ذى جبلة من منصور بن المفضل بن أبى البركات كما ذكرناه و استولى عليه و هو دار ملك الصليحيين و تزوّج سيدة بنت عبد الله الصليحى و توفى سنة ثمان و أربعين و خمسمائة و ولى ابنه عمران بن محمد بن سبا و كان ياسر بن بلال يدبر دولته و توفى سنة ستين و خمسمائة و ترك ولدين

- نجاح ا — مولى مرجان مولى الحسن ابن سلامة النوبى مولى رشيد الحبشى مولى ابى الجيش بن زياد
  - جيّاش ج
    - مُعارك
    - فاتك د
      - منصور ه
        - فاتك و
      - محمد
        - فاتك ز
    - ابراهيم
    - عبد الواحد
  - سعيد ب

استبد عليه منّ الله من مواليهم ثم زريق
ثم سرور الحبشى ثم غلب عليه[1] علىّ
بن مهدي الخارجى و قتله

الخبر عن دولة بنى الزّرَيع بعدن من دعاة العبيديين باليمن و أولية أمرهم و مصايره

و عدن هذه من أمنع مدائن اليمن و هى على ضَفَّة البحر الهندى و ما زالت بلد تجارة منذ عهد التبابعة و أكثر بنائهم بالاخصاص و لذلك يطرقها الحريق كثيرا و كانت صدر الاسلام دار ملك لبنى معن قال البيهقى ينتسبون الى معن بن زائدة ملكوها من ايام المأمون و امتنعوا على بنى زياد فقنعوا منهم بالخطبة و السكة و لما استولى الداعى على بن محمد الصليحى على اليمن رعى لهم ذمام العروبية و قرّر عليهم ضريبة يعطونها ثم أخرجهم منها ابنه أحمد المكرّم و ولى عليها بنى

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[1] Read على فاتك بن محمد

نجيب داعى العلوية فامتنع عليه و هو الذى شيد المدارس للفقهاء بزبيد و اعتنى بالحاج و بنى سور المدينة ثم راود بنت معارك بن جياش[1] و لم تجد بدا من اسعافه فأمكنته حتى اذا قضى وطره مسحت ذكره بمنديل مسموم فتهرأ لحمه و ذلك سنة أربع و عشرين و خمسمائة و قام بامر فاتك بعده زريق من موالى آل نجاح قال عمارة كان احول شجاعا قُدما و كان ولودا ثم عجز بعد حين و لم يستقر احد مكانه حتى قام بالوزارة سرور الحبشى الفاتكى من موالى أم فاتك المختصين بها قال عمارة و فى سنة احدى و ثلاثين و خمسمائة توفى فاتك بن منصور و ولى بعده ابن عمه و سميه فاتك بن محمد بن فاتك و سرور قائم بوزارته و تدبير دولته و محاربة اعدائه و كان يلازم المسجد الى ان دس عليه على بن مهدى الخارجى من قتله فى المسجد و هو يصلى العصر يوم الجمعة ثانى عشر صفر سنة احدى و خمسين و ثار الناس بذلك الشيطان القاتل فقتل جماعة من اهل المسجد ثم قُتِل و اضطرب موالى ال نجاح بالدولة و ثار عليهم على بن مهدى الخارجى و حاربهم مرارا و حاصرهم طويلا و استغاثوا بالشريف المنصور احمد بن حمزة السليمانى و كان يملك صعدة فاغاثهم على ان يملكوه و يقتلوا سيدهم فاتك بن محمد فقتلوه سنة ثلاث و خمسين و ملكوا عليهم الشريف أحمد فعجز عن مقاومة ابن مهدى و فرّ تحت الليل و ملكها على بن مهدى سنة أربع و خمسين و انقرض أمر آل نجاح و البقآء لله

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[1] P. and B., معارك بنت جياش

القُمّ وزير المكرّم و كان حنقا على المكرم و دولته فداخله الوزير خلف و لاعب ابنه الحسين الشطرنج ثـم انتقل الى ملاعبة أبيه فاغتبط به و اطلعه على رأيه فى الدولة وانه يتشيع لآل نجاح و انتمى بعض الايام و هو يلاعب فسمعه على بن القُم و استكشف أمره فكشف له القناع و استحلفه و جياش أثنآء ذلك يجمع أشياعه من الحبشة و ينفق فيهم الامول حتى اجتمع له منهم خمسة آلاف فثار بهم فى زبيد سنة ثنتين و ثمانين و نزل دار الامارة و منّ على أسعد بن شهاب و أطلقه لزمانة كانت به و بقى ملكا على زبيد و تهامة يخطب للعباسيين و الصليحيون يخطبون للعبيديين و المكرّم يبعث العرب للغارة على زبيد كل حين الى ان هلك جياش على راس المائة الخامسة و كانت كنيته ابـو الطّامى و كان موصوفا بالعدل و ولـى بعده ابنه الفاتك بن جياش و خالف عليه أخواهُ ابراهيم و عبد الواحد و جرت بينه و بينهما حروب وكان الظفر له آخرا ثم هلك سنة ثلاث و خمسمائة و نصب عبيده للملك ابنه منصور بن فاتك صبيا لـم يغتلم و دبروا ملكه و جاء عمه ابراهيم لقتاله و برزوا له فثار عمه عبد الواحد بالبلد و بعث منصور الى المفضّل بن أبي البركات صاحب التعكر فجاء لنصره مضمرا للغدر به ثـم بلغه انتقاض أهل التعكر عليه فرجع و لم يزل منصور فى ملكه بزبيد الى ان وزر لـه من عبيده ابـو منصور مَنّ اللّه فقتله مسموما سنة سبع عشرة و خمسمائة و نصب فاتكا ابنه طفلا صغيرا و استبد عليه و قام بضبط الملك و نُعى عليه التعرّض لحُرَم آل نجاح حتى هربت منه أم فاتك هذا و سكنت خارج المدينة و كان قُدما شجاعا و له وقائع مع الاعدآء و حاربه ابن

و تلقب نصير الدولة و تغلب ولاة الحصون على ما بأيديهم و دهش المكرم ابن الصليحى بصنعاء وكاد ان يتضعضع امره وكتبت اليه أسماء أمّه من زبيد تُغريه و تقول انى حبلى من سعيد فادركنى قبل ان تقع الفضيحة عليك و على جميع العرب فتحيل المكرم فى اغراء سعيد بن نجاح بصنعاء على لسان بعض أهل الثغور و ضمن له الظفر فجاء سعيد لذلك فى عشرين ألفا من الحبشة و سار اليه المكرّم من صنعاء و هزمه و حال بينه و بين زبيد فهرب الى جزيرة دهلك و دخل المكرّم زبيد وجاء الى أمّه وهى جالسة بالطاق و عندها رأس الصليحى و اخيه فأنزلهما و دفنهما و ولى على زبيد خاله أسعد سنة سبع و تسعين و ارتحل الى صنعاء ثم رجع اليها سعيد سنة تسع و سبعين و كتب المكرم الى ابى عبد الله بن يعفر صاحب حصن الشعر بان يغرى سعيدا بالمكرّم و انتزاع ذى جبلة من يده لاشتغاله بلذاته و استيلاء زوجته سيدة بنت احمد عليه و انه فُلج فتمّت الحيله و سار سعيد فى ثلاثين ألفا من الحبشة و أكمن له المكرّم تحت حصن الشعر فغدروا به هنالك و انهزمت عساكره وقتل و نصب رأسه عند الطاق الذى كان فيها رأس الصليحى بزبيد و استولى عليها المكرّم و انقطع منها ملك الحبشة و هرب جيّاش و معه وزير أخيه خلف بن ابى الطاهر المروانى و دخلا عدن متنكرين ثم لحقا بالهند و اقاما بها ستة أشهر و لقيا هنالك كاهنا جاء من سَرَنديب فبشرهما بما يكون لهما فرجعا الى اليمن و تقدم خلف الوزير الى زبيد و أشاع موت جياش و استأمن لنفسه و لحق به جياش فاقام هنالك مختفيا و على زبيد يومئذ أسعد بن شهاب خال المكرّم و معه علىّ بن

مرّ و كان لنجاح ثلاثة من الولد مُعارِكٌ و سعيدٌ و جَيَّاش فقتل
معارك نفسه و لحق سعيد و جياش بجزيرة دهلك و اقاما هنالك
يتعلمان القرآن و الاداب ثم رجع سعيد الى زبيد مغاضبا لاخيه
جياش و اختفى بها فى نفق احتفره تحت الارض ثم استقدم أخاه
جياشا فقدم و اقاما هنالك فى الاختفاء ثم ان المستنصر العبيدى
الخليفة بمصر قطع دعوته بمكة محمد بن جعفر أميرها من الهواشم
فكتب الى الصليحى يأمره بقتاله و حمله على اقامة الدعوة العلوية
بمكة فسار على الصليحى لذلك من صنعاء و ظهر سعيد و اخوه من
الاختفاء و بلغ خبرهم الى الصليحى فبعث عسكرا نحوا من خمسة
آلاف فارس و أمرهم بقتلهما و قد كان سعيد و جياش خالفا العسكر
و سارا فى اتباع الصليحى و هو فى عساكره فبيتوه بالمهجم متوجها الى
مكة و كان معه خمسة آلاف من الحبشة فلم يغنوا عنه شيئا فانفض
عسكره و قتل[1] تولى قتله جياش بيده و ذلك سنة ثلاث و سبعين
ثم قتل عبد الله الصليحى اخا علىّ فى مائة و سبعين من بنى
الصليحى و أسر زوجته أسماء بنت عمه شهاب فى خمس و ثلاثين
من ملوك القحطانيين الذين غلب عليهم باليمن و بعث الى
العسكر الذين ساروا لقتل سعيد و جياش فأمنهم و استخدمهم
و ارتحل الى زبيد و عليها أسعد بن شهاب أخو اسمآء زوجة الصليحى
ففرّ أسعد الى صنعآء و دخل سعيد الى زبيد و أسماء زوجة الصليحى
امامه فى هودج و رأس الصليحى و أخيه عند هودجها و انزلها بدارها
و نصب الرأسين قبالة طاقها فى الدار و امتلأت القلوب منه رُعبا

[1] P. و قيل

و وفت لهم به و كفلت عقب المفضل و ولده و صار معقل التعكر فى يد عمران بن الزرّ الخولانى و اخيه سليمان و استولى عمران على الحرّة سيدة مكان المفضَّل و لما ماتت استبد عمران و أخوه بحصن التعكر و استولى منصور بن المفضل بن أبى البركات على ذى جبلة حتى باعه من الداعى الزريعى صاحب عدن كما يأتى و اعتصم بمعقل أشيح الذى كان للداعى المنصور سبا بن احمد و ذلك انّ المنصور توفى سنة ست و ثمانين و أربعمائة و اختلف أولاده من بعده و غلب ابنه علىّ منهم على المعقل و كان ينازع المفضل بن ابى البركات و الحرّة سيدة و أعياهما أمره فتحيل المفضّل بسمّ اودعه فى سفرجل اهداه اليه فمات منه و استولى بنو أبى البركات على حصون بنى المظفر و مات المفضل عن قرب كما مَرَّ و كفلت سيدة ابنه المنصور و كان غير مستقل بالملك ثم نهضت به سنّه فصار له ملك ابيه فى حصن التعكر و قلاعه و ذى جبلة و حصونه و ملك بنى المظفر فى اشيح و حصونه ثم باع حصن ذى جبلة من الداعى الزريعى صاحب عدن بمائة ألف دينار و ما زال يبيع معاقله حصنا حصنا حتى لم يبق له غير معقل تعز أخذه منه على بن مهدى بعد أن ملك ثمانين سنة و بلغ من العمر مائة سنة و الله سبحانه و تعالى أعلم بالصواب

الخبر عن دولة بنى نجاح بزبيد موالى بنى زياد و مبادى امورهم و تصاريف احوالهم

و لما استولى الصليحى على زبيد من يد كهلان بعد ان اهلكه بالسم على يد الجاريه التى بعثها اليه سنة ثنتين و خمسين و اربعمائة كما

بمعقله و سيدة بنت أحمد بذى جبلة و خطبها المنصور سبا و امتنعت فحاصرها بذى جبلة و قال له أخوها لأمّها سليمان بن عامر الزواحى والله لا تُجيبك الا بأمر المستنصر خليفة مصر فراسل فى ذلك و أجيب و وصل خادم من عند المستنصر و أبلغها أمره بذلك وتلا عليها و ما كان لمؤمن و لا مؤمنة اذا قضى اللّه و رسوله أمرا لن تكون لهم الخيرة من أمرهم و انّ امير المؤمنين زوجك من الداعى المنصور أبى حمير سبا بن أحمد بن المظفر على مائة ألف دينار و خمسين ألفا من اصناف التحف و اللطائف فانعقد النكاح و سار سبا من معقل أشيَح الى ذى جبلة و دخل اليها بدار العِز و يقال انها شبهت عليه بجارية من جواريها فقامت على رأسه ليلها كله و هو لا يرفع الطرف اليها حتى أصبح فرجع الى معقله و أقامت هى بذى جبلة و كان المستولى عليها المفضل بن ابى البركات من بنى يام رهط الصليحى و استدعى عشيره جنبًا و انزلهم عنده بذى جبلة فكان يَسْطو بهم و كانت سيدة تأتى التَّعكَر فى الصيف و به ذخائرها و خزائنها فاذا جاء الشتاء رجعت الى ذى جبلة ثم انفرد المفضل بالتعكر و لم ينكر منها و لا انكرت منه ثم سار المفضل لقتال آل نجاح فوثب فى حصن التعكر فقيها يلقب بالجمل مع سبعة[1] من الفقهاء أحدهم ابراهيم بن زيدان عمّ عمارة الشاعر فبايعوا الجمل على أن يمحو الدعوة الامامية فرجع المفضل من طريقه و حاصرهم و جاءت خولان لنصرتهم فصانعهم المفضّل و هلك فى حصارهم سنة أربع و خمسمائة فجاءت بعده الحُرَّة سيدة و انزلتهم على عهد فنزلوا

[1] B. جماعة

أسماء بنت شهاب قد سباها سعيد بن نجاح ليلة البيات فكتبت الى ابنها المكرّم انى حبلى من العبد الاحول فادركنى قبل ان أضع و الا فهو العار الذى لا يمحوه الدهر فسار المكرّم من صنعاء سنة خمس و سبعين فى ثلاثة آلاف و لقى الحبشة فى عشرين ألفا فهزمهم و لحق سعيد بن نجاح بجزيرة دهلك و دخل المكرّم الى أمّه و هى جالسة بالطاق الذى نصب عنده رأس الصليحى و اخيه فانزلهما و دفنهما و رفع السيف و ولى خاله أسعد بن شهاب على اعمال تهامة كما كان و أنزله بزبيد منها و ارتحل بأمّه الى صعناء و كانت تدبر ملكه ثم جمع أسعد بن شهاب اموال تهامة و بعث بها مع وزيره أحمد بن سالم ففرقتها أسماء على وفود العرب ثم هلكت أسماء سنة سبع و سبعين و خرجت زبيد من يد المكرّم و استردّها سعيد بن نجاح سنة تسع و سبعين ثم انتقل المكرّم الى ذى جبلة سنة ثمانين و ولى على صنعاء عمران بن الفضل الهمدانى فاستبدّ بها و توارثها عقبه و تسمى ابنه احمد بأسم السلطان و اشتهر به و بعده ابنه حاتم بن أحمد و ليس بعده بصنعاء من له ذكر حتى ملكها بنو سليمان لما غلبهم الهواشم على مكة كما مرّ فى اخبارهم و لما انتقل المكرّم الى ذى جبلة و هى مدينة اختطها عبد الله ابن محمد الصليحى سنة ثمان و خمسين و أربعمائة و كان انتقاله باشارة زوجته سيدة بنت احمد التى صار اليها تدبير ملكه بعد أمّه أسماء فنزلها و بنى فيها دار العز و تحيل على قتل سعيد بن نجاح فتمّ له كما نذكر فى أخبار ابن نجاح و كان مشغولا بلذاته محجوبا بزوجته و لما حضرته الوفاة سنة اربع و ثمانين عهد الى ابن عمه المنصور سبا بن أحمد بن المظفر بن على الصليحى صاحب معقل اشيح فقلده المستنصر العبيدى و اقام

قرى حراز و يقال انه كان عنده كتاب الجفر من ذخائر ائمتهم بزعمهم فزعموا انّ عليا ابن القاضى محمد مذكور فيه فقرأ علىّ على عامل الداعى و أخذ عنه و لما توسم فيه الاهلية أراه مكان اسمه فى الجفر و أوصافه و قال لابيه القاضى احتفظ بابنك فسيملك جميع اليمن فنشا فقيها صالحا و جعل يحجّ بالناس على طريق الطائف و السروات خمس عشرة سنة فطار ذكره و عظمت شهرته و ألقى على ألسنة الناس انه سلطان اليمن و مات الداعى عامر الزواحى فاوصى له بكتبه و عهد اليه بالدعوة ثم حج بالناس سنة ثمان و عشرين و اربعمائة على عادته و اجتمع فى الموسم بجماعة من قومه همدان كانوا معه فدعاهم الى النصرة و القيام معه فاجابوه و بايعوه و كانوا ستين رجلا من رجالات قومهم فلما عادوا قام فى مسار و هو حصن بذروة جبل حراز و حصّن ذلك الحصن و لم يزل امره ينمى و كتب الى المستنصر صاحب مصر يسأله الاذن فى اظهار الدعوة فأذن له و اظهرها و ملك اليمن كله و نزل صنعاء و اختط بها القصور و أسكن عنده ملوك اليمن الذين غلب عليهم و هزم بنى طرف ملوك عَثَّر و تهامة و أعمل الحيلة فى قتل نجاح مولى بنى زياد ملك زبيد حتى تم له ذلك على يد جارية أهداها اليه كما ذكرناه سنة ثنتين و خمسين ثم سار الى مكة بأمر المستنصر صاحب مصر ليمحو منها الدعوة العباسية و الامارة الحسنية و استخلف على صنعاء ابنه المكرّم أحمد و حمل معه زوجته أسماء بنت شهاب و الملوك الذين معه مثل ابن الكرندى و ابن يعفر التبعى و وايل بن عيسى الوحاظى و امثالهم فبيته سعيد بن نجاح بالمهجم و قتله سنة ثلاث و ستين و اربع مائة و قام بامره بعده ابنه المكرّم احمد و استولى على امره و أقام بصنعاء و كانت أمّه

يعرف عمارة اسمه لتوالى الحجبة عليه ويعنى عمارة مؤرخ اليمن و قيل اسم هذا الطفل الاخير ابراهيم و كفلته عمته و مرجان من موالى الحسن بن سلامة و استبد بأمرهم و دولتهم و كان له موليان اسم احدهما قيس و الآخر نجاح فجعل الطفل المملك فى كفالة قيس و أنزله معه بزبيد و ولى نجاحا على سائر الاعمال خارج زبيد و منها الكدراء و المهجم و كان يؤثر قيسا على نجاح و وقع بينهما تنافس و رفع لقيس ان عمة الطفل تميل الى نجاح و تكاتبه دونه نقبض عليهما باذن مولاه مرجان و دفنهما حيّيْن و استبد و ركب بالمظلة و ضرب السكة و امتعض نجاح لذلك فزحف فى العساكر وبرز قيس للقائه فكانت بينهما حروب و وقائع انهزم قيس فى آخرها و قتل فى خمسة الاف من عسكره و ملك نجاح زبيد سنة ثنتى عشرة و أربعمائة و دفن قيسا و مولاه مرجانا مكان الطفل و العمة و استبدّ و ضرب السكة باسمه و كاتب ديوان الخلافة ببغداد فعقد له على اليمن و لم يزل مالكا لتهامة قاهرا لاهل الجبال و انتزع الجبال كلها من ولاة الحسن بن سلامة و لم تزل الملوك تتقى صولته الى ان قتله على الصّليحى القائم بدعوة العبيديين بالسم على يد جارية بعث بها اليه سنة ثنتين و خمسين و أربعمائة فقام بالامر بعده بزبيد مولاه كهلان ثم استولى الصليحى على زبيد و ملكها من يده كما يذكر

الخبر عن بنى الصليحى القائمين بدعوة العبيديين باليمن

كان القاضى محمد بن على الهمدانى ثم الصليحى رئيس حراز من بلاد همدان و ينتسب فى بنى يام و نشأ له ولد اسمه علىّ و كان صاحب الدعوة يومئذ عامر بن عبد الله الزواحى نسبة الى قرية من

صعدة و اظهر دعوة الزيدية و زحف الى صنعاء فملكها من يد أسعد بن يعفر ثم استردّها منه بنو أسعد و رجع الى صعدة و كان شيعته يسمونه الامام و عقبه الآن بها و قد تقدّم خبرهم و فى أيام أبى الجيش بن زياد أيضا ظهرت دعوة العبيديين باليمن فقام بها محمد بن الفضل بعدن لاعة و جبال اليمن الى جبل المذيخرة سنة اربعين و ثلثمائة و بقى له باليمن من الشَّرَجةِ الى عدن عشرون مرحلة و من مخلافه الى صنعاء خمس مراحل و لما غلبه محمد بن الفضل بهذه الدعوة امتنع أصحاب الاطراف عليه مثل بنى اسعد بن يعفر بصنعاء و سليمان بن طرف بعَثّر و الامام الرّسّى بصعدة فسلك معهم طريق المهادنة ثم هلك أبو الجيش سنة احدى و سبعين و ثلثمائة بعد ان اتسعت جبايته و عظم ملكه قال ابن سعيد رأيت مبلغ ارتفاع جبايته و هو ألف ألف مكررة مرتين و ثلثمائة ألف و ستة و ستون ألفا من الدنانير العشرية[1] ما عدا ضرايبه على مراكب السند و على العنبر الواصل بباب المندب و عدن ابين و على مغائص اللؤلؤ و على جزيرة دهلك و من بعضها الف راس وصائف و كانت ملوك الحبشة من وراء البحر يهادونه و يخطبون مواصلته و لما مات خلف صبيا صغيرا اسمه عبد الله و قيل ابراهيم و قيل زياد و كفلته اخته و مولاه رشيد الحبشى و ولى رشيد على الجبال مملوكه الحسن بن سلامة النوبى و آل الامر فى دولتهم بتوالى الوزارة فى موالى الحبشة و النوبة و استبدادهم عليهم الى ان انقرضت دولتهم سنة سبع و اربعمائة ثم هلك هذا الطفل فولى طفل آخر من بنى زياد أصغر منه قال ابن سعيد لم

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[1] Read العثّرية

له حيطة اليمن من العلويين فوصله و ولاه على اليمن و قدمها سنة ثلاث و مائتين و فتح تهامة اليمن و هى البلد الذى على ساحل البحر الغربى و اختط بها مدينة زبيد و نزلها و أصارها كرسيا لتلك المملكة و ولى على الجبال مولاه جعفرا و فتح تهامة بعد حروب مع العرب و اشترط على عرب تهامة أن لا يركبوا الخيل و استولى على اليمن أجمع و دخلت فى طاعته أعمال حضرموت و الشحر و ديار كندة وصار فى مرتبة التبابعة و كان فى صنعاء قاعدة اليمن بنو يعفر من حمير بقية الملوك التبابعة استبدّوا بها مقيمين للدعوة العباسية و لهم مع صنعاء بيحان و نجران[1] و جرش و كان اخرهم اسعد بن يعفر ثم اخوة محمد فدخلوا فى طاعة ابن زياد و كان فى عَثَّر من ممالك اليمن ايضا سليمان ابن طرف فدخل فى طاعته ثم هلك محمد بن زياد و ولى بعده ابنه ابراهيم ثم ابنه زياد بن ابراهيم ثم اخوه أبو الجيش اسحق بن ابراهيم و طالت مدته الى ان أُسنّ و بلغ الثمانين و قال عمارة ملك ثمانين سنة باليمن و حضرموت و الجزائر البحرية و لما بلغه قتل المتوكل و خلع المستعين و استبداد الموالى على الخلفاء منع ارتفاع اليمن و ركب بالمظلة شأن سلاطين العجم المستبدين و فى ايامه خرج باليمن يحيى بن الحسين ابن القاسم الرسّى ابن ابراهيم طباطبا بدعوة الزيدية جاء اليها من السند و كان جدّه القاسم قد فرّ الى السند بعد خروج أخيه محمد مع أبى السرايا و مهلكه كما مرّ فلحق القاسم بالسند و أعقب بها الحسين ثم ابنه يحيى بن الحسين فظهر يحيى باليمن سنة ثمان و ثمانين و نزل

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[1] P. نجران

فقاتل قيس بن مكشوح و هزموه ثم ولى أبو بكر المهاجر بن أبى أمية على قتال اهل الردة باليمن و كذلك عكرمة بن أبى جهل و امره ان يبدأ بالمرتدة من اهل عمان و يلحق بالمهاجر ثم استقر اليمن فى ولاية يعلى بن منبّه[1] و لقى عايشة بمكة فسار معها و حضر حرب الجمل و ولى علىّ على اليمن عبيد الله بن عباس ثم أخاه عبد الله ثم ولى معاوية على صنعاء فيروز الديلمى و مات سنة ثلاث و خمسين ثم جعل عبد الملك اليمن فى ولاية الحجاج لما بعثه لحرب ابن الزبير سنة ثنتين و سبعين و لما جاءت دولة بنى العباس ولى السفاح على اليمن عمه داوود بن على حتى اذا توفى سنة ثلاث و ثلاثين ولى مكانه محمد ابن خاله يزيد[2] بن عبيد الله بن عبد المدان ثم تعاقب الولاة على اليمن و كانوا ينزلون صنعاء حتى انتهت الخلافة الى المأمون و ظهرت دعاة الطالبين بالنواحى و بايع أبو السرايا من بنى شيبان بالعراق لمحمد بن ابراهيم طباطبا بن اسمعيل بن ابراهيم و ابراهيم اخو المهدى النفس الزكيّة محمد بن عبد الله بن حسن و كثر الهرج و فرق عماله فى الجهات ثم قتل و بويع محمد بن جعفر الصادق بالحجاز و ظهر باليمن ابراهيم بن موسى الكاظم سنة مائتين و لم يتم أمره و كان يعرف بالجزار لسفكه الدماء و بعث المأمون عساكره الى اليمن فدوّخوا نواحيه و حملوا كثيرا من وجوه الناس فاستقام أمر اليمن كما نذكره

دولة بنى زياد بالدعوة العباسية

و لما وفد وجوه أهل اليمن على المأمون كان فيهم محمد بن زياد من ولد عبيد الله بن زياد بن ابى سفيان فاستعطف المامون و ضمن

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[1] Read منيه | [2] Read زياد

و هذا تأريخ اليمن المنقول من كتاب العبر
للعلّامة عبد الرحمن ابن خلدون المغربي

اخبار اليمن و الدول الاسلاميّة التي كانت فيه للعباسيّين و للعبيديّين و سائر ملوك العرب و ابتداء ذلك و تصاريفه على الجملة ثم تفصيل ذلك على مدنه و ممالكه واحدة بعد واحدة

قد تقدم لنا في اخر السير النبوية كيف صار اليمن في ملكة الاسلام بدخول عامله في الدعوة الاسلامية و هو باذان عامل كسرى و أسلم معه أهل اليمن و أمّره النبيّ صلى الله عليه و سلم على جميع مخاليفها و كان منزله صنعاء كرسي التبابعة و انه مات بعد حجة الوداع فقسم النبيّ صلى الله عليه و سلم اليمن على عمال من قبله و جعل صنعاء لابنه شَهر بن باذان و ذكرنا خبر الاسود العَنْسي و كيف أخرج عمال النبيّ صلى الله عليه و سلم من اليمن و زحف الى صنعاء فملكها و قتل شهر بن باذان و تزوّج امراته و استولى على أكثر اليمن و ارتدّ أكثر أهله و كتب النبيّ صلى الله عليه و سلم الى أصحابه و عماله و الى من ثبت على اسلامه فداخلوا زوجة شهر بن باذان التي تزوّجها في أمره على يد ابن عمها فيروز و تولى كبر ذلك قيس بن عبد يغوث المرادي فبيّته هو و فيروز و داذويه باذن زوجته و قتلوه و رجع عمال النبيّ صلى الله عليه و سلم الى أعمالهم و ذلك قبيل الوفاة و استبد قيس بصنعاء و جمع الفل من جند الاسود فولى أبو بكر على اليمن فيروز فيمن اليه من الابناء و أمر الناس بطاعته

لتنال الدنيا بسعادته اوفى حظوظها و قسمها و تصبح الايام مفترة عن ناجذ مبسمها و لمكانك من حضرة امير المؤمنين المكين و محلّك الذى امتنع عن المماثل و القرين اشعرك هذه البشرى الجليل قدرها العظيم فخرها المنتشر صيتها و ذكرها لتاخذى من المسرّة بها باوفى نصيب و تذيعها فيمن قبلك من الاوليا و المستجيبين اذاعة يتساوى فى المعرفة بها كلّ بعيد منها و قريب لينتظم بها عقد السرور و يتضوع عرفها تضوع المندل الرطب منها و الحضور[1] فاعلمى هذا و اعلمى به ان شا الله تعالى و كتب بالتاريخ المذكور و صلّى الله على رسوله سيّدنا محمد و على آله الائمّة الطاهرين و سلّم و شرّف و كرّم الى يوم الدين

ثم انتقل الى مولانا[2] الآمر و ولى الحافظ فكان اوّل سجل وصل منه الى الحرّة الملكة من ولىّ عهد المسلمين و فى السنة الثانية من أمير المؤمنين فاقامت الحرّة الملكة الداعى الاجلّ ابرهيم بن الحسين الحامدى ثم نقلت دعوة الحافظ الى آل زريع و قال[3] حسب بنى الصليحى ما علموه[4] من أمر مولانا الطيب ثم صارت الدعوة فى ولده حاتم بن ابرهيم بن الحسين الحامدى الى هذه المدّة فانتقلت من[5] ولاية الحافظ آل[6] زريع فمنهم الامير الاوحد سبا بن ابى السعود بن زريع بن العبّاس اليامى جمع بين الدعوة و الملك ثم ولده الداعى المعظّم المتوّج المكين داعى امير المؤمنين محمد بن سبا جمع بين الدعوة و الملك قد اتينا فى هذا المختصر على جمل من اخبار الملوك فى جزيرة اليمن و الدعاة

تمّ التاريخ المبارك فالحمد لله الذى بنعمته تتمّ الصالحات

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1 ؟ البخور ؟ الكافور

2 ؟ الامر عن مولانا

3 J. قالت

4 J. عملوه

5 ؟ فى

6 ؟ الى آل

محمد خاتم النبيين و سيّد المرسلين صلّى الله عليه و على آله الطاهرين الائمّة المهتدين و سلّم تسليما اما بعد فانّ نعم الله عند أمير المومنين لا تحصى لها بعدّ و لا تقف عند امدّ و لا حدّ و لا تنتهى الى الاحاطة بها الظنون لكونها كالسحاب الذى كلّما انقضى سحاب اعقبها سحاب هتون فهى كالشمس الساطعة الاشراق الدائمة الانتظام و الاتساق و العيوث المتتابعة الاتصال المتوالية بالغدوّ و الاصال و من اشرفها لديه قدرا و اعظمها صيتا و ذكرا و اسناها جلالا و فخرا الموهبة بما جدده الان بان رزقه مولودا زكيا مرضيا برّا تقيا و ذلك فى الليلة المصبحة بيوم الاحد الرابع من شهر ربيع الاخر سنة اربع و عشرين و خمسمائة ارتاحت الى طيب ذكره اسرة المنابر و تطلعت الى مواهبه امال كل بادٍ و حاضر و اضاءت بانوار عزّته و بهجة طلعته ظلم الدياجر و انتظمت به للدولة الزاهرة الفاطمية عقود المفاصل و المفاخر استخرجه من سلالة النبوة كما يستخرج النور من النور و منح امير المومنين منه بما قدح زناد السرور و سمّاه الطيب لطيب عنصره و كناه ابا القاسم كنية جده نبى الهدى المستخرج جوهره من جوهره و امير المؤمنين يشكر الله تعالى على ما منّ به من اطلاعه كوكبا منيرا فى سماء دولته و شهابا مضئا فى فلك جلالته و رفعته شكرا يقضى باستدامة نعمته و ادرار سحائب طوله و رأفته و نساله [1] ان يبلغه فيه كنه الامال و يصل به حبل الامامة ما اتصلت الايام بالليال و يجعله عصمة للمسترشدين و حجّة على الجاحدين و عونا للمضطرين و غوثا للمنتجعين و وزرا للخائفين و سعادة للعارفين

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[1] Read يسأله

زيارة ابيه مقبورا[1] و هذه الرسوم انّما هى فى العسكرية و امّا الرعايا فالأمر فيهم الطف من أمر العسكرية و قد بلغنى فى هذا الوقت و هو سنة ثلاث و خمسين و خمسمائة ان الأمر قد هان على ما كان عليه من الشدّة

فصل فيمن ولى الدعوة الفاطميه باليمن

فمن ذلك الداعى علىّ بن محمد الصليحى جمع بين الدعوة و الملك ثم ولده المكرّم احمد بن علىّ الصليحى جمع بين الدعوة و الملك ثم السلطان سليمان الزواحى ولى الدعوة دون ذلك ثم القاضى [2] بن ملك الصليحى جمع الدعوة و الحكم دون الملك ثم علىّ بن ابرهيم الموفّق فى الدين ابن نجيب الدولة ولى الدعوة و ملك بأمر الحرّة الملكة بعض اعمالها ثم نما وصل سجل مولانا الامام الآمر باحكام الله امير المومنين عليه السلام بالبشارة بولادة مولانا الامام الطيب ابى القاسم بن الامام الآمر بالنصّ عليه بالامامة الى حجته بهذه الجزيرة اليمنيه بما مثاله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم من عبد الله و وليه المنصور ابي علىّ الآمر باحكام الله امير المؤمنين الى الحرة الملكة السيدة الرضيه الطاهرة الزكية وحيدة الزمن و سيدة ملوك اليمن عمدة الاسلام خاصّة الامام ذخيرة الدين عمدة المومنين كهف المستجيبين[3] عصمة المسترشدين و ولية امير المؤمنين و كافلة اوليائه الميامين ادام الله تمكينها و نعمتها و احسن توفيقها و معونتها سلام عليك فانّ امير المؤمنين يحمد الله الذى لا اله الا هو ويسأله ان يصلّى على جدّه

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[1] Khi, قبر ابيه

[2] Lacuna in MS.

[3] المستنجدين ?

ن اهل القبلة و استباحة الوطئ لسباياهم و استرقاق ذراريهم و جعل
ارهم دار الحرب و حكى لى عنه و العهدة على الحاكى انّه لم يكن
يثق بايمان احد من المهاجرين حتى يذبح ولده او اباه او اخاه ويقرأ
عليه لا تجد قومًا يؤمنون بالله و اليوم الاخر يوادّون من حآدّ الله
و رسوله و لو كانوا اباءهم او ابناءهم او اخوانهم او عشيرتهم اولئك
كتب فى قلوبهم الايمان وايّدهم بروح منه و اعرف صبيا منهم كان
جارا لى و كان يتفقه راحت والدته اليه تزوره فذبحها و امّا اعتقاد
اصحابه فيه فهو فوق ما يعتقده الناس فى الأنبياء صلوات الله و سلامه
عليهم و ذلك ان الواحد من آل ابن مهدى هولاء يحسن عنده ان
يقتل جماعة من عسكره ثم اذا قدروا عليه لم يقتلوه دينا و عقيدة
و اذا غضب على رجل من اكابرهم و اعيانهم حبس نفسه فى
الشمس و لم يطعم و لم يشرب و لم يصل اليه ولده و لا زوجته و لا
يقدر احد ان يشفع فيه حتى يرضى عنه ابتداء من نفسه و من
طاعتهم له ان كل واحد منهم يحمل ما تغزله زوجته و بناته الى
بيت المال و يكون ابن مهدى هو الذى يكسو الواحد منهم و يكسو
اهله من عنده و ليس لاحد من العسكرية فرس يملكه و لا يرتبطه فى
داره و لا عدّة من سلاح و لا غيرها بل الخيل فى اصطبلاته و السلاح
فى خزاينه فاذا عزّله أمر دفع اليهم من الخيل و العدّة ما يحتاجون
اليه و من سيرته ان المنهزم من عسكره يضرب رقبته و لا سبيل الى
حيوته و من سيرته قتل من شرب المسكر و قتل من سمع الغناء
و قتل من زنى و قتل من تاخّر عن صلاة الجمعة او عن مجلسى
وعظه و هما يوم الخميس و يوم الاثنين و قتل من تاخّر فيهما عن

و شرياق و ذخر[1] و اعمالها* و ليس ملك هذا علىّ بن محمد صاحب ذخر دون ملك منصور بن المفضّل ثم ملك بنى الزرّ و مدينة ذى جبلة[2] و مدينة ذى اشرق و مدينة اب و حصون خولان و بلادها و حصون بنى ربيعة وهى عزان حب[3] و الشماخى و *أخذ السلطان ابا النورين ابى الفتح فبقى[4] حصن السوا لابن السباى ثم استولى ابن مهدى على معاقل الداعى عمران بن محمد التى صارت لابن مهدى وهى حصن سامع و مطران[5] و هذه الحصون اقليم المعافر و انتقل اليه معقل اليمن الذى ليس بعد التعكر و حب سواه و هو حصن السمدان و به يضرب المثل و هو الذى ليس لمخلوق عليه اقتدار ما لم يعنه الخالق بماضيات الاقدار و هذا الذى سميته نقطة من بحر ما ملك ابن مهدى هذا و لم يذكر[6] بلاد بنى المظفّر[7] سبا بن احمد الصليحى و لا اقليم حران[8] و لا برع و لا بلاد بكيل و لا حاشد * و لا جبلة و حصونها و اعمالها و لا وادى عنه[9] و لا وادى زبيد و لا غير ذلك من[10] وادى رمع و ريمه و الاشاعر و حصونها و معاقلها و قراها[11] و مذيخرة و اعمالها و هى مسيرة ايام و دمت و وادى تحلة[12] فاما المذهب الذى كان عليه ابن مهدى و ما يعتقده فكان خفى الورع[13] ثم اضاف الى عقيدته فى الاصول التكفير بالمعاصى و القتل بها و قتل من خالف اعتقاده

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[1] Khi, نالمه و سرياق وصبر و اعماله و هو مخلاف واسع

[2] Deest in Khi.

[3] Khi, وهى عران و حب و السماحى و حصن السوا لابن السباى الخولانى

[4] Deest in Khi.

[5] Khi, و نمر

[6] Khi, اذكر

[7] Khi, المظفرين ; om. بنى

[8] Khi, حراز

[9] Khi, و لا حامه و لا وادى نخلة و لا وادى عنّة

[10] Khi, من جبال وادى رمع و ريمة الاشاعر

[11] Khi, و لا وحاظة واعمالها وهو مسيرة ايام و دمت و اعمالها و لا غير ذلك

[12] نخلة ?

[13] Khi, حنفى المذهب فى الفروع

و عشرين دولة من دول اهل اليمن فمنها اموال أُهل زبيد و ما من عبيد فاتك و جهاته و اعيان دولته الّا من مات عن اموال جليلة من العين جزيلة[1] لانّه ملك الذرارى و النساء فاظهروا له كنوز مواليهم و كذلك المصوغ و اللؤلؤ و الجوهر و اليواقيت الفاخرة و الملابس الجليلة على اختلاف اصنافها و كانوا كما قال الله تعالى كم تركوا من جنّاتٍ و عيونٍ وزروعٍ و مقامٍ كريمٍ و نعمةٍ كانوا فيها فاكهين كذلك و اورثناها قومًا اخرين و انتقل اليهم ملك بنى سليمان الشرفا و انتقل اليهم ملك بنى وايل سلاطين وحاظة و هم أُهل دولة متأثّلة و كذلك معاقل من * بقى من[2] بنى الصليحى كلّ معقل منها له اعمال واسعة و الارتفاعات الكثيرة فامّا ملك الملك منصور بن المفضّل بن ابى البركات ابن الوليد الحميري فانه حان جميع حصونه وهى ما هى و جميع ذخائره و انمّا هى جميع ذخائر الداعى علىّ بن محمد الصليحى و ذخائر المكرّم علىّ[3] بن علىّ زوج الحرّة الملكة السيدة و ذخائر الحرّة الملكة زوجته و ذلك ان الجميع انتقل الى الحرّة و اودعته فى حصن التعكر و تغلّب عليه المفضّل بن ابى البركات و على ما فيه و انتقل التعكر و ما فيه من الممالك[4] بأسرها الى ولده منصور ابن المفضّل لانّهم يزعمون ان الأُمير منصور بن المفضّل عمر فى الملك ثلاثين سنة و مات فى عشر المائة او التسعين و ممّا انتقل الى ابن مهدى حصن المجمعة و امواله و حصن التعكر و امواله على ما قيل و مدينة ذى جبلة وهى مقرّ الدعوة الفاطميه و كرسى الملك لبنى الصليحى و كذلك مدينة الجند و اعمالها و كذلك ثالثة

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[1] Khi, صار جميع ذلك اليه

[2] Om. Khi.

[3] Read احمد

[4] الملك ?

زحفا يقتل منهم ما يقتل و نالهم الجوع حتى اكلوا الميتة من شدّة الجهد و البلاء ثم استنجدوا بالشريف النزيدى ثم الرسّى احمد بن سليمان[1] صاحب صعدة فانجدهم طمعا فى الملك و شرطوا له ان يملكوه عليهم فقال لهم الشريف ان تقتلوا مولاكم فاتكا حلفت لكم فوثب عبيد فاتك[2] بن جياش بن نجاح و مرجان[3] مولى مرجان و مرجان مولى ابى عبد الله الحسين ابن سلامة و الحسين ابن سلامة مولى رشد الزمام و رشد مولى * زياد ابن ابرهيم بن[4] ابى الجيش اسحق بن محمد بن[5] ابرهيم بن عبد الله ابن[6] زياد فقتلوه فى شهور سنة ثلاث و خمسين ثم عجز الشريف عن نصرهم على ابن مهدى و جرت بينهم بعد ذلك و بين ابن مهدى مصافّات يتحصنون منه بالمدينة الى ان كان فتحه لها و زوال دولتهم و استقراره بدار الملك فى يوم الجمعة الرابع عشر من رجب سنة اربع و خمسين و خمسمائة و اقام على بن مهدى بقية رجب و شعبان و رمضان و مات فى شوّال من السنة فكانت مدّة ملكه شهرين و احدا و عشرين يوما ثم انتقل الأمر الى ولده المهدى ثم الى ولده عبد النبى و خلع ثم الى ولده عبد الله ثم عادت الى عبد النبى كرّة ثانية و الأمر اليوم فى اليمن بأسره اليه ما عدا عدن فان اهلها هادنوه عليها بمال فى كلّ سنة و اجتمع لهذا عبد النبى ملك الجبال و التهايم و انتقل اليه ملك جميع ملوك اليمن و ذخايرها و حدثنى محمد بن على من اهل ذى جبلة انه حصل فى خزائن ابن مهدى ملك خمس

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[1] Khi, الهروى

[2] ? على مولاهم وهم عبيد فاتك

[3] Read و نجاح

[4] Om. زياد بن ابرهيم بن

[5] Om. محمد بن ?

[6] Read ابرهيم بن محمد بن زياد

أخلى جميع اهل البوادى و قطع الحرث و القوافل و كان يأمر اصحابه أن يسوقوا الانعام و الرقيق و ما عجز عن المسير عقروه ففعلوا من ذلك ما ارغب و ارهب و قضى بخراب الاعمال ثم لقيت هذا علىّ بن مهدى عند الداعى محمد بن سبا صاحب عدن بمدينة ذى جبلة سنة تسع و اربعين يستنجده على اهل زبيد فلم يجبه الداعى الى ذلك و عرض[1] صحبته و عقد لى ان يقدّمنى على كل احد من اصحابه و لمّا عاد ابن مهدى من ذى جبلة سنة تسع[2] الى حصن الشرف دبّر على[3] القائد سرور الفاتكى فقتل فى رجب سنة احدى و خمسين و خمسمائة و كان ممن أعان ابن مهدى على اهل زبيد اشتغال روسائها بالتنافس و التحاسد على رتبة[4] القايد سرور و فتح على الدولة[5] بعده ابواب الشرّ المسدود و انحلّ عقدها المشدود و فارق ابن مهدى حصن الشرف و هبط الى الداشر بينه و بين زبيد اقلّ من نصف يوم و تقرّب الرعايا اليه و عرب البلاد هم[6] كانوا رعايا الحبشة و كان الرجل من اصحاب ابن مهدى يلقى اخاه او قريبه وهو[7] مع الحبشة امّا مزارع و امّا جمّال و امّا راعى ماشية لهم فيفسدوه ولم يزل الأمر كذلك حتى زحف ابن مهدى لهم الى باب المدينة فى عوالم لا تحصى و حدثنى غير واحد من اهل اليمن ممن ادركه[8] الحصار بزبيد قالوا لم تصبر أمّة على الحصار و القتال ما صبر[9] أهل زبيد و ذلك انهم قاتلوا ابن مهدى اثنين و سبعين

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[1] Khi, علىّ
[2] Khi, و اربعين
[3] Khi, على قتل
[4] Khi, مرتبة
[5] Khi, على اهل الدولة
[6] Khi, هم الذين
[7] Khi, ممن
[8] Khi, ادرك
[9] Khi, عليه

باسكان اليا[1] و سمّاهم الانصار و سمّى كلّ من صعد من تهامة المهاجرين ثم ساء ظنّه بكلّ احد ممن هو فى صحبته خوفا منهم على نفسه فاقام للانصار رجلا من خولان يسمّى سبا بن يوسف[2] و كذاه بشيخ الاسلام و للمهاجرين رجلا[3] يسمّى الدوبى[4] نعته ايضا بشيخ الاسلام و جعلهما نقيبين على الطائفتين فلا يخاطبه و لا يصل اليه سواهما و ربّما احتجب فلا يرونه و هم يتصرّفون فى الغزو فلم يزل يغادى الغارات و يراوحها على اهل تهامة حتّى اخرب الحدود[5] المصاقبه للجبال و الحبشة يومئذ تنعش بالاموال[6] فى المراكز فلا يغنون شئًا لوجوه كثيرة منها ان الموضع الذى هو حصن الشرف حصن منيع بنفسه و بكثرة خولان و منها ان الانسان اذا أراد ان يصل الى حصن الشرف مشى فى واد ضيق بين جبلين مسافة يوم كامل او بعض يوم فاذا وصل الى أصل الجبل الذى فيه الحصن احتاج فى طلوع الثقيل الى نصف يوم حتى يقطع العقبة و منها ان الوادى يتصل مسيله من تهامة بخراج[7] عظيمة اذا كمنت فيها الجيوش العظيمة الجرّارة شهرًا لم يعلم بها احد و كانت غوازى ابن مهدى اذا غارت على بعض اعمال تهامة و نهبت و احرقت[8] و ادركها الفجر تعدل الى الجبال الذى فى الوادى الذى فيه الخراج فمكثت[9] فيه فلا يوصل اليها و لا يقدر عليها و لم يزل ذلك من فعله مع اهل زبيد الى ان

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[1] J. يقال لـه الداشر لبث به مدّة ثم ارتفع عنه الى حصن يقال له الشرف لبطن من خولان يقال لهم حيوان حالفهم و سماهم

[2] Khi, محمد

[3] Khi, من العمرانيين

[4] Khi, الثومى ; I. Wardi II., 61 التوبنى]

[5] Khi, لحواز

[6] Khi, تبعث الابذال

[7] Khi, بشعاب

[8] Khi, اخربت

[9] Khi, كمنت فى بعض تلك الشعاب

فلما استفحل أمره انقطعت عنه خوفا من أهل زبيد ولم يزل من سنة احدى و ثلثين يعظ الناس فى البوادى فاذا دنا موسم مكّة خرج حاجّا على نجيب الى سنة ست و ثلثين ثم اطلقت الحرّة أمّ فاتك بن منصور له و لاخوته و لاصهاره ثم لمن يلوذ به خراج املاكهم فلم يمض بهم هنيّة حتى اثروا و اتسعت بهم الحال و ركبوا الخيل فكانا[1] كما قال المتنبى

فكانّما نتجت قياما تحتهم و كانّما ولدوا على صهواتها

ثم أتى بقوم من اهل الجبال حالفوه على النصرة فخرج اليهم سنة ثمان و ثلثين و جمع جموعا تبلغ اربعين الفا و قصد بهم مدينة الكدرا فلقاه القائد اسحق بن مرزوق[2] السحرتى فى قومه فهزموا اصحابه و قتلوا خلقا من جموعه و عفوا عن اكثرهم و عاد ابن مهدى الى الجبال فاقام بها[3] سنة احدى و اربعين ثم كاتب الى زبيد و سألها فى ذمّة له و لمن يلوذ به ويعود الى وطنه ففعلت الحرّة له ذلك على كره من أهل دولتها و من فقهاء عصرها ليقضى الله امرا كان مفعولا و اقام علىّ بن مهدى يشتغل املاكه عدّة سنين وهى مطلقة من الخراج و اجتمع له من ذلك مال جزيل و كان يقول فى وعظه ايها الناس دنا الوقت أزف الأمر كانّكم بما اقول لكم و قد رايتموه عيانا فما هو الّا ان ماتت الحرّة فى سنة خمس و اربعين حتى اصبح فى الجبال فى موضع * يقال له الشرف من بلد خولان ثم ارتفع منه الى حصن يقال له الشرف وهو لبطن من خولان يقال لهم بنو حيوان

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[1] l. فكانوا | [2] Khi, مروان
[3] J. and Khi, بها الى سنة

اذكـر علىّ بن مهدى باليمن هذا فصل اشير فيه الـى جمل من بدايته و غايته

ذكر خروج علىّ بن مهدى باليمن

امّا نسبه فمن حمير و امّا اسمه فعلىّ بن مهدى من أهل قـريـة يقال لها العنبرة من سواحل زبيد كان ابوه رجلا صالحا سليم القلب و نشأ ولده علىّ بن مهدى هذا على طريقة ابيه فى العزلة و التمسّك[1] و الصلاح ثم حجّ و زار و لقى حاجّ العراق و علماءها و وعّاظها و تضلّع من معارفهم * و عاد الى اليمن فاعتزل[2] و اظهر الوعظ و اطلاق التحذير من صحبة العسكرية[3] و كان فصيحا صبيحا اخضر اللون ملوّح الخدين الحى طويل القامة مخروط الجسم بين عينيه سجّادة[4] حسن الصوت طيب النغمة حلو الايراد غزير المحفوظات قائما بالوعظ و التفسير و طريقة الصوفية[5] اتمّ قيام و كان يتحدث بشىء من احواله المستقبلات فيصدق فكان ذلك من اقوى عدده فى استمالة قلوب العالم و ظهر امره بساحل زبيد بقربه العنبرة و قرية واسط و قرية القصب[6] و الاهواب و المعمعى * و ساحل الفاره[7] و كان ينتقل منها و كانت عبرته لا ترقى[8] على ممرّ الاوقات و كنت يومئذ منقطعا اليه ملازما له فى اكثر الاوقات مدّة سنة ثم علم والدى انى تركت التفقه و لزمت طريقة النسك فجاء من بلده مسافرا حتى اخذنى من عنده و اعادنى الى المدرسة بزبيد و كنت ازوره فى كل شهر زورة

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[1] Khi, بالعبادة

[2] Deest in Khi.

[3] J. and Khi, الملوك و حواشيهم و كان ظهوره فى سنة ٥٣١

[4] J. and Khi, سجدة

[5] Khi, لتصوف

[6] J. القضيب و الاهواب و المعمعى

[7] Deest, J. and Khi.

[8] Khi, لاترقى; read لترقى?

و ما يخصّ بذلك اكابر الجند و العلماء و التجار دون اصاغرهم بل من دعاه اجابه و كان المتظلّم من الرعية يجفو عليه و يفحش له فى القول وهو آمن من حميته[1] و عزه[2] و غضبه و كان يدعى الى الحاكم[3] فيحضر ولا يوكّل[4] و يقعد بين يدى الحاكم تواضعا * لا وضاعة[5] و دخولا لاوامر الشرع تحت الطاعة[6] ثم * يعود بعد ركوبه بالغدات فيسلّم على السلطان و يستعمل الاشتغال بتدبير الامور العسكريه الى وقت الغدا ثم[7] يخرج الى المسجد فى[8] زوال الظّل فلا يشتغل بشىء سوى المسندات الصحيحة عن رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و سلّم الى صلاة العصر ثم يدخل داره و يخرج قبل المغرب الى المسجد فاذا صلّى المغرب تناظر الفقها بين يديه الى[9] العشا الاخرة و ربّما تطول المناظرة فى بعض الليالى و ركب حمارا و أخذ وصيفا واحدا بين يديه حتّى يجتمع بالحرّة الملكة للمشورة و لم يزل هذه حاله من سنة تسع و عشرين و خمسمائة الى ان قتل فى مسجده هذه رحمه الله بزبيد فى الركعة الثالثة من صلاة العصر يوم الجمعة الثانى عشر من رجب[10] قتله رجل يقال له مجرم من اصحاب علىّ بن مهدى ثم قتل قاتله فى تلك العشية بعد ان قتل جماعة من الناس و لم تلبث الدولة بعد قتله الا يسيرا حتّى ازالها علىّ بن مهدى و ملك زبيد و اعمالها فى سنة اربع و خمسين و خمسمائه و على[11]

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[1] J. and Khi om. و حميته

[2] Khi, عزته

[3] J. و متى استدعى الى مجلس الحاكم

[4] J. كما يفعل الجبابرة و ان كانوا اصاغر

[5] Deest in J. and Khi.

[6] J. ليقتدى به سواه

[7] J. و كان متى عاد بعد الركوب الخ; see note 93.

[8] Khi, فى اوّل زوال

[9] Khi, وقت صلوة

[10] J. and Khi, من سنة ٥٤٥

[11] Om. على ?

يديها و النسوة الثلاث واقفة على راسه حتى يقوم الى صلوة الظهر فيعود الى مسجده و هو على باب داره فيجده لا يتبع من كثرة الناس الذين لا يستطيعون الخروج فى لقائه

فصل فيما شاهدت بخطّ كتابه

رايت جريدة الصدقات[1] التى يدفعها عند دخوله الى زبيد للفقهاء و القضاة و المتصدرين فى الحديث و النحو و اللغة و علم الكلام[2] و الفروع اثنى عشر الف[3] فى كلّ سنة خارج عن صلة العسكريه مع كثرتهم و حكا لى عبيد بن بحر وغيره ان الهدايا التى يدفعها فى كلّ سنة برسم حواشى السلطان من الجهات و الازمّة و وصفان الخاصّ عشرون الف دينار هذه وصلة خارجة عن ارزاقهم المستقرة[4] و حدثنى غيرهم ان المحمول من اعماله الى بيت ماله[5] فى كلّ سنة ستّون الف دينار و ان المحمول الى بيت مولاته الحرة و حواشيها و ترايبها و من يلوذ بها على جهة الهدية خمسة[6] عشر الف دينار

فصل كان القائد ابو محمد سرور الفاتكى رحمه الله يخرج الى مسجده بعد نصف الليل او ثلثه و كان اعلم الناس جميعا بالمنازل * و بالانوا[7] و يقول انا[8] اخرج فى هذا الوقت لعل احدا من اهل البيوتات و ارباب الستر لا يقدرون على الوصول الى عندى بالنهار اما لكثرة الناس او لفرط الحياء فاذا صلّى الصبح ركب اما الى فقيه يزوره او مريض يعوده او صيحة[9] ميت يحضرها[10] او وليمة او عقد نكاح[11]

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[1] Khi, الصدقة المعتاد

[2] J. و المدرسين و المفتيين

[3] Khi, دينار

[4] J. المستمرة

[5] Khi, مولاه

[6] J. خمسة ; Khi, اثنى

[7] Om. J.

[8] J. and Khi, انما

[9] J. and Khi, او ميت

[10] Khi, يحضر دفنه

[11] J. يشهده

و تشاعب الحكميّة و تشاعب الأُمير غانم بن يحيى الحسنى و دولته ظاهرة و كان هذا القائد مقيما فى زبيد من هلال ذى القعدة الى آخر يوم من شعبان ثم يخرج من زبيد فيصوم رمضان فى المهجم و يصلح احوال تلك الاعمال و تتسع نفقاته و صلاته فى شهر رمضان حتى قال لى الشيخ عبيد بن بحر وزيره كانت وظيفة مطبخه مدّة شهر رمضان فى كل يوم الف دينار و كنت اشاهده عدّة سنين اذا جاء من المهجم يريد زبيد احتفل الناس بالخروج للقائه على اختلاف طبقاتهم و يقف الناس على تلّ عال فاول طائفة تسلّم عليه الفقها المالكيه و الحنفية و الشافعية و كان يترجّل لهم و لا يترجّل لاحد قبلهم و لا بعدهم ثم ينصرفون و يجىء بعدهم التجار فاذا انصرفوا جاءت العسكرية افواجا و اذا دخل المدينة و قضى حقّ السلام على السلطان مضى الى دار مولاته الحرّة فاذا دخل عليها انفضّ الناس من عندها الصغير و الكبير و لا يبقى عندها الّا غزال جاريتها وهى أخت زوجته و جاريتا مولاها منصور بن فاتك و هؤلاء النسوة يمشين فى الخير على منوالها و يتشبهن فى الصلاح بافعالها فاذا وصل اليها نزلت عن سريرها اكراما له منها و تبجيلا [1] لقدره و قالت له انت يابا محمّد وزيرنا بل مولانا بل رجلنا الذى لا يحلّ لنا ان نخرج عن طاعتك فى شىء فيضّ بالبكاء بين يديها و يعفر خدّه بالارض الى ان تتولّى رفعه بيدها عن الارض ثم تستأخر النسوة [2] فى طرف المجلس غير بعيد بحيث يفضى اليها بما حسن عنده ان يفعله من التدبير فى تلك السنة من ولاية و عزل و انعام [3] لا يزال جالسا بين

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[1] J. تجليلا | [2] J. الثلاث النسوة

[3] Blank in MS., Khi, و قتل ثم

من الهزيمة ثم التقى الناس فكانت الدائرة على مفلح و غانم و من معهما و تضاعف حظ [1] القايد سرور فى نفس الموالف و المخالف و قبل ذلك ما كان من خروج الوزير مفلح طالبا لعدن الى ان حصل من زبيد على نصف مرحلة و ثار محمد بن فاتك بن جياش فى زبيد حين خلت من العسكر و ملك [2] هذا محمد بن فاتك دار الامارة[3] و وقف القـرّاء بين يدية ففاضت البلد عليه بالتهنية و وزيره منصور بن الوزير منّ الله الفاتكى واستعصمت الحـرّة و ولدها بعلو الدار و نمى الخبر الى القايد سرور و هو فى ساقة العسكر فانثنى راجعا و تسوّر الحـصن و دخل المدينة و نادى الى مولاته من خلف دار الملك ارموا الىّ الحبل انا فلان و رفعه الاستاذون و النساء بالحبال حتى وصل الى مولاته فسلم عليها و سكّن روعها وقال هذه العساكر خلفى متواصلة ثم اخذ مائة جارية و خمسين استاذا فالبسهم زىّ الرجال من الدروع والسلاح و فتح الطيقان[4] و صاح الجميع صيحة واحدة يا فاتك بن منصور هذا و محمد بن فاتك جالس على سرير تحت طيقان الدار و ان[5] القائد رمى بحجر فلم يخط وجه محمد بن فاتك فهشمت وجهه عند تلك الصيحة العظيمة فانهزم هو و وزيره فى تلك الساعة و من معهما و خرجوا من باب البلد ليلا ولم يصل العسكر الى البلد الّا فى الظهر من صبـيحة تلك الليلة فهذه بعض المقدّمات الموجبة لتقدّم سرور على كافة أهل الدولة ثم ولى المهجم و هو كرسى ملك كبير ثم تشاعب العرب و بنو عمران و بنو زعل

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[1] Khi, خطر
[2] Khi, فحاز
[3] Khi, ليلا
[4] Khi, الطبقات
[5] Khi, ثم رماه

الاكابر و استغنى به عن الازمّة و كان الزمام الناظر[1] يومئذ هو و[2] الشيخ صواب و كان يميل الى الدين و التخلّى للعبادة فاذا عوتب على ذلك قال القائد ابو محمد سرور و هو[3] صاحب الامر و النهى علىّ[4] و على مولاتنا و ليس[5] يخرج عن امره و هو اهلّ ان يتقلّد امور الناس فى الثواب و العقاب و الحلّ و العقد و ترقت الحال بسرور حتى اخرج الوزير مفلح من زبيد و لم يزل سرور يحارب مفلحا حتى مات مفلح فى الجبال بعد ان جرت بينهم وقايع يموت فى كل واحدة منها العدد الكثير من الفريقين و كانت العاقبة و الدولة[6] لسرور و حدثنى الشيخ عبد المحسن بن اسمعيل و كان كاتب القائد سرور و وزيره[7] قال اذكر و قد سار الامير الشريف غانم بن يحيى الحسنى فى نصرة الوزير مفلح على سرور و مع غانم الف فارس و من الرجال عشرة الاف و انضاف ذلك الى عسكر مفلح و انضمّت اليهما من العرب بنو اسمعيل[8] و هم احلاس الخيل و فرسان الليل و بنو عمران و بنو زعل و بنو حرام و الحكميون فى ضموم[9] و زحفوا الينا و نحن فى عدد كثير[10] و قد كتب القائد سرور الى اهل زبيد يستنفر الناس و كانت الوقعة على المهجم[11] و بعدها من زبيد ثلاثة ايام قال فقلت للقائد انّ هذا تهور و انّما نحن فى هؤلاء كقطرة فى اليمّ او لقمة فى الفمّ فقال امسك عليك فوالله ان الموت عندى اهون

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[1] J. زمام الدار.
[2] Khi om. و; J. om. هو و.
[3] J. and Khi om. و.
[4] J. and Khi, وعليكم و على
[5] Khi, و ليس شى
[6] Khi, D. و الدولة
[7] Khi, D. و وزيره
[8] Khi, مشعل
[9] جموع ?
[10] Khi, يسير
[11] Khi, بالمهجم

لى عبيد بن بحر وزير القايد سرور الآن انحلّت عقدتك بعد قدوم حمير قلت فكيف ذلك قال ان أُمّ عمرو وردة ساخطة عليه و اقسمت لا تكلمه و لا تأذن له في الدخول عليها حتى يأتي ابوها و هو الشيخ حمير بن اسعد قال مسلم و لما كان في تلك الليلة دعينا الى مجلس فيه شراب و غناء وطيب فجلسنا و اذا القايد قد طلع علينا فسلمنا عليه ثم سمعنا من خلف الستارة جلبة و جرس حلى لم يكن و اذا هي وردة اصلح حمير بينها و بين القائد فجاءت لتغنّى له فوقع في قلبي من تعجيز القايد سرور وضعف عزيمته بعض ما يقع فكانّه توحّى بما في نفسي فاقترح عليها قول الشاعر

نحن قوم تذيبنا الحدق النجل مع انّنا نذيب الحديد

و من عبيد فاتك من جعلت ذكره ختامهم و أخّرته و ان كان امامهم و هو القايد الاجلّ ابو محمد سرور الحرة الفاتكى و جنسه من الحبشة الحرة و كلمّا اورده عنه نقطة من بحر فضله فمن مبادى امره ان منصور بن فاتك لما قتل الوزير انيسا و ابتاع من ورثته الحرّة الصالحة حرّة زبيد الحاجّة و استولدها ولدا سمّاه فاتكا بن منصور ابتاعت لولدها من الحبشة وصفانا صغارا كان هذا سرور احدهم و ربّى في حجرها ولم يلبث ان ترعرع و برغ و ولّته زمّ المماليك و صرفت اليه الرياسة على كلّ من في القصر فساد و سدد و ليّن و شدّد ثم ولى العرافة على طائفة من الجند فملكهم بالاحسان و الصفح عنهم ثم ترقت به الحال الى ان ولى الخطابة[1] بين السلطان و بين الوزراء

[1] J. الترسل ; prob. اليراسل

و لما مات مولای فی الجبال بحصن الكرش او مكرشة خطبنی الوزير اقبال و القايد سرور و القايد اسحق بن مرزوق و القايد علىّ بن مسعود صاحب حيس فوعدت رسول كل واحد منهم وعدا جميلا و شاورت مولای منصور بن مولای مفلح فی رسائل القوم فاشار سرور[1] و قال استظهری بمشورة الشيخ حمير بن اسعد قالت فاستدعيته من تهامة الى الجبال فقال امّا علىّ بن مسعود فعنده تسعون سريّة و اربع زوجات و امّا اقبال فعنده عشرون مغنّية ثم هو عند ناحر و تربية[2] التجار و نجلها منصور بين عينيه الى هذه الغاية و امّا القائد اسحق بن مرزوق فعنده ابنة عويد أمّ ولده فرج و عنده ابنة عمّه احدولا والله ما تمشى بارض تهامة مثلها و لكنّى اشير عليك بالقائد ابى محمد سرور الفاتكى فانه واسع المقمه[3] ثم هو تربية الملك فاتك بن منصور و تربية مولاتنا أمّ فاتك بن منصور قالت فتزوجنى القايد ابو محمد سرور الفاتكى فوجدت[4] رجلا مشغولا عن الدنيا و عن النساء و التنعّم بالنظر فى معالى الامور فلم ازل به حتى حللته[5] و تدرّجت فى عشرته حتى ملكته فكان على خشونته و يبسه و هيبته و انقباض جواريه منه لا يخالفنى فيما أراه و اذا غضبت عليه كاد ان يفارق الحيوة و دليل ذلك ما حدثنى به الشيخ مسلم بن يشجب وزير الامير الشريف غانم بن يحيى الحسنى قال قدمت من بلادى رسولا الى القائد سرور الفاتكى فى عقد هدنة بيننا و بينه فقال لى وزيره عبيد بن بحر ايت قدومك تقدّم او تأخّر فانّك صادفت القائد مشغولا خاطره فاقمت يومين او ثلاثة ايام و لما لم اجتمع بالقايد قدم علينا حمير بن اسعد فقال

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[1] ? فاشار علىّ بسرور

[2] ? ثم عنده ناجية وهى من تربية

[3] ? المقية

[4] ? فوجدته

[5] ? أخلَلتُه الىّ

و عمران و زعل و هم الفرسان و الأنجاد فاسكنوه حصنا لهم يقال له دبسان وبينه وبين المهجم نصف يوم او دونه * فشنّ الغارات على اعمال المهجم[1] ثم كاتب الامير الشريف غانم بن يحيى السليمانى ثم الحسنى وهو يومئذ ملك مخلاف بن طرف[2] و اشترط مفلح للشريف و لبنى عمّه اسقاط الاتاوة عنهم المستقرّة لصاحب زبيد على غانم فى كل سنة و مبلغها ستون الفا[3] و ان يضيف لهم مفلح الى ذلك اعمال الواديين وهى واسعة فسار الشريف فى الف فارس و عشرة الاف راجل ناصرا لمفلح على اهل زبيد فلقيهم القائد سرور فكسر مفلحا وكسر الاشراف وكسر العرب على المهجم و خرج اليه من زبين و هو مقيم بالمهجم تقليد باعمال المهجم و ما معها من الاعمال وهو مور و الواديان فاستقرّ سرور فيها وعاد مفلح الى حصن الكرش فمات بها سنة تسع و عشرين و خمسمائة فاما[4] ولده منصور بعد ابيه فناوشهم حربا و اذاقهم من الشرّ ضروبا ثم خذله اصحابه و تقللوا[5] عنه و سأم الناس عضّ الحديد، و فراق الاوطان فاستأمن على[6] منصور و انزل فى دار ابيه فلما كان من الغد قبض عليه و قتل ليلا بدار[7] الوزير اقبال فانكر الملك فاتك[8] ذلك وهمّ باقبال[9] ثم ابقاه على دخن قال لى حمير بن اسعد فابتاع منى رسول الوزير اقبال سمّا والله ما علمت لمن هو و تلطّف اقبال حتى سقى مولاه فاتكا ولد الحرّة ذلك السمّ فمات فاتك بن منصور فى شعبان[10] قالت وردة جارية الوزير مفلح

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[1] D. in Khi.

[2] Khi, صاحب مخلاف سليمان بن طرف

[3] Khi, ستون الف دينار

[4] Khi, فخلفه

[5] Khi, تعللوا

[6] Khi, على يد القائد سرور و دخل معه زبيد و الوزير يومئذ اقبال فخلع على منصور و انزله]

[7] Khi, بيد

[8] J. و القائد سرور

[9] Khi, بالوزير اقبال

[10] J. سنة ٥٣١

ارسلوا اليه فى ذلك امتنع و قال صرف المال الى[1] اعداء الدولة اولى من هذه الخرافات و لمولاتنا بالمغزل و لنزومها كسر بيتها شغل شاغل[2] و لم يزالوا يراجعون فى ذلك الى ان قال مولاتنا الى غير هذا محتاجة فانظروا لها فيه فانّه يسليها قالوا و ما هو قال شيء فى طول هذا وقبض كفّه و مدّ ذراعه فحدث فى النفوس من هذه الكلمة شرّ لم يستدركه مفلح الا بالأذن لها فى الحجّ و تجهزها[3] بثلاثين الف دينار و تسيير ولده منصور معها الى مكّة ثم كان من تدبير سرور على خروج مفلح تسييره الى عدن لمحاربة سبأ بن ابى السعود و علىّ بن ابى الغارت النزريعيين فلما خرج مفلح من زبيد على ليلة ثار محمد بن فاتك[4] في زبيد على الحرّة و ولدها فقضى ذلك برجوع مفلح الى زبيد ثم دبّر سرور على خروج مفلح انه كاتب عرب الزعلى و العمرانى بالاتفاق على اعمال المهجم و فيها يومئذ القايد مسعود الزيدى[5] فقضى ذلك بخروج مفلح الى المهجم و هى من زبيد على ثلاثة ايام[6] فما هو الا ان خرج مفلح من زبيد مسير ليلة من البلد حتى تسلل الناس عنه و رجعوا الى المدينة و بقى فى خاصة[7] و توجه الى جبال برع و ملك حصن المكرشة[8] و رواح[9] تهامة و غاداها بالغارات و عبيد فاتك تقابله[10] بالمراكنر * و الاموال[11] ثم انتقل من الحصن و ترك به حريمه[12] الى عرب المهجم وهم بنو مشغل[13]

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[1] Khi, فى محاربة

[2] Khi, عن الحج

[3] Khi, تجهيزها

[4] Khi, بن جياش

[5] Khi, سرور الكريدى

[6] Khi, من الناحية الشمالية

[7] Khi, خاصته

[8] Khi, الكَرِش

[9] Khi, راوح

[10] Khi, يقاتله

[11] Deest in Khi.

[12] Khi, وسار

[13] Khi, مشعل

زبيد فى اوّل وزارة الشيخ القائد مفلح ابو المعالى بن الحلدا[1] من الديار المصريه فابتاع وصيفا حبشيا برسم الخدمة ثم هرب الوصيف[2] بسبب غلامه بيتين من الشعر هما

و انت سحاب طبق الارض صوبه و عاقته عن سقيای احد عوائقه[3]
فان لم تجُدنى هاطلات غمامه فلا تَدُنْ منّى محرقات صواعقه[4]

فلمّا وقف مفلح على البيتين عثر بهما و تنبّه على فضل ابى المعالى و استدعى الغلام فردّه اليه خامس خمسة من جنسه ثم استدعى ابا المعالى و امره ان يمدح الوزير بقصيدة ففعل ذلك ثم احضره اليه حتى انشده و دفع له خمسمائة دينار و وصله ايضا منصور بن مفلح من عنده بثلثمائة دينار ثوابا على قصيدة اخرى مدحه بها و حمله الى مكّة حرسها الله تعالى و امّا احوال مفلح مع العسكر فانّ قصر الملك فاتك بن منصور نشأت به رجال من عبيد الحرّة الملكة أمّ فاتك بن منصور و هم صواب و ريحان و يمن و عنز[5] و ريحان الاكبر هؤلا الازمّة اعيان اكابر و من الفحول اقبال و مسرور و داره و سرور[6] و هو امير الفريقين مكانة و عنى[7] و كان هؤلا الجماعة هم الذين يتكلمون على لسان السلطان و صار الوزير فى امور السلطان[8] اجنبيا معهم و عظم بهم جانب الحرّة و استمالوا كثيرا من الفارس و الراجل ثم دبّروا حيلة يخرجون بها مفلحا من زبيد فقال لهم سرور ما عندكم حيلة احسن من مخاطبته على حجّ مولاتنا الى مكّة و تجهيزها بثلاثين الف دينار فلمّا

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[1] D. الحباب
[2] Khi, فهرب الوصيف وتعلّق الخ; [see note 86.
[3] Khi, العوائق
[4] Khi, الصواعق
[5] Khi and D., عنبر
[6] Khi, اقبال و برهان و سرور و داره
[7] Khi, غنا
[8] السلطنة ?

سوى وردة وهى روحى فان كانت تصلح له نزلت عنها و ان[1] اموت
قلت ان قبلها فهى ممّا تصلح له قال فتحدّث معه فيها فان قبلها
فلك عندى الف دينار ثم أمرنا باحضارها عاشرة عشر فقبلن يد
الوزير ثم اندفعن يغنّين بين يديه مكشوفات الوجوه و اوصيت الوزير
ان يعرض عن وردة و يستحسن غيرها ففعل ذلك ممّا قوى عزيمة
مولاها فى قبولها منه فلمّا سكر عثمان و نام و سكر النسوة الّا وردة
فانّى كنت اريد صحوها قمت الى المستراح فاستدعيت وردة
فاعلمتها القصّة فقالت لا اغب[2] الّا فى مولاى فاستدعيت الوزير الى
مجلس و دخلت انا و وردة عليه فوعدها و منّاها و هممت بالخروج
عنهما فامسكنى و قال لى والله لا يكون هذا ابدًا ثم عدنا جميعا الى
المجلس و والله ما ملأ عينه منها و لا مكّنها يده[3] عند السلام فلما صحا
مولاها استاذناه فى الخروج و كان[4] عند العشاء الاخرة فلم تخرج الّا
و وردة بين ايدينا فامّا عثمان فاصحت[5] فاعدت عليه الالف الدينار
التى كان دفعها الىّ و سألته فى ضيعة ذوال و امّا الوزير فاحضرنى
ليلة و خلع علىّ و قال ان بنتك وردة اقسمت على لا دنوت منها
حتى ترضى حمير فما الذى يرضيك قلت ضيعة العبادى بما فيها
من زروع و ما لها[6] من ابقار فوقّع لى بها و هى الضيعة التى لا ضيعة
على[7] مالكها و نعود الى اخبار الوزير مفلح فمنها ما حدثنى به الشيخ
* ابو الطامى جياش بن اسمعيل ابن البوقا[8] قال قدم علينا الى

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[1] Khi, ولو انّى
[2] ارغب ?
[3] Khi, من تقبيل يده
[4] Khi, كان ذلك
[5] Khi, فلما اصبح الخ; see note 85.
[6] Khi, ما فيها
[7] Khi, على من
[8] Deest in Khi.

عثمان ان يتطفّل فى الليل على الوزير و يركب الى داره و يقول ضيف يشتهى ان يتشرّف بالسماع و الشراب فلما امسى[1] و وصل عثمان الينا اشرت على الوزير ان يخرج المغانى[2] و الوصائف الساقيات علينا ففعل ذلك و وعده الوزير انه فى غد ضيفه[3] فحمل الى عثمان فى تلك الليلة مالا جزيلا و عدنا من الركوب من دار مولانا الى[4] دار عثمان فوجدنا اسمطة واسعة عددت فى واحد ثلاثون[5] خروفا مشوية و ثلثين جاما من الحلاوة و اما الذى جلس عليه الوزير فكان فى طول قاعة البستان الذى لعثمان وهى خمسون ذراعا فلما رأى الوزير ذلك امتعص حسدا لعثمان على همّته و سرعة ما تأتى له من تلك الاسمطة و كانت اربعة ثم فرق عثمان على حواشى الوزير * خمسمائة خروف و انهب العسكر تلك الاسمطة و فرق على حواشى الوزير[6] ثلاثة ابهرة سكر وهى تسعة قناطير ثم انتقلنا الى مجلس الوزير[7] و كنّا سبعة فلما انصرفوا قلت لعثمان انّك بهيمة لا عقل لك ارى[8] الوزير انما زارك لاكلة او شربة ما اقصر همّتك و اعمى بصيرتك قال فدبّرنى قلت اعرض على ما عندك فذكر الخيل و العدد و الجمال[9] و الالطاف و الذخائر فاظهرت له فى كل شيء نقيصة[10] و قبحته عليه قال فما ترى قلت انظر هدية لا تخبأ فى الخزائن و لا تغيب عن عينه فانّ المقصود ان يكون[11] يذكرك بهديتك فلما[12] نظر اليها قال ما عندى

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[1] Khi, امسينا

[2] المغنّيات

[3] Khi, ان يكون ضيفه فى غد

[4] Khi, و لما عدنا من الركوب الى دار السلطان سرنا الى دار عثمان

[5] Khi, فى قود واحد منها ثلثين

[6] Deest in Khi.

[7] Khi, الشراب ; see note 84.

[8] Khi, اترى

[9] Khi, المال

[10] Khi, نقصا

[11] Khi, D. يكون

[12] Khi, كلما

ر حاشد ينبت[1] هذا الشجر[2] فى بقعة من الارض لبيت هناك الا[3]
بهم و هى من حصونهم و هم يحتفظون بها كما يحتفظ بالديار المصرية
بالشجر الذى فيه دهن البيلسان[4] و اوفى و كلّ من مات من بنى
نجاح و وزرائهم فمن عند حمير بن اسعد حتى كانوا اذا نادموه
قالوا له يا باسنا[5] ناكل و نشرب ونحن فى حبسك فيضحك و يقول
نعم و كان حلو المحاضرة كثير المحفوظات حسن النادرة كثير البذل
فى ذات الله و فى سبيل المعروف يترسّل بين الملوك من الحبشة
فيرقع الخلل و يهوّن الجلل ثم سكن الكدرا عند القائد اسحق بن
مرزوق السحرتى فاكرمه و خلطه بنفسه وبها مات سنة ثلاث و خمسين
و قد جاوز السبعين و كان ينزل عندى اذا دخل زبيد و عند غيرى
من اصدقائه ولم يكن بها اهله و بهذا السبب يسترسل معى قال
حمير فلما اخذت النشوة من عثمان مأخذها قال لى كنت حريصا
على لقائك طمعا فى صلاح احوالنا مع هذا العبد الطاغى و تركنا
على اقطاعنا و املاكنا التى لم يشهدها[6] فى ايامه و لا من انعامه قلت
نعم مع[7] ما فيه من الاعجاب و التكبّر حسن الباطن قريب الرجوع
و انا اجتهد فى غد ان شا الله تعالى اذا عاد من الصباح على مولانا
ان بطل[8] صنعا عندك و انا اعلم انه اذا أكل طعامك و شرابك[9]
و غنّى له حريمك[10] استحى منك و خجل و عاد عمّا فى نفسه
فكاد عثمان ان يطير فرحا ولم يصدّق ان الوزير وزيره[11] و اشرت على

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[1] لا ينبت ?
[2] الّا فى
[3] Om. الا
[4] البلسان
[5] يابا سبا ?
[6] Khi, نستفدها
[7] Khi, فقلت له انه مع
[8] ان يطيب ?
[9] Khi, شرب شرابك
[10] Khi, جواريك
[11] Khi, يزوره

و اربعمائة الى سنة اربع و عشرين و خمسمائة فاثرت الغزّ و حسنت
حالهم و تملّكوا و رياستهم تنتهى الى شاة و الى طيطاس و هذا عثمان
ثم مات الاثنان و بقى عثمان هذا ولم يبق فى الغزّ الّا مائة فارس
شيوخ و اما اولادهم المولودون بزبيد فلم يفلحوا و لا جاء منهم بأس
يتقى و لا معروف يرتجى قال الشيخ حمير بن اسعد كاتب الوزير
ففكرت فى حيلة اتوصّل بها الى غرضه فوجدتها وهى انى قلت للوزير
بأمر ينقض قسمة الاعمال القديمة فانّ الرجال التى كانت تنفع
ماتت و بقيت الاقطاع الجيّدة فى ايدى اولادهم الذين لا ينفعون
و تصلّب فى ذلك و تقدم على الناس بالحشود[2] من الاعمال الى
زبيد و *تنقل يومين الى عملين اخرين[3] قال حمير فلما فعل ذلك
الوزير ضاق الأمر على جماعة من اكابر الدولة و لا كضيقه على عثمان
الغزّى فان اموال الغزّ الذين ماتوا من رفاقته صارت اليه فلما كاد عثمان
ان يخرج من زبيد فيمن معه من قومه و يشقّ العصا دخلت اليه[4]
و شربت عنده و غنّت له وردة و غيرها ممن عنده ولم يكن احد
من اهل تهامة يحجب عن حمير لا مغنّية ولا أمّ ولد لان اكثر سرايرهم
و مغانيهم من تخريجه و تربيته فى داره و خدم جماعة من ملوك
الجبال ثم نزل الى تهامة فاختصّ بصحبة احمد بن مسعود بن فرج
المؤتمن صاحب حيس ثم كتب بعده للشيخ منّ الله الفاتكى ثم
كتب للشيخ ابى منصور مفلح الفاتكى و من عند حمير هذا يبتاع
السمّ الذى يقتل به الملوك لانّ له اخوة و اعماما فى بلاد بكيل

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[1] Khi, و كانت رياستهم تنتهى الى ثلاثة نفر وهم سولى و طيطاس و عثمان هذا

[2] Khi, بالحشور

[3] Khi, كل قوم الى عمل اخر غير عملهم

[4] عليه

سبب ما اسمعه كل حين من غنآء وردة جارية الامير عثمان الغزّى يوصف[1] لى من جمالها و لقد اسندت على ابواب الحيلة فى حصولها عندى قلت ان كنت تريدها سفاحا بذلت وسعى فى خدمة الوزير فقال والله ما عصيت الله تعالى بفرجى منذ خلقت قلت فبكم يشتريها الوزير قال بكلّ ما يقترح مولاها و كان مولاها اماما[2] جليلا كبير القدر له وجاهة و منزلة فى الدولة ثم هو مقدم الغزّ الذين استدعاهم الملك جيّاش الجارية[3] سبا بن احمد الصليحى و عثمان هذا اميرهم و شيخهم وهم اربعمائة فارس رماة وبهم امتنعت دولة الحبشة عن العرب و كان الملك جيّاش استدعى منهم ثلاثة الاف قوس فلما فصلت عن مكة منهم الفان الى زبيد ندم جياش على رايه وعلم انهم يخرجونه من البلاد و يستولون عليها فتقدّم جياش على ولاية[4] الذين أمرهم على الغزّ بمكة عليهم الى[5] ان يطرحوا لهم السموم فيما ياكلونه و يشربون و يلبسون فمات منهم بشر كثير و خلص منهم الى زبيد الف فارس او دونها فجهز منهم خمسمائة الى الجبال ففتحوا منها فما[6] وطى الحافر و لما حصلوا فى دون[7] صنعا دسّ عليهم جيّاش من قتلهم بالسمّ و مزق كلمتهم بالحروب و الاموال[8] و بقيت عنده بتهامة اربعمائة و خمسون فارسا فاقطعهم من واسع الاعمال الى واد يقال له ذؤال و رعيته علّك و الاشاعر و عرضه يوم و طوله من الجبل الى البحر يومان او دونهما و بينه وبين مدينة زبيد يوم واحد ولم يزل الغزّ يستأدون خراج هذا الوادى من سنة ست و ثمانين

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1 Khi, و ما يوصف
2 Khi, اميرا
3 لمحاربة ?
4 الولاة ?
5 Om. عليهم الى ?
6 ممّا ?
7 كور ?
8 الاحوال ?

بطن نقلوه من الرمل الى الاوراق الى ان صحّت لهم الفريضة جميعا ولم يبرح من هنالك حتى قسم المال بين الفقهاء و اجزل نصيبى منه و رجعت الى منزلى فاحضرت المال الى الفقيه الحضرمى فقال استغفر الله يا ولدى قد كنت اكذّب من يقول انه رأى مائة دينار ثم دفع المال الىّ و قال لا حاجة لى به و انت تكفينى فحملته و مات رحمة الله عليه بعد ان قضى الحجّ و لما همّت الحبشة بزبيد بقتلى سنة خمسين قال لهم القائد سرور اليس هو صاحب مسئلة رزيق والله لا يقتل و اما رزيق فلم يكن له نفاذ فى سياسة العسكر و لا خبرة باقامة نواميس السلطنة فلم يلبث فى الوزارة مدّة حتى استقال من الوزارة و استدعى لها الوزير ابو منصور مفلح الفاتكى و كان غائبا فى الجبال

وزارة مفلح الفاتكى

امّا جنسه فبطن من الحبشة يقال لهم سحرت و كان يكنى ابا المنصور و منصور ولد له و كان منصور[1] هذا رشيدا من الاعيان اهل الخبرة و الفقه و الأدب و الصباحة و الشجاعة و السماحة و الرياسة الكاملة و كان الناس يقولون لوكان له نسب من قريش كملت له شروط الخلافة و كان عبيد فاتك و هم[2] ينبزون مفلحا بالبغل فكان يقال له مفلح البغل و لا يغضب من ذلك و حدثنى كاتبه حمير بن اسعد قال انّما سمّى البغل لانه كان يدلى آلة مثل التى يدليها البغل و كان مع ذلك عفيف الذيل لم يعلم له صبوة فى صغر و لا كبر[3] قال حمير ولقد اذكر يوما من عفافه انه دعانى وهو وزير فقال مذ[4] تنكّد علىّ العيش

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[1] ابو منصور
[2] Om. و هم
[3] Khi, فى صغره ولاكبره
[4] Khi, قد

بفرح بذلك و وثق به و سكن اليه و ذاكرته ليلة و نحن على الجمل فريضة بنى رزيق و هى احدى و خمسون بطنا فاندفع فيها كانّه يحفظها غيبا حتى طلع الفجر و لم يأخذنى نوم لفرط المسرّة بعلمه ثم قال ان شئت ان تترك السفر هذا اليوم و تقيم على هذه البئر و لم اصلّى صلاة الظهر حتى قد صححت الفريضة و عرفتك سهام كل واحد من الورثة على الانفراد ففعلت ذلك فناولنى الفريضة مكتوبة بخطّه عند الغدآء و والله لقد طال ما اجتمع عليها عثمان بن الصفار و محمد بن على السهامى و نظراؤهما من الفرضيين و ما منهم الا من يرى ان ابن اللبان من اتباعه فى الفرائض و الوصايا و الدور و الجبر و المقابلة و فى الزمان المتطاول كانت تصنع الوزراء لهم الولائم و يوسعون لهم فى الصلات يفترقون فيها[1] على غير شىء و لما وصلت الى زبيد اسكنت الفقيه فى آخر الدار بحيث لا يراه احد غيرى و كنت بالليل اقرأ عليه الفرائض و بالنهار اقرأ عليه حرف ابى عمرو بن العلاء فى القرآن العظيم و كان فيما يقرئه القراءات السبع ثم اخذت اكرر المسئلة التى لاولاد رزيق الى ان صرت اتحدّث بها مع نفسى غيبا ثم تقدّمت الى القائد سرور الفاتكى فادّعيت عنده معرفتها و هو من اشدّ الناس حرصا على الابتياع من آل رزيق و قال ان صحت دعواك دفعت لك كذا و كذا مبلغا قد انسيته فلما صحّت احضر المال فدفعه الى الفقيه ابى محمد عبد الله بن القاسم الابار فهو رأس الشافعيه يومئذ بزبيد و عليه قرأت المذهب الشافعى ثم جمع الفقهاء الى قاعات ارضية مفروشة بحر[2] الرمل و جلس كل قوم يضربون فى الرمل ناحية عن غيرهم فاذاصحّ لهم

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[1] فيهم ? | [2] بِحُرّ ?

سرجه و مفلح يناديه به اعقروا صاحب الفرس و الا فما يسقط على الارض[1] ثم حمل على مفلح فضربه ضربة على مقعد الرديف فى فرس مفلح فقسمت[2] الفرس نصفين و سقط مفلح و ردّت عنه بنو مشعل و هم عرب و امّا كرمه فكان اكثره على الشعراء ولم يكن فى زمانه من يقدر على ما يقدر عليه من الأُكل حتى كان يضرب به المثل فكان له بين ذكور و اناث ثلثون ولدا و[3] تناسخت فريضته و فريضة من مات من اولاده و اولادهم قبل القسمة فانتشرت و اتسعت حتى لم يقدر احد من العلماء على قسمتها و كان الوزير مفلح و الوزير اقبال و الوزير مسعود و الفاتكيين[4] قد أراد كلّ منهم ان يبتاع منهم[5] من ورثة الوزير رزيق اراضى و رباعا فلم يصلوا على ذلك لعدم القدرة على صحة سهام كل وارث ولما كان فى سنة تسع و ثلثين وجدت فى عدن شيخا من اهل حضرموت يسمّى احمد بن محمد الحاسب و كان حاسبا فرضيا قد جاوز الثمنين و هو يريد الحجّ و كان ذا ضرورة و لم يملك منذ خلقه الله عشرة دنانير و لا يصدّق من يقول رايت الف دينار لانه كان ناشيا فى بلاد كندة فيما يلى الرمل فانكسر مركب فى ساحل البحر المجاور فوقع منهم الى رمل كنده رجل عالم زاهد و هذا الشيخ احمد هو الفرضى فاخذت هذا الفقيه الى منزلى بعدن فكسوته و أمرت من كان معى باكرامه و اطعامه و تنظيفه من فضلات و خضاب لحيته و اطرافه بالحنّا فلما حسنت حاله عادلنى فى محمل من عدن الى زبيد و وعدته انى احجّ به معى و اكفيه

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[1] Khi, اعقروا به الفرس يسقط الى الارض

[2] Khi, فحمل على مفلح فضربه ضربة وقعت على مقعد الردف من الفرس فقسمت

[3] Khi, فلما توفى

[4] Khi, القايد اقبال و القايد مسعود الفاتكيون

[5] Khi, يبتاع من ورثة

لأمّ فاتك ضرّة سواها ولما اراد الله هلاك منّ الله الفاتكى حاول بنت معارك بن جيّاش و راودها و كانت موصوفة بالجمال فافتدت نفسها منه باربعين بكرا من جوارها فأبى فكشفت أمره الى عبيد عمّها فاتك و عبيد ابن عمّها منصور بن فاتك فهابوه ولم يقدروا على شيء فقالت لهم أم الحرّة أمّ ابى الجيش[1] انا اكفيكم أمره ثم استخرجت ابنة معارك بن جياش من قصرها قصر الأمارة الى قصرها ثم ارسلت الى منّ الله تقول له أنّك اسأت السمعة عليك و علينا فيما تقدّم و لو كنت اعلمتنى خدمتك اتمّ خدمة ولم يعلم بك احد ففرح الوزير بذاك و تواترت الرسائل بينه و بينها حتى قال فانّى ازورك فى هذه الليلة الى دارك متنكّرا قالت لرسوله انّ الله قد اجلّ قدر الوزير عن ذلك بل انا ازوره فى داره فلما امسى الليل جاءت اليه فغنّت له و شرب و طرب و مكّنته من نفسها ثم وقع عليها و مسحت ذكره عند الفراغ بخرقة فيها سمّ قاتل فتهرّأ و مات من ليلته فدفنه ولد منصور فى اصطبله و سوى به الارض فلم يعرف له قبر الى اليوم و كانت وفاته ليلة السبت الخامس عشر من جمادى الاولى سنة اربع و عشرين و خمسمائة ثم وزر بعده لفاتك بن منصور رزيق[2] الفاتكى و كان شجاعا كريما امّا شجاعته فقال لى محمد بن عبد الله اليافعى[3] ثم الحميرى و كان كاتب رزيق قال رزيقا[4] الفاتكى *يوم الجمعة و كان لمفلح على اهل زبيد[5] وقد اشتجرت فيه سبعة ارماح و هو مضاعف درعين فحصد اكثرها بسيفه واندق فيه منها رمحين و هو ثابت[6] فى

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[1] Khi, فقالت لحرّة أمّ ابى لجيش

[2] Khi and J. زُريق

[3] Khi, الشافعى

[4] Khi, رايت زريقا

[5] Khi, يوم لحسعة وكان يوما مشهودًا بينه و بين القايد ابى محمد مفلح

[6] Khi, و قد استخرجت منه تسعة ارماح و هو مضاعف بين درعين فحمل اكثرهما سيفه و اندق منها فيه رمحان و هو ثابت

اجزاء كبار من شعر[1] المجيدين المشهورين المشاهير و هو الذى اخرج احمد بن مسعود الجزلى و مفلح الفاتكى و كانا كبشى الكتيبة و صاحبى الحلّ و العقد بزبيد فشردهما خوفه فى[2] الجبال كل مشرد و بخروجهما دانت له الدنيا و علت كلمته و اما الذى عليه من افعاله فانه لما وزر بعد قتل انيس[3] المنصور بن فاتك بن جياش سنة سبع عشرة و خمسمائة فلم يقدم شيئا على ان قتل منصورا مولاه بالسمّ و ملّك ابنه فاتك بن منصور و هو يومئذ طفل صغير و مات منصور بن فاتك وابوه فاتك بن جيّاش وغيرهما من آل نجاح عن اكثر من الف سرّية ما منهنّ احد مسلم[4] من الوزير منّ الله الا عشر نساء من حظايا منصور بن فاتك منهنّ الحرّة الملكة أمّ فاتك بن منصور فانها اعتزلت القصر و خرجت خارج المدينة و بنت لها[5] دارا لا يتطرّق اليها الوزير بعذر و لا سبب هذا و الملك ولدها و لكنها حسمت المادة بالبعد عن قصر ولدها و وكلت كفالته الى عبيد ابيه الاستاذين و منهنّ أمّ ابى الجيش وهى ولده[6] و كانت لها بيت ابن[7] منصور بن فاتك و سمّيت الحرّة ايضا أمّ ابى لجيش بسبب هذه الفتنه و كانت فائقة بالجمال و حسن الغناء و انا ادركتها و كنت ادخل اليها و اقعد بين يديها فى رسائل كانت تجرى بينها وبين السلطان عبد الله بن اسعد بن وائل الوحاظى لانه كان تزوّج بنتها التى كانت درقتها[8] من منصور بن فاتك و منهنّ الحرّة رياض و منهنّ الحرّة أمّ ابيها و منهنّ جنان الكبرى و منهنّ تمنّى و لم يكن

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[1] الشعراء ?

[2] Khi, الى

[3] عن يد ?

[4] تسلم ?

[5] به ?

[6] Khi, مولّدة

[7] Khi, و كانت لها بنت من منصور بن فاتك فلهذا قيل لها الحرة بسبب هذه البنت

[8] رزقتها ?

وقعات تحاموا بتهامة[1] من اجلها ثم طغى انيس هذا و بنى دارا و اسعة رصية عرض كل قاعة منها ثلثون ذراعا و عرض كل مجلس اربعون و هى قصور واسعة و عمل لنفسه مظلة للركوب و[2] سكّة باسمه و همّ ان يفتك بمولاه المنصور فاشتهر الامر و النهى و التدبير من ندمائه[3] لعبيد فاتك فدبّروا عليه الرأى حتى عمل منصور بن فاتك مولاهم[4] لهم و لـه وليمة فى قصر الأمارة و استدعى انيسا اليه فلما حصل عنده قطع راسه و اصطفى امواله و حريمه فممن صار اليه بالانتزاع[5] من ورثة انيس جارية مغنّية يقال لها علم و استولدها منصور ولدا يدعى فاتكا وهى الحرّة الصالحة التى كانت تحجّ باهل اليمن برا و بحرًا فى خفارتها فى[6] الاخطار و المكوس و من جملة الوزراء بعد انيس هذا الشيخ مَنّ الله الفاتكى وهو الذى سوّر زبيد بعد الحسين ابن سلامة و افعاله مستوسقة له و عليه فاما الذى له فالكرم الباهر و الشجاعة و الهيبة وهو الذى كسر ابن نجيب الدولة على باب زبيد و قتل من اصحابه مائة من العرب و ثلثمائة ارمنى رماة و خمسمائة اسود[7] وله وقعة اخرى مع اسعد بن ابى الفتوح و قتل فيها من العرب ما ينيف على الالف[8] وهو الذى تصدّق على مدارس الفقها الحنفية و الشافعية بما اغناهم ممن سواهم من الاراضى و المرافق و الرباع و كان يثيب على المدح ثوابا جزيلا حتى قال لى الفقيه ابو عبد الله محمد بن على السهامى رحمة الله عليه و كان يؤدب اولاد الوزير منّ الله قال اذكر انّى جلدت مما مدح به القائد الوزير عشرة

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[1] Khi, تحاموا تهامة

[2] Khi, و ضرب

[3] Read الأمر من ندمائه ?

[4] J. and Khi, وقد بلغ مبلغ الرجال

[5] بالابتياع

[6] Khi, من

[7] Khi, و ذلك فى اخر سنة ٥١٨

[8] Khi, الف رجل

البلاد عليهم حتى بلغه ان حصن النعكر قد ملكه جماعة من الفقهاء و استولوا على ملك لا ينبغى[1] مثله لاحد ففارق المفضّل زبيد لا يلوى على احد حتى كان ما قدّمنا ذكره من قتله نفسه بالسمّ لما نظر الى حظاياه بين الرجال وهنّ فى المصبّغات و الطارات بايديهنّ وهنّ يغنّين ثم ان الامر استقرّ لمنصور بن فاتك و لعبيد ابيه فمن اولاد فاتك الامراء و من عبيده الوزراء فاما الامراء فمنهم المنصور بن فاتك ثم فاتك بن المنصور وهو ابن الحرّة الصالحة الحاجّة[2] ثم لما مات فاتك و ولده منصور[3] انتقل الامر[4] الى ابن عمّه و اسمه ايضا الفاتك بن محمد بن منصور بن فاتك[5] بن جياش و انتقل الامر الى فاتك ابن محمد هذا[6] سنة ثلاث و خمسين و خمسمائة و عنهم زالت الدولة و انتقلت الى علىّ بن مهدى الخارج باليمن سنة اربع و خمسين و خمسمائة ولم يكن لاولاد فاتك بن جيّاش من الأمر سوى النواميس الظاهرة سوى[7] الخطبة لهم بعد بنى العباس و السكّة و الركوب بالمظلّة فى ايام المواسم و عقد الأرآء فى مجالسهم و اما الأمر و النهى و التدبير و اقامة الحدود و اجازة الوفود فلعبيدهم الوزراء فهم عبيد فاتك بن جياش و عبيد منصور ابنه وهم و ان كانوا حبشة فلم تكن ملوك العرب تفوّقهم فى الحسب الا بالنسب و الّا فلهم الكرم الباهر و العزّ الظاهر و الجمع بين الوقايع المشهورة و الصنايع المذكورة و أوّل من وزر منهم انيس الفاتكى و كان من بطن فى الحبشة يقال لهم الجزليون و ملوك بنى نجاح من هذا البطن و كان انيس هذا جبّارا غشوما مهابا شجاعا مشهورا جوادا و له فى العرب

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[1] يعهد ?

[2] Khi, علم

[3] Read فاتك ولد منصور ?

[4] Khi, ولم يكن له عقب

[5] Read محمد بن فاتك

[6] Khi, ولم يزل الى ان قتلوه عبيده فى سنة ٥٥٣ و عنه

[7] Khi, من

اغناه و ارضاه و اما ابرهيم بن جيّاش فنزل باسعد بن وائل بن
يسى الوحاظى ففعل معه من الاكرام ما لم يسبقه اليه احد و كانت
بيد فاتك بن جيّاش قد عظمت و كثرت و اشتدّت شوكتها ثم
ات فاتك بن جيّاش سنة ثلاث و خمسمائة و ترك ولده المنصور
ن فاتك صغيرا دون البلوغ فملّكته عبيد ابيه و حشد ابرهيم بن
جيّاش بعد موت اخيه فاتك و هبط الى تهامة فالتقى هو و عبيد
فاتك فتواقفوا على قرية يقال لها [1] و حين خلت
زبيد من عمّال فاتك و استقلّوا بابرهيم بن جيّاش ثار[2] عبد الواحد
بن جيّاش فى زبيد فملكها و حاز دار الا مارة و خرج الا ستاذون
و الوصفان بمولاهم منصور بن فاتك[3] ادلوه من سور البلد ليلا خوفا عليه
من عبد الواحد و لحق منصور بعبيد ابيه فاتك و تسلّل الناس عنه
و عنهم الى عبد الواحد بن جيّاش حين ملك زبيد و كانت العسكر
تحبّه و لما راى ابرهيم بن جيّاش انّ اخاه عبد الواحد قد سبقه الى
الأمر و الى الحصون بزبيد توجه الى الحسين ابن ابى الحفاظ الحجوروى[4]
و هو يومئذ بالجريب و بنو ابى الحفاظ من بنى جريب بن شراحبيل
و هم يعودون الى همدان و اما عبيد فاتك بن جيّاش و مولاهم المنصور
بن فاتك فانّهم نزلوا بالملك المفضّل بن ابى البركات الحميرى
صاحب التعكر و بالحرّة السيّدة الملكة بنت احمد الصليحى بذى
جبلة فاكرمت مثواهم ثم التزمت عبيد فاتك للمفضّل بن ابى
البركات بربع البلاد على نصرتهم على عبد الواحد بن جياش فاخرجه
من زبيد و ملكها لهم[5] وهمّ المفضّل ان يغدر بآل فاتك و يملك

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[1] Lac. in MS. Khi, هويب من وادى زبيد فلما خرج الخ

[2] Khi, فلما خرج عبيد فاتك من زبيد الى هويب لقتال ابرهيم و خلت زبيد منهم ثار

[3] Khi, و ادلوه

[4] Khi, الحجورى

[5] Khi, و ذلك فى سنة اربع و خمسمائة

لا يقتل يا ابا حسان ثم احسن جيّاش اليه و الى اولاده خيرا و سيّره بجميع ما ملك من أهل و مال قال جيّاش و تسلّمت دار الامارة بما فيه صبيحة الليلة التى ولد فيها ولدى فاتك وصحّ ما كان اخبرنى به الحسين ابن سلامة من رجوع الامر الىّ عند ولادة الحامل التى كانت عندى ثم لم يمض شهر حتى صرت اركب فى عشرين الف حربة من عبيدنا وبنى عمّنا الذين كانوا مستضعفين[1] فى البلاد فسبحان المعزّ بعد الذلّة و المكثر بعد القلّة ولم يكن من المكرّم بعد ذلك كثير نكاية فى جيّاش اكثر من غارات على اعمال زبيد و فى هذا الحال يقول الحسين بن القمّ يخاطب جيّاشا حين قتل قاضى القضاة الحسن بن ابى عقامة

اتفرّ اذ جرّ المكرّم رمحه وتشجع فيمن ليس يحلى و لا يمرى[2]

و فيه ايضا من قصيدة يقولها ياتى ذكرها

اخطأت ياجيّاش فى قتل الحسن ففقأت معتديا به[3] عين الزمن

ولم يزل جيّاش مالكا لتهامة من سنة اثنتين و ثمانين و اربعمائة الى سنة ثمان و تسعين و اربعمائة ثم مات فى ذى الحجة منها و ترك من الاولاد الفاتك بن الهندية و منصورا و ابرهيم و عبد الواحد و الذخيرة و معاركا و قيل مات جيّاش سنة خمسمائة فى شهر رمضان منها و الأوّل اظهر و ولى بعده ابنه الفاتك و خالف عليه اخوه ابرهيم بن جيّاش و كان ابرهيم فارسا جوادا متأدّبا فاضلا و خالف عليه ايضا اخوه عبد الواحد بن جيّاش و كان العسكر تحبّه و تأمنه و جرت بينهم وقايع و حروب و اقتسمت عبيد ابيهم عليهم و آلت الحال الى ان ظفر فاتك بن جيّاش باخيه عبد الواحد فعفى عنه و اكرمه

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[1] ? مستضافين | [2] ? لَيْسَ يُمِرُّ وَلَايُحْلِى

[3] J. and Khi, فقات والله به

ابوه علىّ على سرير وهو يعلّم ولده قال له ابوه ان غلبت الهندى اوفدتك على المكرّم و السيدة بارتفاع هذه السنة و دفعت لك الوفادة التى يدفعونها لعامل تهامة وهى الوف من الدنانير فتراخيت له حتى غلبنى قصدا فى التقرّب الى قلب ابيه فطاش الحسين من الفرح فسفه علىّ بلسانه فاحتملته لابيه فمدّ يده الى الخرقة التى كانت على عيني فاختطفها فقام ابوه فقبح عليه وقمت من الغيظ فعثرت[1] فقلت انا جيّاش على جارى عادتى ولم يسعنى سوى[2] فوثب على بن القم خلفى حافيا يجرّ رداه حتى ادركنى فامسكنى فاخرج المصحف فحلف لى بما طابت به النفس فحلفت له و ليس معنا احد ثم امر باخلا دار الاغر بن الصليحى[3] و فرشت و علقت ستورها و نقلت الجارية الهندية اليها * الوصائف و الوصف[4] و ما عون[5] و اثاث و عاقنى عنده الى ان امسى الليل ثم أذن لى فى الانصراف فدخلت فوجدت الجارية قد وضعت[6] بين المغرب و العشا ولدى الفاتك ثم اتانى علىّ بن القمّ ليلا فقال ان خبرنا لا يخفى على اسعد بن شهاب قلت انّ معى فى البلد خمسة الاف حربة فقال ابن القم لجياش قد ملكت فاكشف امرك قال جيّاش فانّى اكره قتل اسعد بن شهاب فانّه طال ما قدر على اهلنا و ذرارينا فعفى عنهم و احسن اليهم فقال له[7] ابن القم فافعل ما تراه فضرب جيّاش[8] الابواق و الطبول فثارت معه عامّة المدينة و خمسة الاف من الحبشة و أسر ابن شهاب فقال له ابن شهاب ما يؤمنّا منكم يآل نجاح و الايام سجال بين الناس و مثلى لا يسأل العفو فقال له جيّاش و مثلك

[1] See supra.

[2] Khi, لم يسعنى الا الشيخ; Read لم يسعنى سوى الانصراف ?

[3] دار العزّ دار الصليحي ?

[4] Khi, حمل اليها وصائف و وصفان

[5] معون ?

[6] Khi, فيما بين

[7] لى

[8] Khi, فامر جياش بضرب

الشطرنج فقال له والده ما هنا من يغلبك الّا جيّاش بن نجاح وقد مات فى الهند ثم خرج علىّ والد الحسين وهو طبقة عالية فلعبت معه فكرهت عليه[1] فخرج الدست مايعا[2] فاغتبط بى و خلطنى بنفسه وهو[3] فى كلّ يوم و ليلة يقول عجل الله علينا بكم يآل نجاح فاذا كان الليل اجتمعت انا و الوزير خلف ثم نفترق بالنهار و انا فى اثناء ذلك اكاتب الحبشة المتفرقين فى الاعمال و آمرهم بالاستعداد قال جيّاش و حين حصلت حول المدينة خمسة الاف حربة متفرقة فى الحارات و داخل البلد قلت للوزير خلف انّ لى عند عمر بن سحيم مالاً فخذ منه عشرة الاف دينار و انفقها فى الرجال الذين قد اجتمعوا ففعل ذلك ثم لقيت الوزير ليلة فقلت له * يا مولاى القايد اتانى[4] حسين ابن سلامة فى النوم و قال لى يعود اليك الامر الذى تحاوله ليلة ولادة هذه الجارية الهندية ثم التفت الحسين الى جانبه الايمن فقال لرجل معه اليس كذلك يا امير المؤمنين قال بلى و يبقى الامر فى ولد هذا لمولود برهة من الدهر قال جيّاش و لقد اذكر يوما ان[5] علىّ بن القم عاد يوما من دار السلطان الى داره وهو مغتاظ فلما سكن غيظه قال لى اصعد يا هندى حتى العب معك فلما ان لعبنا جاء الحسين ابنه فضرب عبدا له بالسوط فنالنى طرفه و انا غافل فاعتريت[6] و كانت عادة لى اقولها عند كلّ مهمّ يبغتنى و قلت انا ابو الطامى فقال لى الشيخ ما اسمك يا هندى فقلت بحر فقال بحر والله يصلح ان يتكنى ابا الطامى قال جيّاش و ندمت و ساءت ظنونى بالقوم قال جيّاش فلما اراد الله رجوع هذا الأمر الينا تلاعبت انا و الحسين الشاعر ابن القمّ الشطرنج و ليس معنا الّا

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[1] Khi, ان اغلبه
[2] ? معًا
[3] Khi, كلن
[4] ? اتانى مولاى القائد حسين
[5] اذكر ان
[6] ? فتعثرت ? فتعاررت

بن ابى طاهر و دخلنا الهند فى سنة احدى و ثمانين فاقمنا بها ستة اشهر ثم رجعنا الى اليمن فى تلك السنة بعينها قال و من اعجب ما رايت فى الهند ان انسانا قدم من سرنديب ولم يبق احد الّا فرح به و زعموا انّه عالم باخبار المستقبلات فسألناه عن حالنا فبشّرنا بامور لم يخرم من قوله منها شيئًا[1] و اشتريت جارية هندية فعلقت منّى بالهند و دخلت بها اليمن وهى فى خمسة اشهر و حين وصلنا الى عدن قدّمت الوزير خلف الى زبيد الى[2] طريق الساحل و امرته ان يشيع موتى فى الهند و ان يستأمن لنفسه و يكشف لى عن حقيقة احوالنا و من بقى من قومنا بالحبشة و صعدت الى ذى جبلة فكشفت احوال المكرّم بن علىّ و ما هو عليه من العكوف على لذاته و اضطراب جسمه و تفويض الامر الى زوجته الحرّة الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد ثم انحدرت من الجبال الى زبيد فاجتمعت بالوزير ابن خلف و اخبرنى عن احوال طابت بها نفسى عن اوليائنا و بنى عمّنا و عبيدنا و انهم فى البلاد كثيرون و انّما يعدمون رأسا يثورون معه قال جيّاش و جريت على عادة الهند فاخرجت شعر وجهى و طوّلت اظفارى و شعرى و سترت عينى الواحدة بخرقة سوداء و كنت قريبا من الدار السلطانية و اذا افترقت الناس من الصباح قصدت مصطبة علىّ بن القمّ و هو وزير الوالى من قبل الملك المكرّم بن علىّ فسمعته يقول يوما والله لو وجدت كلبا من آل نجاح لأملكته زبيد و ذلك لشرّ حدث بينه و بين الوالى اسعد بن شهاب قال جيّاش و خرج الحسين بن علىّ القمّى الشاعر و هو يومئذ رأس طبقة اهل زبيد فى الشطرنج فقال لى يا هندى تحسن تلعب بالشطرنج فقلت نعم فتلاعبنا فغلبته فكاد ان يسطو علىّ ثم دخل على ابيه فقال له غلبت فى

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[1] ? لم يخرم من قوله شئ

[2] Khi, على

الخير انّك على كل شيء قدير و لا انسى قول الشاعر العثمانى من قصيدة و ارتجلها فى ذلك المقام يصف المظلّة

ما كان اقبح وجهه فى ظلّها   ما كان احسن راسه فى عودها

ثم ارتحل سعيد الى زبيد و الرأسان معه بعد ثلاثة ايام من الوقعة و قد حاز من الغنائم ملكا عظيما[1] و مغنما جسيما و مما غنم الفى فرس بعددها و ثلاثة الاف جمل بعددها و دخل زبيد يوم السادس عشر من ذى القعدة سنة ثلاث و سبعين و رأس الصليحى و اخيه امام هودج الحرّة اسماء بنت شهاب حتى انزلها بدار شحار و نصب الرأسين قبالة طاقتها و هرب اسعد بن شهاب من زبيد الى المكرّم بصنعاء و امتلأ صدور الناس[2] هيبة من سعيد بن نجاح بعد مقتل الصليحى و تغلّب ولاة الحصون على ما فى ايديها من المعاقل و كاد أمر المكرّم ان يتضعضع و استوثق الأمر بتهامة لسعيد و بعث بالاموال الى بلاد الحبشة من يشترى له عشرين حربة[3] و انقطعت الاخبار بين المكرّم و بين والدته الحرّة اسماء بنت شهاب حتى كان من نزوله و اخذها من زبيد ما قدّمنا ذكره ثم عاد سعيد الى زبيد فملكها و اخرج منها ولاة المكرّم ولم يزل مالكا لها حتى كان ما قدّمنا ذكره من قتله فى وقعة حصن الشعير[4] بتدبير الحرّة الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد زوجة الملك المكرّم سنة احدى و ثمانين و اربعمائة

ذكر دخول جيّاش بن نجاح الى الهند و معه الوزير قسيم الملك ابو سعيد خلف بن ابى الطاهر الاموى من ولد سليمان بن هشام بن عبد الملك

فقال جيّاش ثم تنكّرت و دخلت الى عدن و معى الوزير خلف

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[1] Kan. عقيما

[2] Khi, العرب

[3] Khi, عد ; Read عشرين الفا ?

[4] الشعر ?

فانك لم تفخر علينا كفاخر ضعيف ولم يغلبك مثل مغلب

ثم ان سعيدا انفذ رسولا الى الخمسة الالاف التى قد كان الصليحى بعثها من الليل تقتل سعيدا يقول لهم انّ الصليحى قد قتل و انا رجل منكم و العزّ عزّكم و لم يبرح سعيد على باب المسجد و الرأسان منصوبان معه و الطبول تضرب حتى قدمت العبيد عليهم فسلمت عليه و بهم استطار على عسكر الصليحى قتلًا و أسرًا و نهبًا قال جيّاش و عزّت نفس اخى سعيد من ذلك المقام و شمخ بانفه حتى علىّ و انّى لاخوه ابن امّه و ابيه و ذلك انّى اشرت عليه ان يحسن الى السيدة اسماء و يعفو عن من معها من بنى الصليحى و هم مائة و سبعون سلطانا كان الصليحى يخاف معهم[1] ان ينافقوا بعد[2] و يعفو عمن معها من ملوك قحطان و هم خمسة و ثلاثون سلطانا و ان يكتب على يديها الى والدها المكرّم بن علىّ الصليحى انّا ادركنا ثارنا و استرجعنا ملكنا و قد احسنّا اليك و حملنا اليك أُمّك بصيانة و العفو عن بنى عمّك و قلت له والله يا مولانا لئن فعلت ذلك لا نازعتك قحطان فى ملك تهامة و لئن كرهت ذلك ليهيجنّ حفائظها و لتطلبنّ دخولها فاجابنى سعيد بقول الاوّل من الشعراء

لا تقطعن ذنب الافعى و تتركها ان كنت شهما فاتبع راسها الذنبا

ثم أمر بالصليحيين فقتلوا عن آخرهم رحمة الله عليهم اجمعين و لقد رايت شيخا منهم اتقى الحربة بولده فنفذت منهما جميعا نعوذ بالله من جهد البلاء قال جيّاش لا انسى راس الصليحى فى عود المظلّة و قراءة المقرئ قل اللهم مالك الملك تؤتى الملك من تشاء و تنزع الملك ممن تشاء و تعزّ من تشاء و تذلّ من تشاء بيدك

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[1] منهم | [2] ? من بعده

الى ان دخلنا طريق[1] المخيم و الناس يعتقدون انّا من جملة عبيد
الصليحى و حواشيه ولم يشعر بأمرنا الا عبد الله بن محمد اخى[2]
الصليحى فانه ركب وقال لاخيه يا مولانا اركب فهذا والله هو الاحول
بن نجاح و العدد الذى جاءنا به كتاب اسعد بن شهاب من زبيد
فقال الصليحى لاخيه عبد الله انّى لا اموت الّا بالدهيم وبئر أمّ معبد
معتقدا انها بئر أمّ معبد التى نزل بها رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و سلّم
حين هاجر و معه ابو بكر قال مشعل ابن فلان العكّى قاتل عن نفسك
فهذه والله بئر الدهيم بن عبس و هذا المسجد موضع خيمة أمّ معبد
بن الحرث العبسى قال جيّاش فاركّه اليأس من الحيوة فاراق الماء
فى قبّ درقته[3] ولم يرِمْ من مكانه حتى قطعنا راسه بسيفه و كنت
اوّل من طعنه و شركه[4] فيه عبد[5] لنجاح هو الذى يطعنه و انا الذى
جزرت راسه بيدى و نصبته على عود المظلّة و أمرت بضرب الطبول
و الابواق و ركبت فرسه الحضرمى المسمّى بالدبال و اما عبد الله
بن محمد الصليحى و كان فارس العرب فحمل فينا وقتل منّا رجالا ثم
اعتنقه رجل منّا و سقطا الى الارض و نادى صاحبنا اقتلونى انا و الرجل
فان اعز قومى رخيص يقتلني[6] قال فشكّهما سعيد بحربة واحدة وجزّ
راس عبد الله بن محمد وهو يعتقده الصليحى ثم ركب سعيد فرس
عبد الله بن محمد و الرأسان منصوبان امامه على[7] باب المسجد الذى
فيه السيّدة اسماء بنت شهاب زوجة الصليحى فقال لها اخرجى
فصيحى[8] على السلطانين فقالت لا صبّحك الله يا احول بخير ثم
انشدت و وجهها مكشوف قول امرىء القيس الكندى

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[1] Kan. طرف
[2] Read اخو
[3] ? جبّه ? قباء درعه
[4] Khi, شركنى
[5] Khi, عبد الملك بن نجاح بطعنة اخرى و جزرت
[6] ? فانه اعزّ على قومى لا رخيص يقتلنى
[7] ? الى
[8] Khi, و صبّحى

الحديد مركّبة فى الجريد و حدثنى احمد بن فلاح صاحب ديوان التحقيق بزبيد قال لما خرج سعيد بن نجاح الاحول من زبيد * قتل جدى فرسا كان تحته فركبه[1] و كان خروج سعيد من زبيد يريد الصليحى فى آخر اليوم التاسع من ذى القعدة سنة ثلاث و سبعين و اربعمائة قال جيّاش بن نجاش فخرجنا فى طريق الساحل و تركنا الجادّة السلطانية مخافة العساكر ان تلقانا و بيننا و بين المهجم مسيرة ثلاثة ايام للمجدّ و كانت الاخبار قد سبقتنا الى الصليحى بخروجنا و الاسماع يومئذ قد امتلأت فى الجبال و التهايم ثم ان هذا وقت ظهور الاحول سعيد بن نجاح حتى لا تكاد المساجد و المجالس و المدارس و الاسواق و الطرقات تخلو من الخوض فى ذكر ذالك و كنّا نكتم هذا الامر مخافة على نفوسنا و سعيد يقسم بالله تعالى انّى قاتله و انّى صاحب الوقت و يتحدث بذالك مع اكثر الناس فلما سمع الصليحى بخروجنا سيّر من ركابه خمسة الاف حربة من الحبشة و اكثرهم مماليكنا و بنو عمّنا و قال خذوا راس هذا الاحول و راس اخيه و من معه و كنّا قد سلكنا يد البحر فخالفناهم و لقد اذكر ان اظلم علينا الليل و نحن بالمراوعة من اعمال الكدرا فخرج علينا رجل من اتلال الوادى و قال اظنّكم عريتم الطريق فقلنا نعم فقال اتبعونى فما زال بين ايدينا حتى طلع الفجر ففقدناه و نالنا تعب و مسّنا ضرّ من تعب الجمع[2] بين مسير النهار و الليل رجّالة حفاة و سعيد بن نجاح راجل بيننا و الفرس يجنب وهو يقول يا صباح الخير و الظفر و السرور وهو يقول باردوا[3] الانسان قبل ان يموت بغير ايدينا فى غد فوالله لا طلعت شمس غد وهو فى الدنيا ولم يزل بعد[4] السير على الوحى و الياس[5] من الرجال

[1] Khi, فوجدوا جنديا على فرس فقلوه و اخذوا الفرس

[2] Kan. تعب ولحفاء. Possibly تعب الجوع

[3] بادروا ؟

[4] لم يزل السير ؟

[5] اليسّ ؟ or الياس ؟

وهذه اخبار آل نجاح ملوك زبيد من الحبشة

لم يزل المؤيّد نصير الدين نجاح مالكا لتهامة من اعمال ابن طرف الى عدن و ملوك الجبال تعظم دولته و تتّقى صولته الى ان قتله الداعى علىّ بن محمد الصليحى مع جارية اهداها اليه سنة اثنتين و خمسين و اربعمائة و تماسك بنو نجاح بتهامة بعد ابيهم سنتين و الأمر لمولى لهم يقال له كهلان وهم فى حدّ عزم الكمال و بعضهم دون البلوغ ولم يلبث الداعى علىّ بن محمد الصليحى ان ازالهم و افترق آل نجاح بعد حصولهم فى جزيرة دهلك فاما معارك الاكبر فقتل نفسه غبنا و اما الذخيرة فكانت حالفة و اما سعيد الاحول وهو قاتل الصليحى[1] فكانا رجلى البيت ما منهما الّا من تأدّب و عاش و كاثر و لكن اباهما نجاحا كان يرشح اخاهما الاكبر للأمر وهو معارك و اما جيّاش فانه تنكّر و دخل الى زبيد فاستخرج وديعة كانت له عند عبد الرحمن بن طاهر القيبى و عاد الى دهلك مدّة ايام الصليحى عاكفا على العلم حتى برع و اما سعيد الاحول وهو اكبر من جيّاش وهما شقيقان فكان أمره من اعجب ما ذكر و ذلك انه خرج من دهلك الى زبيد مغاضبا لاخيه جيّاش حين نهاه جيّاش عن الغدر بصاحب دهلك و استتر سعيد بزبيد عند الرئيس ملاعب الخولانى وهو سوقه[2] الّا انّه كان اكثر الناس حبّا لآل نجاح و احتفر سعيد بن نجاح نفقا بين دور ملاعب كان يسكنه اكثر الاوقات ثم كتب سعيد من زبيد الى اخيه جيّاش بدهلك يأمره بالقدوم الى زبيد و يبشره بانقضاء دولة الصليحى و اقبال دولتهم فلما قدم جيّاش الّى سعيد ظهر سعيد من زبيد فى سبعين رجلا لا فرس مع واحد منهم و لاسلاح الّا مسامير من

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[1] ? و جيّاش | [2] ? سوقى

علىّ الاعز بها و بقيت فى يده من سنة اربع و ثلاثين الى عام ست او سبع و اربعين ثم مات ثم ملك عقيم[1] حدثنى الشيخ معمر بن احمد بن عتاب و الاديب الفاضل ابو بكر بن احمد العبدى و كانا خصيصين بحاله قالا مات بلال عن مال من العين المكى[2] ستمائة الف و خمسين الفا و من العين المصرى عن ثلثمائة الف و نيف و عن ابهرة من الفضة المصاغ حلى و مراكب خيل و بغال و سيوف و رماح و اداوى كتابة و طشوت و اباريق و سمعديات[3] و معاش[4] و منافل و سطول و طاسات و حرابيات[5] و قصب من الفضة و آلات مرسه[6] بالذهب و سكاكين صليحية و كيزان فضة و بعليات ما مقداره خمسة ابهرة و مائتا رطل فاما الملبوس و البضايع فخزائن و مخازن و كذلك الطيب و اصنافه و العدد و السلاح و تحف الهند و الطاف الصين و المغرب و العراق و دنانير[7] مصر و ارض عمان و كرمان ما لا يدخل تحت حصر و انتقل الجميع بوصية الى مولاه الداعى محمد بن سبا ففرق ذلك فى مدّة سنتين فى سبيل المروة و المعروف و مات بلال عن اولاد رجال منهم الشيخ مدافع بن بلال و وزر بعده ثم مات و اقام بكفالة الامر الاميريين[8] الطفلين ولدى عمران بن محمد و اخيهما * منصور و الوزير و لها ابو[9] الفرج[10] ياسر بن بلال المحمّدى و ليس دون ابيه فى حزم و لا عزم و لا اقدام فاما الكرم فهو مشهور عنه مذكور به منسوب اليه

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[1] ثم مات والملك عقيم ?

[2] الملكى ?

[3] شمعدانات ?

[4] See معشش in Dozy's Dict., also Bul. Ed. of Mac. II. 1200, where علامات is suggested instead of ملاات

[5] جرابيات ?

[6] مرصّعة ?

[7] تفانين ?

[8] بكفالة الاميرين ?

[9] منصور الوزير ابو ?

[10] Khi, الفتوح

و ملك بعده ولده عمران بن محمد بن سبا فمنعنى اهل زبيد من السفر اليه و قضى الله بتوجهى الى ديار مصر رسولا لامير الحرمين المعظمين سنة احدى و خمسين و خمسمائة فاخذت كتابا من الملك الصالح الى الداعى عمران بن محمد اسأله عن تقسيط المال الذى مات ابوه محمد الداعى و هو عندى له و هو ثلاثة الاف دينار فقال لى[1] الداعى عمران بن محمد ما مضمون كتاب الملك الصالح فى المال قال له القاضى الرشيد تقسيط قال الداعى بل يقدّم بيتين يقسط على القاف فيه فيقسط[2] ثم تناول ورقة و كتب فيها ما مثاله

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم اقول و انا عمران بن الداعى المعظّم محمد بن الداعى الاجلّ سبا بن ابى سعود بن زريع بن العباس اليامى انّ الفقيه عمارة بن الحسن الحكمى برئ الذمة من المال الذى درج[3] من يده لمولانا الداعى محمد بن سبا وهو الفان و سبعمائة دينار ملكية ثم فارقت البلاد سنة اثنتين و خمسين و خمسمائة و المسافرون من اليمن الى الديار المصرية يحكون من مكارمه و شدّة عزايمه ما يخجل الدهر اذا كاد و الغيث اذا جاد ثم مات فى سنة ستين و خمسمائة عن اولاد هما محمد و ابو السعود و منصور و ما منهم الا[4] من ادرك الحلم الى هذه التاريخ المذكور وهو المحرّم سنة اربع و ستين و خمسمائة من الهجرة صلوات الله و سلامه على صاحبها و هذه نبذة حقيرة و معر[5] الى التفصيل فقيرة فى اخبار الشيخ السعيد الموفّق السديد ابى الندى جرير بن بلال[6] المحمدى وقد قدمنا انه ولى عهده[7] لمولاه سبا ثم ابقاه

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[1] فقال الداعى ?

[2] يُقْسِط على القافيه فيُقسِّط ?

[3] درّج ?

[4] Om. الا ?

[5] قعر ?

[6] Read بلال بن جرير

[7] عدن ?

و الشيخ ابو الحسن بن على بن محمد الصليحى و الشيخ المرجّى الحرانى الى ذى جبلة و من ذى جبلة الى حصن حبّ و كل من رفع اليه رقعة وقّع له فيها بما مثاله العزّة لله وحده فلما انتهينا الى الحصن احصينا الرقاع التى بايدى الناس و كان خازن ماله الشيخان احمد بن موسى ابن ابى الزر[1] العامل و الشيخ ريحان المحمدى فجاء مبلغ الرقاع خمسة الاف دينار فاستكثرها الشيخ احمد بن موسى فقال نشاوره على ذلك و قال الشيخ ريحان اما انا فما اكره الحيوة فوالله لئن شاورته على ذلك لا سلمت منه فدفع له[2] المال فى ذلك اليوم باسره و مدحه فى ذى جبلة القاضى يحيى بن احمد بن ابى يحيى بقصيدة فاثابه عليها بخمسمائه دينار و خلعة و قدمت من تهامة وله بيدى مال كان قد دفعه الىّ فى بعض اغراضه و جاءنى كتابه الى زبيد من ذى جبلة يستدعينى اليه فوصلته فعند مثولى بين يديه قال ما اهديت لى قلت كذا و كذا من اشياء كنت قد اعددتها له قال ما اريد الّا الشعر قلت والله ما علمت[3] كلمة و لا اقدر اعلمها[4] خوفا من اهل زبيد لانّهم ينقمون علىّ فى عمله فلم يزل يسألنى والله حتى اخجلنى و اقترح[5] على الوزن الذى عمل القاضى يحيى بن احمد بن ابى يحيى عليه فلما انشدته قال قد كنت اثبت القاضى بخمسمائة دينار و خلعة و انا اثيبك مما تحت يدك بمثل ذلك و اميزك عنه فى الخلعة بثيابى التى علىّ فقبضت المال و الثياب و كان ذلك احد الاسباب التى نقمها علىّ الحبشة و همّوا من قتلى بما وقى الله عزّ و جلّ و مكارم الداعى محمد بن سبا اكثر من ان تحصى و مات فى سنة ثمان و اربعين و خمسمائة

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[1] ? الدرّ
[2] ? لهم
[3] ? عملت
[4] ? اعملها
[5] ? اقترحتُ

دينار فقال اجعلوها ثلثمائة دينار وهى قليل ثم نهض و تولّينا قسمته
بينهم و حضرنا يوما عنده بقصر الحجر فى موضع يعرف بالجنّات و عنده
من الشعراء صفى الدولة احمد بن علىّ الحقلى و القاضى ابو بكر بن
محمد اليافعى الجندى قاضى القضاة و هو مجيد وله بديهة لا فضل فى
الروية عليها و القاضى يحيى بن احمد و[1] ابى يحيى قاضى صنعآء
و هو فى الشعراء عند اهل اليمن فى طبقة ابن القمّ فاقترح الداعى
بيتى شعر على وزن قام على خاطره و شرط لمن سبق مالا و ثيابا
كانت عليه فنسأ الجماعة فسبقهم القاضى ابو بكر بن محمد اليافعى
و كان قريبا منى فسرقت الورقة من يده فجعلتها فى فمى[2] و انتحلت
بيتيه و قمت فانشدتها الداعى و اخذت خصله و سلبته و سلبته
نصله[3] و فزت بالمال و الثياب ثم فاضت ينابيع كرمه على الجماعة
فما منهم الا من خلع عليه واجزل صلته و لما كان فى شهور سنة تسع
و اربعين ابتاع الداعى محمد بن سبا من الامير منصور بن المفضّل
جميع المعاقل التى كانت لبنى الصليحى و هى ثمانية و عشرون[4]
حصنا و مدائن منها مدينة ذى جبلة و ذى اشرق واب فاخذها منه
بمائة الف دينار و نزل منصور الى حصنيه صبر و تعزّ و طلق زوجته
الصليحية و هى اروى بنت علىّ بن عبد الله الصليحى و صعد
الداعى الى المخلاف فسكن بذى جبلة و تزوّج امراة الامير منصور بن
المفضّل و تزوّج ايضا بنت السلطان اسعد بن وائل بن عيسى الحرّة
الوحاظية و اسكنها بدار ابن سباع بعد الصريحين و اكثر الشعراء تهنيه
و مدحه بالمعاقل و العقائل الزوجات المذكورين و طاش فرحا لما
صار اليه و بسط يده بالعطايا حتى اذكر يوما وقد طلعت صبيحة انا

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[1] Read بن احمد بن ابى يحيى

[2] كمّى ?

[3] (*sic*) Read و اصاب خصله و سلبت نصاه ?

[4] Khi, ثمانية عشر

الى عدن فملّكه بلال و استحلف له الناس و الديوان وزوّجه بلال بابنته و جهزه باحسن جهاز فحاصر انيسا و يحيى بن علىّ العامل على الدملوة ثم ملكها و اطاعته البلاد كافة و قال انيس وقد لمته فى التسليم للدملوة و الدملوة حصينة لو لم استامن قتلنى قتلنى[1] الجوار و النساء بالقباقب لانى فى مدّة الحصار اسمعهنّ يقلن لعن الله هذا العبد الذى يحتاج مثل ما نحتاجه كيف يمنع من هو خير لنا منه يعنين اخا مولاهنّ محمد بن سبا و كان القاضى الرشيد احمد بن الزبير قد خرج من الابواب المقدّسة بتقليد الدعوة المجيدية الاعزّ المرتضى علىّ بن سبا سنة اربع و ثلثين و خمسمائة فوجد عليًا قد مات فقلّد الدعوة[2] محمد بن سبا و نعته المعظم[3] المتوّج المكين و نعت وزيره بلال بن جرير بالشيخ السعيد الموّفق السديد و كان الداعى محمد بن سبا كريما ممدّحا يثيب على المدح و يفرح به و يقترحه و يكرم اهل الادب و الفضل و ربما قال البيت الشعر و الابيات و رايته فى يوم عيد و قد احرقته الشمس فى المصلّى بظاهر مدينه الجوة و الشعراء يتسابقون بالنشيد فقال لى قل لهم و ارفع صوتك لا يتزاحموا فلست اقوم حتى يفرغوا و كانوا ثلثين شاعرا ثم اثابهم جميعا و اذكر ليلة و انا عنده فى قصر بالجوه اريد النزول الى عدن و عنده القاضيان ابو بكر بن محمد اليافعى الجندى و ابو الفتح بن السهل و جماعة من خواصّه الاعيان مثل ابنى قاسم سبا و محمد و هما و نيران[4] واحدهما طبيب و منجّم و هو محمد و كان قد اجتمع على بابه اصحاب هذه المدايح و هم عشرة ثم اخرج القصائد و قال ما ذا ترون فى ثوابهم وقدّر الجماعة فلم يزيدوا على مائة

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[1] لو لم استلم قتلتنى الجوار ?

[2] Khi, اخاه

[3] Khi, و وصفه بالمتوج

[4] و هم نِيّران ?

سبا بعد فتحه الزعازع بعدن لسبعة اشهر و بقى من المال القرض
ثلثون الف دينار و قضاها عنه الاعز ولده علىّ بن سبا و حدثنى
الشيخ السعيد بلال بن جرير المحمدى قال لما ملكت حصن الخضرا
و اخذت الحرّة بهجة أمّ السلطان علىّ بن ابى الغارات وجدت عنده
من الذخائر ما لم اقدر على مثله و عدن كلها بيدى فى مدّة متطاولة
قال بلال و بين عدن و لحج مسير ليلة فاذكر انى كتبت من عدن
بخبر الفتح و اخذى الخضراء و سيّرت رسولا بالبشرى الى مولانا الداعى
سبا بن ابى السعود و فى اليوم الذى كان فيه فتحى للخضراء فتح
مولانا مدينة الزعازع فالتقى رسولى و رسوله بالبشرى و ذلك من
اعجب التاريخ و التجأ علىّ بن ابى الغارات الى حصنين يقال لهما
منيف و الحمله و هما لسبا صمروا [1] عالى لحج و قتله محمد بن سبا
فى لحج هو و محمد بن منيع بن مسعود و رعية [2] ابن ابى الغارات
فى سنة خمس واربعين و امّا الداعى سبا فدخل مدينه عدن و لم
يقم بها الّا سبعة اشهر كما قدمناه و دفن بها فى سفح التعكر من داخل
البلد و اوصى بالامر لولده علىّ الاعز و كان موت الداعى سبا سنة ثلاث
و ثلثين بعد موت الحرّة الملكة بسنة و كان الامير الاعز المرتضى
علىّ بن سبا مقيما بالدملوة و همّ ان يقتل بلالا بعدن فمات مسلولا
و اوصى الاعز بالامر لاولاده و هم حاتم و عباس و منصور و مفضّل
و كانوا صغارا فجعل كفالتهم الى الانيس الاعزّى و الى يحيى بن
علىّ العامل و كان وزيره و كاتبه و كان محمد بن سبا قد هرب من
اخيه فاستجار بالامير منصور بن مفضّل بن ابى البركات بتعزّ و صبر
فاجاره و حين مات علىّ بالدملوة سيّر بلال من عدن رجالا من
همدان فاخذوا محمد بن سبا من جوار المنصور بن المفضّل و نزلوا به

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[1] ? لسبا صهيب

[2] J. اعمد

فقال اجلنى[1] يا با حمير فلم يبق عندهما غيرى فقال انّك تعلم ان الحرب نار حطبها الرجال و الخيل و انا اريد منك ان تدفع لى ديتى و هى الف دينار ففعل الداعى ذلك ثم قال و دية ولدى فلان و اخيه فاخذ عنهما الفى دينار ثم قال دفع الله عنك يا ابا حمير و بقى على الخيل ان عقرت فقال له الداعى حتى تعقر الخيل قال الهمدانى قدم لنا ثمنها كما قدمت لنا الدية فدفع له الداعى كيسا فيه خمسمائة دينار فلما قبض المال قال و بقيت خصلة ما اظنّ كرمك يا ابا حمير يردّنى فيها قال و ما هى قال انى عزمت على ان اتزوّج فلانة ابنة فلان و انت تعرف شرف قومها و ليس لى من المال ما يليق ان اقابلهم به فدفع له الداعى مائة دينار ثم قال انعمت و تفضّلت ولم يبق شىء الّا انه قبيح بمثلى ان اتزوّج و ولَدَىّ بلا زواج فدفع له مائتى دينار لكلّ واحد[2] مائة ثم قام الهمدانى فلما بلغ باب الخيمة رجع فقال للداعى سبا والله لا اسالنّك حاجة بعد الحاجة التى رجعت لها و هى ان لى بنتا لا زوج لها و قبيح بنا ان اتزوّج انا و اخوتها و تبقى ارملة قال له فما ذا يكون فقال تدفع لى مالا ازوّجها به فدفع له مائة دينار اخرى ثم تمثّل الداعى بقول الراجز استنتف لحيه زيد فانتف[3] وحدثنى الداعى محمد بن سبا و بلال بن جرير المحمدى قالا انفق الداعى سبا بن ابى سعود على حرب السلطان علىّ بن ابى الغارات ثلثمائة الف دينار ثم افلس و اقترض من تجار عدن الذين يتوالونه مثل الشريف ابى الحسن محمد بن ابى العمرى من ولد عمر بن الخطاب و الشيخ ابى الحسن علىّ بن محمد و ابن اعين و ظافر بن فراح و غيرهم مالاً ثم مات الداعى

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[1] Or اجْلُنى

[2] Khi, منهما

[3] Read استنتفت لحية زيد فانتتفت ?

لى يا صبى قل لابيك يثبت فلا بدّ اليوم عشية من تعتيل[1] الجشميات[2]
اللواتى فى مضاربه فلما اخبرت والدى بذلك ركب بنفسه و قال
لمن حضر من آل الذيب وهم بنو عمّه الادنون ان العرب المستاجرة
لا تقدر على حرّ الطعان و لا يمسك * النور الابموقده[3] فالقوا بنى
عمّكم فاصطلوها[4] بانفسكم و الّا فهى الهزيمة و العار فالتقى القوم فحمل
منّا فارس على منيع بن مسعود فطعنه طعنة شرم بها شفته العليا
و ارنبة انفه و كثر الطعن بين الفريقين و الجلاد بالسيوف و عقر الخيل
و العرب المحشودة[5] نظّارة ثم حملت همدان ففرقت بين الناس
و تحاجز القوم لان وادى لحج اقبل دافعا بالسيل فاوقفوا[6] على عدوتى
الوادى يتحدثون فقال الداعى سبا او غيره لمنيع بن مسعود كيف
رايت تقتيل[7] الجشميات * يا ابا المدافع[8] فى هذه العشية فقال
منيع وجدته كما قال المتنبى

و الطعن عند محبيهن كالقبل

فلم يزل الناس يستحسنون هذا الجواب لمنيع لان الشاهد وافق الحال
و حدثنى الداعى محمد بن سبا قال اقامت فتنة الزعازع سنتين
و كان على بن[9] محمد بن ابى الغارات فى اوّل الامر ينفق الاموال
جزافا و الداعى يمسك فكاد الناس ان يميلوا علينا فلما تضعضعت
حال علىّ بذل الداعى ما لم يخطر بالبال ان يبذله و لقد اذكر يوما
ان رجلا من همدان دخل على الداعى سبا و هو مخيم فى الخيمة[10]

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[1] Read تقبيل
[2] Khi, الحُشّمات
[3] Khi, الثور الا قيده ; perhaps النار الاموقده]
[4] D. in Khi.
[5] Khi, المعسودة
[6] Khi, فوقفوا
[7] Read تقبيل
[8] Khi, يا ابا رافع
[9] Read اخو, or omit محمد بن
[10] Khi, وهو فى الخيمة

و الشيخ احمد بن عتاب الهذلى نائبا لسبا بن ابى السعود فى نصف عدن فانبسط ابن الجزرى فى قسمة الارتفاع على احمد بن عتاب و امتدت ايدى اصحاب علىّ بن ابى الغارات الى ظلم الناس و عاثوا فى البلد و افسدوا و اطلقوا الاقوال بمذمّة الداعى سبا و قالوا من ذلك مما يوجب الغيظ و يثير الحفيظة و الداعى فى ذلك[1] مهتمّ بجمع الاموال و الغلّات سرًّا شرًّا و[2] كلّ من يلوذ بالداعى * فى ذلك[3] يضام و يهتضم و الصولة لاصحاب علىّ و الداعى فى ذلك يحتمل و حين كاد احتماله ان يخرج الأمر من يده عزم على مناجزة القوم و قدّم قائده الشيخ السعيد الموفّق بلال بن جرير فولّاه عدن و امره ان يهايج القوم و يحرّك القتال بعدن ففعل بلال ذلك و كان شهما[4] ان جمع جموعا من همدان و جنب بن اسعد[5] و عنبس[6] و خولان و حمير ومذحج و غيرهم و هبط من الجبال[7] فى نازل[8] القوم بوادى لحج و الداعى سبا بقرية[9] فى هذا الوادى مسوّرة يقال لها بنى اتّبه فنزلها ببنى عمّه آل الزريع و لبنى عمّه مسعود بهذا الوادى مدينة اخرى كبيرة يقال لها الزعازع مسوّرة ايضا فخيّم كلّ منهم بمدينة ثم اقتتلوا اشدّ القتال

و ظلم ذى القربى اشدّ مضاضة   على المرء من وقع السهام المهنّدِ

و حدثنى الداعى محمد بن سبا قال كنت فى طلايع الداعى فظهر لنا علىّ بن ابى الغارات و عمّه منيع بن مسعود ولم تحمل الخيل افرس من الاثنين و لا اشجع فانهزمنا فادركنا منيع بن مسعود فقال

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[1] Khi, اثنا ذلك
[2] Khi, سرا فكان كل
[3] D. in Khi.
[4] Khi, ولم يلبث سبا ان جمع
[5] بن حرب ?
[6] Om. Khi. Read عنس
[7] Khi, من دملوه ; J. فلم يقف الداعى بالدملوة حتى نزل الى لحج
[8] Khi, فنازل
[9] Read وللداعى سبا قرية

محمد بن سبا ولده عمران ثم نفى[1] و صفت[2] بعده لآل زريع الى ان اخرجهم منها السلطان المعظّم شمس الدولـة توران شاه ابـن ابى ايوب فى ذى القعدة وكانت بيد محمد و ابى السعود ابنى عمران بن محمد بن سبا و قد كان ابن[3] حرابه فى عدن نصيب لا اقوم على حفظه و لا على تاريـخ وقته و ليس فى آل الـكـرم[4] اكرم من عمران بن حرابة[5] و من مفضل بن زريـع و دون كرمهما ينـقطع الوصف و بنو الكرم[4] يعرفون بآل الذيب وهم بعد بنى الصليحى بقيّة العرب باليمن ولـما مات محمد بن ابى الغارات بن مسعود بن الـكرم ولى الامر من بعده اخوه علىّ بن ابى الـغارات وهو صاحب حصن الخضرا المستولى على البحر و على المراكب و المدينة و الداعى الاوحد المظّفر مجد الملك شرف الخلافة عضد الدولـة سيف الامام تاج العرب و مقدّمها داعى امير المومنين سبا بن ابى السعود بن زريع بن العباس بن الـكـرم اليامى شريك السلطان علىّ بن ابى الغارات فى عدن و هو مالك لبابها ولما يدخل من البرّ و لـه معقل الدملوة و الـرما و سامع و مطران و ذبحان و بعض المعافر و بعـض الجـند و اعمالـه فى الجبال واسعة و لـه من الاولاد الاعزّ علىّ و محمد و المفضل وزياد و روح

ذكر السبب فى زوال على بن ابى الغارات من عدن و حصولها للداعى سبا

حدثنى الداعى محمد بن سبا و جماعة من مشايخ عدن قالوا كنّا نعرف ابن الجزرى ابا القاسم نائبا لعلىّ بن ابى الغارات فى نصف عدن

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[1] توفى ؟

[2] و صفَت البلاد بعده ؟

[3] لابن ؟

[4] Khi, المكرم ; Kdn. الـكـرم

[5] محمد ؟

اليه الشريف اسعد بن عبد الصمد بن محمد الحوالى و كان اصدق الناس اليه فادركه من الجند على ليله فقال له هذه الحرّة الملكة حجة مولانا مشرفة على الموت و ليست تثق باحد الا بك فارجع اليها فرجع فاحتفظت به على كرامة وقيدته بقيد فضّة فيه خمسون اوقية و وصل الرسول من عدن يطلبه فامتنعت الحرّة الملكة عليه و قالت اله انت حامل كتاب مولانا فخذ جوابه و الّا فاقعد حتى اكتب الى مولانا و يعود الجواب فدخل السلطانان سليمان و عمران ابنا الزرّ و بذلا لعبد الله بن المهدى المعمرى عشرة الاف دينار و حصنين باعمالها و كانت الحرّة الملكة الى رايه فخوّفها سؤ السمعة بالنزارية و أمر الرسول و من معه ان يشيعوا بذلك ولم يزل بها حتى استوثقت لابن نجيب الدولة من ابن الخيّاط باربعين يمينا و كتبت الى مولانا الآمر باحكام الله امير المؤمنين و سيّرت رسولا هو كاتبها محمد بن الازرقى[1] وكان اديبا منشيا للديوان بليغا مجيد الالفاظ باهر الاحسان ثم سيّرت الحرة الملكة فى الهدايا بدنة قيمة الجواهر التى فيها اربعون الف دينار و شفعت فيه فما هو الّا ان خرج من ذي جبلة بقفص خشب و الناس ينظرون اليه فقال لهم ما تنظرون أسد فى قفص ثم ساروا به الى ان فارقوا ذى جبلة بليلة حتى جعلوا فى رجله طوبة[2] من مائة رطل حديد و شتموه واهانوه و بات فى الدهليز عريانا فى الشتا و بادروا به[3] من عدن فى جلبة سواكنيه و اخّروا رسولها محمد بن الازرقى بعدها بخمسة ايام[4] ثم سفروه و تقدّموا على

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[1] Khi, الازدى

[2] Khi, لبنة

[3] Khi, و بادروا به الى عدن و سفروه الى مصر

[4] Khi, بعده بخمسة عشر يوما

قد خرفت فركب الى ذى جبلة و تنصّل و اعتذر و كانت الملكة حجّة الامام عليه السلام و كان سبب هذا القبض على ابن نجيب الدولة[1] الفقيه ابو عبد الله الحسين بن على الحلبى[2] ان المأمون فى وزارته سيّر رسولا الى اليمن كان يحمل السيف و يسمّى الامير الكذاب فلما وصل و[3] اجتمع بابن نجيب الدولة فى ذى جبلة فى مجلس حافل ولم يكن ابن نجيب الدولة اكرمه و لا اضافه و لا عنى به و قصد ان يغضّ منه فقال له ابن نجيب الدولة انت والى الشرطة بالقاهرة فقال بل الذى الطم خيار من فيها عشرة الاف نعل[4] فغضّ من ذلك ابن نجيب الدولة و التصق اعداء ابن نجيب الدولة الى هذا الرسول و اكثروا برّه و حمل الهدايا اليهم و ضمن لهم هلاك علىّ بن ابرهيم بفصلين امّا احدهما فقال اكتبوا على يدى الى مولانا الآمر كتبا تذكرون فيها انه دعاكم الى نزار و راودكم على ذلك فامتنعتم و الفصل الثانى اضربوا سكّة نزاريه و انا اوصلها الى مولانا الآمر باحكام الله ففعلوا ذلك و وافق وصوله من اليمن القبض على المأمون فاوصل الكتب و السكّة الى مولانا فقضى ذلك بتسيير الامير الموفّق ابن الخيّاط للقبض على ابن نجيب الدولة و سار معه من الباب مائة فارس من الحجرية المقطعين و ممن كان فى صحبة هذا ابن الخيّاط عزّ الدين و سار مع ابن الخيّاط ابنه سعد الملك فلما وصل الخبر بان الرسول فى دهلك توجه ابن نجيب الدولة الى بلاد زبيد بعد امتناع و كراهته لذلك و كان يقول داع لا ينافق و الموت اصلح من النفاق ودخل اعداوه الى الحرّة الملكةً و قالوا لها احتفظى يا مولاتنا بابن نجيب الدولة فان الامام لا يطلبه الا منك فتمارضت الملكة و ارسلت

[1] على ماحدّث ؟
[2] البجلىّ
[3] Om. و
[4] ثُعَل ؟

خرفت و استحقّت عندى ان يحجر عليها فعند ذلك وصل اليها السلاطين الاربعة سليمن و عمران ابنا الـزرر و سبا بن ابى السعود و ابو الغارات و اسعد بن ابى الفتوح و المنصور بن المفضّل و استأذنوها فى حصار ابن نجيب الدولة بالجند فاذنت لهم و كانت الجند مسوّرة و معه فيها من همدان اربعمائة فارس منتقاة فجاءته السلاطين فى ثلاثة الاف فارس و ثلاثة[1] الاف راجل و احاطوا به و كانت مع ابن نجيب الدولة فى الجند فرسان كلّ فارس منهما[2] يعدّ بمائة فارس منهم الطوق بن عبد الله و محمد بن احمد بن عمران بن الفضل بن على اليامى و عبد الله بن عبد الله الذى ولى الدعوة بعد ابن نجيب الدولة و هو من بنى الصليحى و منهم علىّ بن سليمان الزواحى و ابو الغيث بن سامر و محمد بن الاعز و عاش الى ان ذبحه ابن مهدى عذرا[3] و منهم الفريديين ولما اشتدّ الحصار على ابن نجيب الدولة و هو فى اشدّ التعب كتبت الحرّة الملكة على جارى العادة منها الى عمرو ابن عرفطة الجبنى[4] فاتاهم[5] فخيّم بذى جبلة و بعثت الى وجوه القبائل ففرّقت فيهم عشرة الاف[6] مصرية و قالت للرسل اشيعوا فى العسكر ان ابن نجيب الدولة فرّق فى الناس عشرة الاف[6] مصريه * فان انفق السلاطين[7] شيئا من الذهب المصرى و الّا ارتحلنا فلما خوطب السلاطين بذلك وعدوا الناس فلما كان من الليل ارتحل السلاطين كل واحد منهم الى بلده و اصبحت الحشود من كلّ بلد بلا رأس فانقض الناس عن الجند فقيل لابن نجيب الدولة هل ابصُرت هذا التدبير الذى[8] قلت انها

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[1] Khi, ثلثين

[2] منهم

[3] غدرا or صبرا ?

[4] عرقطة الجنبى ?

[5] فاتاها ?

[6] Khi, دينار مصرية

[7] Khi, فطلبت العساكر من سلاطينهم ان ينفقوا عليهم

[8] للتى ?

استأمنوا الى اصحاب زبيد و لما تزاحف الناس فى الحرب رمى رجل من العشرة المستأمنة بسهم فلم يخط انف الفرس الذى عليه ابن نجيب الدولة فسقط علىّ بن ابرهيم الى الارض حتى شتّ به الفرس فانهزم عسكره فقتل السودان بأسرهم ولم ينج من الارمن سوى خمسين و كانوا اربعمائة قوس و اما الداعى فقاتلت عليه همدان اشدّ قتال حتى اردفه منهم رجل يقال له الساعى و جاهدت عنه من همدان خمسة عشر فارسا احدهم الطوق و غاب فرس ابن نجيب الدولة من الوقعة صلاة الظهر يوم الجمعه فاصبح يوم السبت بمدينة الجند و بينها وبين زبيد اربعة ايام او ثلاثة للمجدّ ولم يمس الخبر الّا بذى جبلة بان ابن نجيب الدولة قتل بزبيد ثم وصل الداعى من الجند بعد اربعة ايام و ركب الى ذى جبلة و اجتمع بالحرّة فارتاش و عادت حاله فغزا بلاد سليمان بن ابى الزر اربعة اشهر ثم تهادنا و عاد الى الجند ثم غزا آل الزريع الى الجوة فالتقى معه ابن المفضّل[1] بن زريع بالحمه بدى سلمه فطعن ابن نجيب الدولة و كان جعد الفراسة فسقط الى الارض فطعنه عبد لمسعود بن زريع * يقال له زريع[2] يقال له مسافر و حمل الطوق الهمدانى على مسافر فقتله و وقف عند ابن نجيب الدولة حتى ركب و عاد ابن نجيب الدولة الى الجند و كان جَوشنه قد سقط و وقع على الارض فى هذه الوقعة فقال مفضل بن زريع فى ابن نجيب الدولة لما سقط جوشنه

مضى هاربا ناسيا جوشنه　　مخافة يلم بان تطعنه
و ليس من الموت يُنجِى الفرار　　كذاك ترى الانفس الموقنة

و فى سنة تسع عشرة سأت عشرته[3] على الملكة الحرّة و قال قد

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[1] Read معه المفضل　[2] Om. ?　[3] Khi, سيرته

و ما تحت ثياب اكثر من[1] شامة او اثاول او جراح او اثر نار فكان بن نجيب الدولة اذا سألهم عن غوامض هذه الاشياء اعتقدوا انه يعلم الغيب و اوّل ما عمل بذى جبلة ان اخذ رجلا من خولان من بنى عمرو ثم من بنى عمّ عمران بن الزرر يقال له سليمن بن عبيد و هو رجل نبيه القدر عالى الذكر فضربه بالعصا حتى اخذت فى ثيابه و رجعت خولان الى[2] ذى جبلة فهجم سليمان بن احمد الزواحى ابن اخى الحرّة الملكة و زوج أمّ همدان بنت المكرّم فاخذ الخولانى من ابن نجيب الدولة بغير اختياره فخلع عليه وارسله الى قومه فانكفّت اكفّ خولان عن ذلك البسط ثم ان ابن نجيب الدولة غزا اهل وادى ميتم[3] و زبيد و غزا اهل السهلة فأمنت البلاد و رخصت الاسعار و انكفّ الذعار و قبض يده عن اموال الناس و عدل فيهم و اقام الحدود و عزّ به جانب الحرّة الملكة و انقمع اهل اليمن عن الطمع فى اطراف بلادها و استخدم من بنى حماس و سنحان[4] ثلثمائة فارس و قوّم عليهم الطوق الهمدانى و لما مات الافضل سنة خمس عشرة و خمسمائة قوّاه المأمون و شدّ أزره و كتب اليه بالتفويض و بسط يده و لسانه و سيّر اليه المأمون اربعمائة قوس ارمن و سبعماية أسود و سكن الجند[5] وهى وطيئة للحافر متوسطة فى الاعمال فضاق به الأمر على سلاطين الوقت و هم سليمن و عمران ابنى الزرر و منصور بن المفضّل بن ابى البركات و سبا بن ابى السعود و مفضل بن زريع و فى سنة ثمان عشرة دخل[6] زبيد و الوزير بها يومئذ منّ الله الفاتكى و كانت عشرة رماة من اصحاب ابن نجيب الدولة قد

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[1] ? تحت ثيابهم من

[2] فطرد خولان عن جبلة Khi, ? عن

[3] ميتم

[4] سنحان

[5] Khi, امرته السيدة ان يسكن الجند

[6] Khi, غزا زبيد فقاتل اهلها على باب القرتب

و السؤال لها فى صرف العرب عنهما ولقد حكا لى السلطان يزيد بن عيسى الوائلى قال اذكر و قد ارسلنى عمران بن الزرر الى الحرّة الملكة و هو مصافّ للعرب يستنجد بالحرّة فبعثت اليه بعشرة الاف دينار معونة فردّت بها اليها و قال هل هى تعرف ما ينفعنى قال يزيد بن عيسى فكتبت لى بخطّها[1] الى عمرو بن عرفطة الجبنى[2] برقعة فيها اذا وقفت على أمرنا هذا فارتحل عن بلاد بنى الرز[3] مشكورا فلما وقف عمرو بن عرفطة[2] عليها نادى فى الناس بشعار الرحيل و هو قوله[4] يا راشد بن مروح فلم يمض ساعة و بقى منهم احد فقال عمران اخيه[5] هذا و ربّك العزّ و الطاعة

ولما كان فى سنة ثلاث عشرة و خمسمائة قدم الى اليمن ابن نجيب الدولة و هذه اخبار الموفق ابن نجيب الدولة منها انه كان فى ابتدآء أمره على خزانة الكتب الافضلية و كان عزيز الحفظ مستبصرا فى المذهب الطاهر قايما بتلاوة القرآن العزيز و كان يقرأ على روايات فاما اسمه فهو علىّ بن ابرهيم بن نجيب الدولة و اما نعوته فهو الامير المنتخب عزّ الخلافة الفاطمية فخر الدولة الموفّق فى الدين داعى امير المؤمنين سار بمن معه من الحجريه عشرون فارسا مختارة منتقاة و حين وصل ابن نجيب الدولة الى جزيرة دهلك لقيه الكازم[6] الواصل من عدن محمد بن ابى العرب الداعى من ولد صاعد بن حميد الدين فكشف لابن نجيب الدولة اسرار اليمن و احوال الناس كلّهم و اسماءهم و حلاهم و كناهم و تواريخ مواليدهم

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[1] ? فكتبت بخطّها.
[2] عرقطة الجنبي
[3] الـزرّ
[4] ? قولهم
[5] ? لاخيه
[6] ? الـكاظم

خدد فاخرج منه السلطان عبد الله بن يعلى الصليحى الشاعر الاديب الفاضل الكامل و ملكه و كان عبد الله بن يعلى هذا كثير الاموال فانتقلت امواله الى المسلم[1] بن الرز[2] فقويت شوكته و اتّصل بالحرّة الملكة و بحواشيها و رجا ان تقيمه الحرّة عوضا عن المفضّل بن ابى البركات و بعث اليها بولديه عمران و سليمان فحسن موقعهما من قبلها و امرت بهما فعلما الخطّ على كبر فلما كان بعد ذلك زوّجت سليمان و عمران بعض ربائبها عندها و صارا يختلفان الى ابيهما بخدد و خولان مستظهرة و لهم صولة و كلمة فلما مات المسلم[1] ملك ولده سليمن حصن خدد و بقى عمران عندها ثم ان عمران حسنت حاله عندها و كان فتح بن مفتاح بعد موت المسلم[1] بن الرز[2] خالف على الملكة مولاته بحصن التعكر و استبدّ به دونها فتلطف عمران حتى خطب الى القائد فتح بن مفتاح ابنته بعد خلافه و عصيانه عليها بالتعكر فلما كانت ليلة الدخول بها دبّر سليمن و عمران على فتح حتى غدرا به و ملكا عليه التعكر فاجاره عمران و اشترط عليهما فتح اشياء وفيا له بها منهما[3] انهما وهبا له حصنا يقال له شار فنقل اليه من الذخائر ما يعزّ عليه فلما حصل التعكر بيد عمران واصل الحرّة الملكة ببذل الطاعة و الخدمة فلم تلتفت اليه و امتدّت ايدى خولان على الرعايا و غيرهم و عاثوا و افسدوا و كانت الليلة التى ملكوا فيها حصن التعكر ليلة الاحد الثانى عشر من ربيع الاول سنة خمس و خمسمائة ولم تزل هذه حالة خولان مع الحرّة اذا رأتهم قد طغوا ارسلت الى عمرو بن عرفطة الجبنى[4] سطرا او سطرين بخطّها فيقبض على بلاد ابنى الزر من العساكر[5] الفارس و الراجل فلا يخلصهما منه الا الضراعة اليها

[1] مسلم
[2] الـزرّ
[3] ? منهم
[4] عرقطة لجنبى
[5] ? بالعساكر

المفضّل بتهامة فسار لا يلوى على احد حتى وصل الى التعكر[1] و حصر الفقهاء فقامت خولان فى نصرة الفقهاء و اقام الحصار عليهم ثم رأوا ان خولان خاذليهم فقال لهم ابرهيم بن زيدان لن اموت حتى اقتل المفضّل ثم اهلاً بالموت فعمد الى حظاياه من السرارى فاخرجهن فى اكمل زى و احسنه و جعل بايديهن الطارات و اطلعهن على سقوف القصور بحيث يشاهدن[2] المفضّل و يسمع هو و جميع من معه فى حصن عزان التعكر[3] و كان المفضّل اكثر الناس غيرة و أنفة فقيل انه مات فى تلك الليلة وقال آخرون امتصّ خاتما كان فى يده معدّا عنده فاصبح ميتا و الخاتم فى فيه فكان موته فى رمضان سنة اربع و خمسمائة و لما مات المفضّل طلعت الحرّة الملكة من ذى جبلة و خيمت بالريادى على باب التعكر و كاتبت الفقهاء و لاطفتهم الى ان كتبت لهم خطّها بما اقترحوه من أمان و اموال و اشترطوا عليها ان ترحل هى و جميع الحشود و يصل اليهم من يرضونه واليًا و يقيمون مع الوالى الى ان تصل غنائمهم ما منهم فوفت لهم بذلك و ولّت التعكر مولاها فتح بن مفتاح و حدثنى السلطان ناصر بن منصور قال حدثنى عمّك ابرهيم بن زيدان بعد نزوله من التعكر ان نصيبه من العين كان خمسة و عشرين الفا و كانت خولان قد دخلت منها الى مخلاف جعفر قبل موت الملك المفضّل سنة الاف برمى الشعر و اكثرها بنو بحر و بنو صعة[4] و مران و رواح[5] و شعب حى و بنو جماعة ففرّقهم المفضّل فى الحصون و استحلفهم للملكة فلما مات المفضّل وثب من مران رجل يقال له مسلم بن الرر[6] على حصن

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[1] J. and Khi, فطاع عزان التعكر و سار محاصرًا للتعكر

[2] ? يشاهدهن

[3] Khi, و هو في قبة بعران

[4] ? ضنة

[5] ? رزاح

[6] ? الزرّ

من آل الزريع بمائة الف دينار كل سنة و حدثنى الشيخ ابو الطاهر القابونى قال اذكر يوما و انا عند المفضّل بن ابى البركات بالتعكر و قد اتاه ارتفاع نصف عدن خمسين الف دينار فسيّرها من وقته الى الحرّة الملكة الى ذى جبلة و لم يتعلّق منها بشىء فعاتبته على ذلك فقال ليس ينفعنى الّا ما حصل[1] عندها فلما وصل المال اليها اعادته اليه و قالت ابقه عندك فانت أحوج اليه منّا قال ابو الطاهر ففرّق المفضّل على الحاضرين عشرة اكياس فنالنى منها كيس فيه الف دينار و كان المفضّل يحتجب حتى لايرجى لقاؤه ثم يظهر فيغنى من اجتمع ببابه من الوفود و يصل اليه الضعيف و القوى فينظر فى احوال الاعمال و العمال و يجيب عن كلّ كتاب وصل الى الباب ثم يغيب فلا يظهر ولا يوصل اليه و هذه عادته مذ عظم امره و لما اخرج المنصور بن جيّاش من زبيد باخيه عبد الواحد بن جيّاش هاجر هو و عبيده الى الملك المفضّل و التزموا على النصرة ربع البلاد فسار المفضّل معهم فاخرج عبد الواحد و ملّكهم ثم همّ ان يغدر بهم و يملك زبيد عليهم فحين خلى التعكر من المفضّل و طالت اقامته بتهامة و فى التعكر نايب يقال له الحمل و كان هذا الحمل متقمصا[2] متمسكا بالدين فصعد اليه الى التعكر سبعة من اخوانه الفقها منهم محمد بن قبس[3] الوحاظى و منهم عبد الله بن يحيى و منهم ابرهيم بن محمد زيدان و له كانت لبيعة و هو عمّى اخو والدى لابيه و أمّه و اخذوا الحصن من الحمل و كانت الرعايا من السنّة قد قالوا للفقهاء اذا حصلتم فى راس الحصن فاوقدوا النار ففعلوا ذلك ليلا فاصبح عندهم على باب الحصن عشرون الفا و استولت الفقهاء على ملك لم يعهد و وصل الخبر الى الامير

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[1] ? لى من | [2] ? منقمسا

[3] ? قيس

تطلع من ذى جبلة فى ايام الصيف فتقيم به و اذا برد الوقت سكنت بذى جبلة و المفضّل يتصرّف عن أوامرها و يدخل عليها مع خواصّ وزرائها و الامراء و الاكابر من عبيدها و هو رجل الدولة و مدبّرها و المرجوع الى رأيه و سيفه و الحرّة لا تقطع أمرا الّا به فعظم بذلك شانه و علت كلمته و غزا تهامة * برارا له و عليه[1] و هبط عدن مراراً ولم يبق باليمن من يساميه ثم قال للحرّة يوما و هو فى التعكر انظرى يا مولاتنا الى ما كان فى هذا الحصن من ذخائرك فانزلى به الى دار العزّ او فانزليه فى بعض هذه القصور و اما هذا الحجر يعنى التعكر فاتركيه لى فلا طاعة لك على فيه[2] بعد اليوم قالت[3] لو لم تقل هذا القول ما اخرجتك[4] اليه الحصن حصنك و انت رجل البيت و لا حرج عليك منّى فيما عاد لسموّ قدرك و علوّ أمرك فخجل منها و اطرق و نزلت الحرّة الملكة الى ذى جبلة ولم تغيّر من الاحوال شئا فكان ينزل اليها ثم يترضّاها فى طلوع الحصن كعادتها فلا تفعل وهى فى[5] ذلك تواصل برّه بما يحسن عنده موقعه[6] من الجوارى المغانى و الكساوى و الطيب و العبيد و الاستاذين و غير ذلك و من لامها فيه و حذرها منه لم تسمع كلامه وله فى نصرتها و الذبّ عن اعمال دولتها مواطن حميدة منها انه حارب الداعى سبا بن احمد حين خطب الحرّة فلم تفعل فسار الى سبا فى جيوش عديدة و حارب علىّ بن سبا صاحب قيضان[7] و اخرجه منه و حارب عمرو بن قرمطه الجنبى[8] و غيره من سنجان[9] و عنس و زبيد و استرجع لها نصف عدن

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[1] Khi, مرارا فتارةً له و تارةً عليه

[2] ما فيه

[3] Khi, فقالت له

[4] Khi, احوجتك

[5] Khi, مع

[6] Khi, يحسن موقعه

[7] Khi, قطان

[8] ارقطة الجنبى ?

[9] Read سنحان

عشرة و عاد علىّ بن سبا شمس المعالى الى اليمن فملك حصون ابيه و دسّ عليه الامير المفضّل من قتله بالسمّ سنة خمس و تسعين و اربعمائة

هذه اخبار الملك المفضّل بن ابى البركات بن الوليد الحميرى صاحب التعكر

لما اختط المكرّم بن علىّ دار العزّ بذى جبلة و انتقل عن صنعاء الى مخلاف جعفر قال عبد الله بن يعلى

هبّ النسيم فبتّ كالحيرانى   شوقا الى الاهلين و الجيران
ما مصر ما بغداد ما طبرية   كمدينة قد حفّها نهران
خدد لها شام وحب مشرق   و التعكر السامى الرفيع يمان

و كان التعكر يومئذ فى يد السلطان اسعد بن عبد الله بن محمد الصليحى ابن عمّ الملك المكرّم الذى قتل مع الداعى علىّ بن محمد اخيه بالمهجم فسأت عشرة[1] هذا اسعد بن عبد الله بن محمد ابن عمّ الملك المكرّم فنقله عن مجاورته و عن التعكر و عوّضه حصون ريمة و اعماله[2] و ولّاه اخاه ابا الفتح[3] بن الوليد حصن تعز و المفضّل يتوصف للملك المكرّم بذى جبلة و هو من صغار الدار الذين يدخلون على الحرّة الملكة فى رسائل الملك المكرّم و الحوايج بينهما و لما مات ابو البركات والد الامير المفضّل بعد الملك المكرّم جعلت الحرّة ولاية التعكر الى المفضّل بن ابى البركات بعد ابيه و كان التعكر مقرّ ذخائر بنى الصليحى التى صارت اليهم من ملوك اليمن و الحرّة

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[1] Khi, سيرة

[2] Khi, و جعل ابا البركات بن الوليد والياً فى التعكر و اعمالها و ولّى اخاه

[3] Read ابا الفتوح

احد يقرل مولاتنا مولاتنا وارسل الداعى سبا بن احمد الى الحرّة الملكة فى السرّ يسألها ان تاذن له فى الدخول اليها الى دار العزّ ليتوهم الناس انه دخل بها ففعلت ذلك و زعم قوم من اهل ذى جبلة انه اجتمع بها ليلـة واحدة ثم ارتحل فى صبيحتها و قوم يقولون انها بعثت اليه جاريتها فلانة و كانت شبيهة بها و نمى ذلك الى الداعى سبا بن احمد فباتت الجارية واقفة على راسه و هو جالس لا يرفع طرفه اليها حتى اذا طلع الفجر صلّى و امر بضرب الطبول و قال للجارية اعلمى مولاتنا انها نطفة شريفة لا توضع الّا فى مستحقها ثم سار فلم يجتمعا بعد و يقال ان الداعى سبا بن احمد ما وطىء أمة قط و لا شرب مسكرا و كانت زوجته الجمانة بنت سويد بن يزيد[1] الصليحى تقول انا لا اغير على مولانا سبا لانه لا يطأ امة قط و العربيات تقول ما ذا انسلت حوا مثل الجمانة غير اسماء بنت شهاب و دخل فى هذه المدّة شجاع الدولة و اغنوه و دفع له شمس المعالى الوفا من المال و كان كريما و هو زوج فـاطمة بنت المكـرّم من الحرّة الملكة ثم تزوّج عليها فكتبت الى أمّها تستـنجدها فامدّتها بالـفـضل[2] بن ابي البركات فى عسا كر و لبست فاطمة زى الرجال و فصلت من حصن زوجها فى عسكر المفضّل فسيرّها الى أمّها الملكة و ادام الحصار على شمس المعالى حتى اخرجه من مملكته بامان على نفسه فوصل الى الافضل مستـنجدا به فلم يلتفت الافضل اليه ولم يكرمه و حمل اليه الامير شجاع الدولـة الذى كان قد اغناه فى اليمن ثـلاثون اردبا من الشعير ولم يطعمه لقمة خبز و لا احسن معه

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[1] Khi, زيد

[2] Read بالمفضّل

يردّ[1] على الحرّة الملكة السيّدة الرضية الزكية وحيدة الزمن سيّدة ملوك الزمن[2] عمدة الاسلام ذخيرة الدين عصمة المسترشدين كهف المستخبين[3] ولية امير المومنين و كافلة اوليائه الميامين و يقول لها و ما كان لمؤمن و لا مؤمنة اذا قضى الله و رسوله امراً ان يكون لهم الخيرة من امرهم و من يعصِ الله و رسوله فقد ضلّ ضلالا مبينا و قد زوّجك مولانا امير المومنين من الداعى الاوحد المنصور المظفّر عمدة الخلافة امير الامراء ابى حمير سبا بن احمد بن المظفر[4] علىّ الصليحى على ما حضر من المال و هو مائة الف دينار عينا و خمسون الفا اصنافا من تحف و ألطاف و طيب و كساوى فقالت اما كتاب مولانا فاقول فيه انى القى الىّ كتاب كريم انّه من سليمان و انّه بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم و لا اقول فى أمر مولانا يا ايّها الملأ افتونى فى امرى ما كنت قاطعةً امرًا حتّى تشهدون و اما انت يا ابن الاصبهانى فوالله ما جئت الى مولانا من سبا بنبأ يقين و لقد حرفتم القول عن موضعه و سوّلت لكم انفسكم امرًا فصبر جميل و الله المستعان على ما تصفون ثم تقدّم زريع بن ابى الفتح وزيرها و الاصبهانى و نظراؤهما فلم يزالوا يلاطفون بها حتى اجابتهم فعقدوا النكاح ولم يلبث سبا بن احمد ان سار فى أمم عظيمة الى ذى جبلة فاقام بها شهرا و الضيافات الواسعة على مخيمه و انفق على عساكره من ماله مثل قدمه اليها من المهر و اتى[5] الداعى سبا بن احمد من على[6] همتها و شرف افعالها *و خفا ذكره عنده[7] و أنّ احدا من الناس لا يعدل بها احدا[8] و كلّ

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[1] السلام ?
[2] Khi, اليمن
[3] Khi, للمستنجدين
[4] Khi, بن علىّ
[5] Khi, راى
[6] علوّ ?
[7] Khi, ماحقر نفسه معه
[8] Omit احدا ?

العرب ايلا و هم مرتّبون على باب زبيد فى عشرة الاف و كانوا ثلاثة الاف فارس و عشرة الاف راجل فلم ينج منهم الّا صبابة يسيرة و هلك الجميع قتلا بالحراب و هرب سبا فى تلك الليلة راجلا فى اغمار الناس حتى لقيه فى اخر الليل من حمله فلم تعد العرب الى تهامة بعدها و من اخبار سبا بن احمد الداعى ما حدثنى به الفقيه ابو عبد الله الحسين بن على البجلى عن ابيه و كان يسكن بذى جبلة و هو من خواصّ الداعى سبأ بن احمد قال لما مات المكرّم بن علىّ عن الحرّه الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد خطبها الداعى سبا بن احمد فكرهت ذلك فجمع العساكر و سار من اشيح يريد حربها بذى جبلة فجمعت هى ايضا جنودا اعظم من جنوده وتصافّ العسكران و شبّ الحرب بينهما اياما ثم قال له اخوها لأمّها سليمان بن عامر الزواحى والله لا اجابتك الى ما تريد الّا بأمر الامام المستنصر بالله امير المومنين فترك سبا بن احمد الداعى الاوحد المنصور قتالها و رجع الى اشيح و سيّر الى الامام المستنصر بالله رسولين هما القاضى حسين[1] بن اسمعيل الاصبهاني و ابو عبد الله الطيب فكتب الامام المستنصر بالله اليها فى أثناء المكاتبات ثلاثة اسطر يأمرها فيها بنكاح الداعى سبا بن احمد[2] أستاذا له يعرف بحامل المدية[3] و ينعت بيمن الدعوة برسم الدخول على الحرّة الملكة قال الجبلى[4] و كنت فيمن بعثه الداعى سبا بن احمد من حصن اشيح الى ذى جبلة صحبة الرسولين و الأستاذ الواصلين من القاهرة المعزية فحين دخلنا على الحرّة الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد وهى بدار العزّ من ذى جبلة تكلّم الأستاذ و هو واقف بين وزراءها و كتّابها و اهل دولتها قيام لقيامه فقال امير المؤمنين

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[1] Khi, ابو عبد الله لحسين

[2] Khi, و سير اليها

[3] Khi, المدية, see Makrizi I. 449 [حامل الدواة]

[4] لبجلى ?

من الجبال و ذروته عالية[1] و كانت حصون بنى المظفّر مطلّة على تهامة مصاقبة لاعمال زبيد و هى اقرب الى تهامة من جميع الجبال و من حصونهم عقر و وصاب و قوارير و الظرف و الشرف و من الشرف هذا ثار ابن مهدى و ذو الرسة و ظفار و ريمة و مخاليفها و بحكم مصاقبة اعمال سبا لتهامة كان يساقى جيّاش سجال الحرب و ذلك ان العرب كانوا اذا برد النسيم جمعوا و نزلوا الى تهامة فلا يلبث جيّاش الّا ان يتنزّح من البلاد ولكن غير بعيد و يقيم سبا يجبى خراجها و لا يؤذى احدا من الرعايا بظلم و لا غيره فكان يحتسب للعمّال بما قبض منهم جياش فى اشهر الصيف و الخريف فاذا خرج الشتا و الربيع ارتحلت العرب عن تهامة الى الجبال و ملكها جياش فتارة يكون رحيل العرب عنها بالقتال و تارة بالوبا[2] و اذا عاد جياش الى زبيد نشرت المصاحف و ابتهلت له الرعايا بالدعاء و حلفت[3] الفقهاء و تطاولت العلماء و احتسب جيّاش ايضا للعمّال و جباة الاموال بما قبضه منهم سبا فى شهور الشتاء و الربيع و لما طال ذلك من امرهما اشار الوزير خلف بن ابى الطاهر على ابن جياش بان يعتقله و يقبض على امواله و املاكه و يقيم محمد بن الغفارى وزيرا له ففعل ذلك ثم ان خلفا نقب الحبس و هرب الى سبا فحسن موضعه منه فلم يزل يحسن لسبا النزول الى تهامة و ضمن له من الحيرة[4] و المكايد ما يقطع به دابرة جياش لسبا مالا يقوم به مقام النصف و ان يشترط على سبا ابعاد الوزير خلف من عنده فلما فعل جياش ما اشار به الوزير استحكمت اطماع العرب فى البلاد و اطمانّوا ثم ان القائد ريحان الكهلانى مولى سعيد بن نجاح بيّت

[1] Yak. لعلوّ ذروته

[2] Khi, بغير قتال

[3] Khi, ظهرت; perhaps حفلت?

[4] الحيل?

باقوال الحكماء منشأ بالشعر يثيب بالمدح[1] و يثيب على المدح
و من ذلك قول علىّ بن الحسين بن القم فيه

و لما مدحت[2] الهيزرى بن احمد   اجاز و كافانى[3] على المدح بالمدح
فعوظنى[4] شعرا بشرا[5] و زادنى   نوالا[6] فهذا راس مالى و ذا ربح
شققت اليه الناس حتى رايته[7]   فكنت كمن شق الظلام عن[8] الصبح
فقبح دهر[9] ليس فيه ابن احمد   و نزه[10] دهر كان فيه عن[11] القبح

و اما مقرّ عزّه فحصن يقال له اشيح و كان اشيح حصنا عاليا يماثل مسار و التعكر[12] و حدثنى المقرى سليمان بن ياسين و هو من اصحاب ابى حنيفة قال بتّ بحصن اشيح لياليا[13] و انا عند الفجر أرى الشمس تطلع من المشرق و ليس فيها[14] من النور شىء و اذا نظرت الى تهامة رايتُ عليها من الليل بقايا[15] وطحاً يمنع الماشى ان يعرف صاحبه من قريب و كنت اظنّ ذلك من السحاب او البخار و اذا هو عقائل[16] الليل فاقسمت ان لا اصلىّ الصبح الّا على مذهب الشافعى لان اصحاب ابى حنيفه يؤخّرون الصبح[17] الى ان تكاد الشمس ان تطلع على وهاد تهامة و ما ذلك الّا ان[18] المشرق مكشوف لاشيح

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1 Khi, يمدح مادحه
2 J. and Khi, مدحت
3 Khi, جازانى ; J. كافانى
4 J. and Khi, عوضنى
5 J. and Khi, بشعرى
6 Khi, عطآ
7 Khi, لقيته
8 J. and Khi, الى
9 Khi, فقُبِّحَ دهرٌ
10 J. نُزِهَ
11 Khi, من
12 Khi, فى العز و المنعة
13 Yak. ليالى كثيرة
14 Yak. لها
15 Yak. ضبابًا
16 Yak. عقابيل
17 Yak. صلاة الصبح
18 Yak. لانّ

هؤلا الخوارج قال فلما وقف سعيد بن نجاح على كتاب الحسين بن التبعى حسن موقع ذلك عنده و استخفّه الفرح بذلك فخرج من زبيد يريد ذى جبلة فى ثلاثين الف حربة و كان مسيره فى يوم قد وعده التبعى فيه و قد كانت الحرّة الملكة كتبت الى الملك اسعد بن شهاب و عمران ابن الفضل الى صنعآء ان يخلفوا نجاحا على تهامة فى ثلاثة الاف فارس ثم يتبعان اثره منزلا بمنزل ففعلوا و لما نزل سعيد بن نجاح تحت حصن الشعير[1] اطبق الجيشان عليه فقتل هو و من معه و قيل نجا منهم الفان و نصب راسه تحت الطاقة التى تسكنها الحرّة بدار العزّ و كانت أمّ المعارك زوجة سعيد بن نجاح معه وهى التى عرفت راس مولاها فى القتلى فصلب بالقرب من طاقتها و كانت الحرّة الملكة تقول عند صلب راس سعيد بن نجاح ليت لك عينا يا مولاتنا حتى تنظرى راس الاحول تحت طاقة أمّ المعارك و فى سنة اربع و ثمانين و اربعمايه مات المكرّم بن علىّ و اسند الوصية فى الدعوة الى الامير الاجلّ الاوحد المنصور المظفّر عمدة الخلافة امير الأمراء ابى حمير سبا بن احمد المظفّر بن علىّ الصليحى

اخبار الداعى سبا بن احمد بن المظفّر بن على الصليحى

اما صفته فكان دهيم[2] الخلق[3] لا يكاد يظهر من السرج * بطائل[4] و اما هو فكان جوادا كريما شاعرا اديبا فاضلا عالما بالمذهب الطاهر خبيرا

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[1] Khi, الشعر

[2] Khi, ذميم الخلق

[3] Khi, قصيرا

[4] Deest in Khi.

عادت الى صنعآء و[1] قالت للمكرّم ارسل يا مولانا على اهل صنعآء فليحتشدوا فى غد ليحضروا الى هذا الميدان فلما حضروا قالت له اشرف عليهم[2] انظر ما ذا ترى فلم يقع طرفه الّا على برق السيوف و لمع البيض و الاسنّة ثم لما توجهت الى ذى جبلة قالت له احشد اهل ذى جبلة و من حولها فلما اجتمعوا صبيحة اليوم الثانى قالت اشرف يا مولانا انظر هؤلا القوم فلم يقع بصره الّا على رجل يجرّ كبشا او يحمل ظرفا مملوءا بالسمن او العسل فقالت له العيش بين هؤلا اصلح فانتقل الامير المكرّم الى ذى جبلة فاختطّ بها دار العزّ الثانى فى ذى بور و كان حائطا فيه بستان و اشجار كثيرة و هو مطلّ على النهرين و على الدار الاولى و امرت الملكة السيّدة ببناء الدار الاولى مسجدا جامعا و هو المسجد الجامع الثانى و بها قبر الملكة السيّدة رحمها الله تعالى الى الآن و كان بناء الدار دار العزّ الثانية الكبيرة سنة احدى و ثمانين و اربعمائة ثم استخلف المكرّم على صنعاء عمران بن الفضل اليامى الهمدانى و اسعد بن شهاب و فى هذه السنة دبّرت الحرّة الملكة فى قتل سعيد بن نجاح الاحول و ذلك انها امرت الحسين بن التبعى صاحب الشعير[3] ان يكاتب سعيد الاحول الى زبيد و يقول له ان المكرّم قد اصابه الفالج و عكف على اللذات ولم يبق امره الّا بيد امراته و انت اليوم اقوى ملوك اليمن فان رايت ان تطبق على ذى جبلة انت من تهامة و نحن من الجبل فتسريح[4] منه و ترجع اليكم البلاد باسرها فافعل فدولتكم احبّ الى المسلمين من

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[1] Om. و ?

[2] و انظر ?

[3] J. and Khi, الشعر

[4] فتستريح ?

فرزقت منه عبد المستعلى و امّا فاطمة بنت الحرّة الملكة من المكرّم
بن علىّ فتزوجها شمس المعالى علىّ بن الداعى سبا بن احمد
و ماتت أمّ همدان سنة ست عشرة و خمسمائة[1] و اما فاطمة
فماتت بعد امها بعامين و ذلك فى سنة اربع و ثلثين و خمسمائة
و سمعت غير واحد من شيوخ ذى جبلة يقول ان الصليحى كان
يخصّها من الاكرام فى حال صغره[2] بما لا يماثلها فيه احد و يقول
لاسمآء اكرميها فهى والله كافلة ذرارينا و حافظة هذا الامر على من
بقى منّا قالوا و سمع غير ذلك منه فى غير موطن و امّا سبب
انتقال المكرّم بن علىّ من صنعآء الى مدينة ذى جبلة فان المكرّم
حين ماتت والدته الحرّة اسماء بنت شهاب فوّض الامر الى زوجته
هذه الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد و استروح الى السماع و الشراب
و استبدّت الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد بالامر و يقال انها استعفته فى
نفسها و قالت له انّ امراة تراد للفراش لا تصلح لتدبير فدعنى و ما
انا بصدده فلم يفعل ثم انها ارتحلت من صنعآء فى جيش جرار
و تركته فى صنعآء و ارتادت ذى جبلة و جبلة كان رجلا يهوديا يبيع
الفخّار فى الموضع الذى بنيت فيه دار العز الاوّلى وبه سمّيت
المدينه و اوّل من اختط ذى جبلة عبد الله بن محمد الصليحى
المقتول بيد الاحول مع اخيه الامير علىّ بن محمد الصليحى الداعى
يوم المهجم و كان اخوه قد ولّاه حصن التعكر و هذا الحصن مطلّ على
ذى جبلة و هى فى سفحه و هى مدينة بين نهرين جاريين فى
الصيف و الشتا و اختطّها عبد الله بن محمد سنة ثمان و خمسين
و اربعمائة ثم حشرت الرعايا فى مخلاف جعفر تحت ركابها لما[3]

[1] Khi, توفيت قبل أمّها سنة ٥١٠ | [2] صغرها ?

[3] ? و لما

بن شهاب و قوم يزعمون ان عليا ولد[1] الحسين بن على بن القم ولى زبيد اسعد بن شهاب[2] قبل ولاية اسعد ابن عراف

اخبار الحرّة الملكة السيّدة بنت احمد

اسمها سيدة بنت احمد بن جعفر[3] بن موسى الصليحى و أمّها الرداح بنت الفارع بن موسى ثم مات عنها احمد ابو الحرّة السيدة فخلف عليها عامر بن سليمن بن عامر بن عبد الله الزواحى فولدت له سليمن بن عامر بن عبد الله الزواحى و هو اخو الحرّة الملكة لأمّها و ولى الدعوة الهاشمية[4] بامرها ثم قتله الامير المفضّل بن ابى البركات بن ابى الوليد[5] بالسمّ رحمة الله عليه و كان مولدها سنة اربعين و اربعمائة[6] و تولّت اسمآء بنت شهاب تاديبها و تهذيبها و يقال انها قالت يوما لاسمآء رايت البارحة كان بيدى مكنسة و انا اكنس قصر مولانا فقالت لها اسمآء كانّى بك والله يا حميرا وقد كنست آل الصليحى و ملكت امرهم و اما صفتها فكانت بيضاء حمراء مديدة القامة معتدلة البدن الى السمن اقرب كاملة المحاسن جوهرية[7] الصوت قارئة كاتبة تحفظ الاخبار و الاشعار و التواريخ و ما احسن مما كانت تلحقه بين سطور الكتاب عنها من اللفظ و المعنى و بنى بها المكرّم احمد بن علىّ فى ايام ابيه علىّ بن محمد الصليحى عام احدى و ستين و اربعمائة فولدت له اربعة اولاد محمدا و عليا و فاطمة و أمّ همدان فامّا محمد و على فماتا طفلين بصنعآء و امّا أمّ همدان فتزوجها السلطان احمد بن سليمن الزواحى و هو ابن خالها

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[1] Read والد

[2] مع اسعد بن شهاب ?

[3] J. and Khi, بن محمد بن جعفر

[4] Om. Khi.

[5] Read بن الوليد

[6] Khi 444.

[7] Khi جوهرية ; perhaps جهروية ?

فقالت اسمآء بنت شهاب اذا المال لم تصرفه[1] فى مستحقّه فما هو الحسرة و وبال ثم كتبت الى اخيها اسعد بن شهاب تأمره ان يحتسب لاحمد بن سالم بعشرين الفا من ارتفاع السنة الحاضرة صلة له و برّا به ولم تلبث اسمآء بنت شهاب ان ماتت بصنعآء سنة سبع و تسعين و اربعمائة[2] و فى هذه السنة أمر المكرّم بضرب الدينار الملكى و اليه ينسب و هو دينار اليمن و المكتوب عليه الملك السيّد المكرّم عظيم العرب سلطان امير المؤمنين و الى اليوم الدينار على هذه السكّة الى ان ولى الداعى عمران بن محمد بن سبا الزريعى ما مثاله اوحد ملوك الزمن ملك العرب و اليمن عمران بن محمد ثم[3] عاد بنو نجاح فاخرجوا احمد بن شهاب من زبيد و ملكوها سنة تسع و سبعين ثم اخرجهم المكرّم بن على منها و قتل سعيد بن نجاح الاحول تحت حصن الشعير[4] بحيلة من السلطان ابى عبد الله التبعى ياتى شرحها فى اخبار الحرّة الملكة السيدة بنت احمد و كان[5] سعيد الاحول فى سنة احدى و ثمانين و اربعمائة و فى هذه السنة خرج جيّاش بن نجاح و الوزير خلف بن ابى الطاهر الاموى الى عدن متنكرين و سافرا الى الهند و اقاما بها ستة اشهر و عادا الى زبيد فملكاها فى بقايا تلك السنة و فى هذه الكرّة ولى اسعد بن عراف زبيد و جعلوا[6] معه على بن القمّ ولد[7] الحسين بن علىّ بن القمّ الشاعر وزيرا و كاتبا على جارى عادة جده[8] مع اسعد

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[1] تُصرّف

[2] J. and D. 479, Khi, 474.

[3] J. and Khi, وفيها

[4] الشعر ?

[5] كان مقتل ?

[6] جُعل ?

[7] Read والد

[8] جرت ?

و هو ينتفض راسه و تتحرك بشرة وجهه ثم قالت له من صاحبيك فسمّاهما لها فوهبت لاحدهما ارتفاع عدن فى تلك السنة و كان مائة الف دينار و وهبت للاخر حصنى كوكبان و حوبان و مخلافيهما و ليسا دون ارتفاع عدن ثم دخل الجيش ارسالا و هى فى الطاق لا تستر وجهها و تلك عادتها فى ايام زوجها لسمو قدرها عمّن يحتجب عنه النساء ثم تقدّم المكرّم فأمر بانزال الراسين و بنى عليهما مشهدا وانما ادركت مشهد الرأسين و يقال ان اسمآء بنت شهاب قالت للمكرّم حين سفر عن وجه من كان مجيئه كمجيئك فما ابطأ و لا اخطأ ولم يكن قولها فى كذابها انا حاملة من العبد صحّة و انما ارادت ان تستثير حفيظته و نادى منادى المكرّم يومئذ برفع السيف بعد الفتح وقال للجيش اعلموا ان عرب هذه البادية يستولدون الجوار السود فالجلدة السوداء تعمّ العبد و الحرّ و لكن اذا سمعتم من يسمّى العظم عزما فهوحبشى فاقتلوه و من سمّاه عظما فهو عربى فاتركوه ثم ولّى خاله احمد بن شهاب اعمال تهامة على جارى عادته و ارتحل الى صنعا باسمآء بنت شهاب قرير العين بالظفر و ادركت اهل زبيد اذا شتم السوقى صاحبه قيل[1] له تشتم[2] الرجل فيقول الشاتم للرجل[3] والله الذى اخذ أمّه من زبيد و قتل من الحبشة عشرين الفا دون أمّه لعمرى انّ هذا هو الرجل حقّا ثم ان المكرّم اعطى خاله اسعد بن شهاب ولاية زبيد و ما معها [4] لابن شهاب فى هذه الكرّة احمد بن سالم العامل و وافده ارتفاع[5] تهامه ففرقت اسمآء على وفود العرب معظمه فنتف احمد بن سالم لحيته و قال دخلت النار فى هذا المال ثم صار الى ما صار اليه

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[1] و قيل ?

[2] Khi, اتشتم

[3] Read الرجل

[4] Lacuna in text.

[5] اسعد بارتفاع ?

و ليست اليوم ازيدكم غير ما سمعتموه منّى بالامس و فيما قبله و فيما قلته كفاية وقد كنت اعرض عليكم الرجوع و فى المسافة إمكان فامّا اليوم فـقد صار الخيار الى عدوكم لانّكم توغلتم عليه خيسة و انّما هو الموت او العار بفرار لا يجدو ثم انشد قول ابى الطيب المتـنبّى

واُورِدُ نفسى و المهنّد فى يدى   موارِدَ لا يصدرن من لا يجالدُ

و كانت الحبشة يومئذ قد صفّت فى عشرين الف راجل و كانت ميمنة العرب لأسعد بن شهاب و عمّه[1] و قال لهما المكرّم لستما كأحد من هذا الجيش لانّكما موتوران و مولاتنا أخت أحدكما و ابنة[2] الاخر و سار المكرّم فى القلب و انطوى العسكر[3] و التقى القوم فقاتلت * الحبشه التى كانت فى القلب و انطوى جناحيا[4] فانكسرت الاجوش[5] و قتلوا قتلا ذريعا و هرب سعيد بن نجاح الاحول و من معه الى دهلك و جزائرها ولم يزل القتل فى الناس الى صلاة الظهر على باب المدينة ثم كان اوّل فارس وقف تحت الراسين المصلوبين وتحت طاقة اسمآء بنت شهاب والدها المكرّم احمد بن على الصليحى فقال لها المكرّم وليست تعرفه ادام الله عزّك يا مولاتنا فقالت مرحبًا يا وجه العرب فسلّم عليها صاحباه مثل سلامه ثم سألته من هو فقل لها انا احمد بن علىّ بن محمد قالت انّ احمد بن على فى العرب كثير فاحسر لى عن وجهك حتى اعرفك فحسر الحديد[6] عن وجه فقالت مرحبًا بمولانا المكرّم و فى تلك الحالة اصابه الهواء فارتعش و احتجلت بشرة وجهه و عاش عدّة سنين

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[1] Khi, و الميسرة لعمّه

[2] Read ابنة اخى

[3] Khi, فاصطدم الجيس

[4] Khi, الحبشة قتالا شديدا ساعة من النهار فانطوى عليهم الجناحان

[5] ? الاحبش

[6] J فحسرعن لثامه ; Khi, فرفع المغفر

البوادى الى زبيد وتحصّنوا بها من خوف العرب و كنت قد بلغت فى الختمة الى سورة و السماء ذات البروج ولم يكن لى شغل فى ايلتى تلك الّا التلاوة الى حيث بلغت من الختمة و المسجد محمول فى قفرة من الارض فاذا انا بفارس يهوّلنى و انا لا اتحققه لغطاط الارض و بقايا الغبش فركز رمحه و اسنده الى الجناح الغربى الذى انا فيه ثم نزل فصعد الىّ شخص ما رايت فى ولد آدم اتمّ منه خلقة و لا احسن منظرا و روائحه روائح الملوك ثم قام الى جانبى فصلّى ولم يلبث الصباح ان تجلّى و اذا رمحه انبوبة من اليراع الكولمى و لا تلتقى عليه من الكفان[1] و الفرس مثل البعير ثم قال لى اختم حزبك فتختمت و هو مصغ الى التلاوة و أمرنى ان ادعو عند الختم ففعلت و هو يؤمّن على الدعاء و اذا الخيل قد اقبلت عند طلوع الشمس ارسالا و حرفا[2] من هجول ذلك الخبت و كلّ رعيل منهم يسلّم عليه و يقف و كان تحيّتهم له انعم اللّه صباحك[3] مولانا و ادام عزّه و لا يزيدهم على الردّ اكثر من قوله مرحبًا يا وجوه العرب الى ان تكاملوا و صعد اليه من[4] المسجد اقوام لم اعرف منهم الّا اسعد بن شهاب بحكم ولايته علينا اهل زبيد فقلت لاسعد من هؤلا فقال امّا هذا فالمكرّم الملك السعيد احمد بن علىّ الصليحى و امّا هذا فالكرم اليامى و امّا هذا فعامر الزواحى اكرم عربى تمشى به الخيل ثم عرضوا على رابع ان يطلع اليهم فلم يفعل و هو عمّ اسعد ابن شهاب و عمّ السيدة اسمآء بنت شهاب و ليس دون الاربعة فى شرف و لا حسب ثم قام المكرّم فخطبهم بحيث يسمع و حفظت من كلامه قوله ايّها المؤمنون ان عزائمكم لو تجسمت جديدًا لكان قد ارهفته

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[1] لهٔ من الكفاة ?
[2] حزقا ?
[3] صباح ?
[4] بالمسجد ?

من المهجم عائدا الى زبيد و الرأسان ينقلان امام هودجها الى ان ركزهما قبالة الطاقة التى اسكنها بزبيد فيها واقامت اسماء بنت شهاب عند سعيد بن نجاح سنة كاملة فى أسره

اخبار مسير الملك المكرّم عظيم العرب سلطان امير المؤمنين احمد بن علّى بن محمد الصليحى من صنعاء الى زبيد لاخذ أمّه اسماء بنت شهاب من أسر سعيد بن نجاح الاحول

قالوا لما اعيت الحيلة فى ايصال كتاب من اسماء الى المكرّم او منه اليها احتالت اسماء و كتبت كتابا و جعلته فى رغيف و احتالت فى ايصاله الى سائل ضعيف فاوصله الى المكرّم فى شوّال سنة خمس و سبعين و اربع مائه و هى تقول فيه انّى قد صرت حبلى من العبد الاحول فان ادركتنى قبل ان اضع و الّا فهو العار الذى لا يزول فلما وقف المكرّم على الكتاب جمع الناس و اوقفهم عليه فضجّوا بالبكاء و ثارت الحفائظ و سار المكرّم من صنعاء فى ثلاثة الاف فارس بعد ان حالفهم و خطبهم لنفسه و حرّضهم و استنصرهم و كان فصيحا خطيبا شجاعا مشهورا بالثبات و الاقدام و لم يكن فى زمانه من يتعاطى حمل رمحه و سيفه و قوسه و شدّة قوته و عظيم خلقته ولم يزل فى كل منزل يخطب الناس و يقول لهم من كان يرغب فى الحيوة فلا يكن معنا الى ان صفا له من الحلفا الف و ستمائة[1] فارس و عاد عنه الف و اربعمائة و حدثنى الشيخ الفقيه المقرى سليمان بن ياسين قال حدّثنى الشيخ الزاهد محمد بن علية قال كنت فى مسجد التريبة يوم الجمعة عند طلوع الفجر و قد دخل اهل

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[1] J. ثلثة الاف

الرياح اذا اشتدّت ثم عاد الصليحى الى صنعآء حرسها الله بعد دخوله الى زبيد فاقام بها اثنتى عشرة سنة لا يريم منها و من اخبار[1] مقتل الداعى على بن محمد الصليحى و هو فى يوم السبت اليوم الثانى عشر من ذي القعده سنة ثلاث و سبعين و اربعمائة و قيل فى سنة تسع و خمسين و اربعمائة و هى رواية صحيحة ثم ولّى الامير الداعى الاجلّ المظفّر فى الدين ولىّ امير المومنين علىّ بن محمد الصليحى اعمال الحصون و الجبال لقوم يثق بهم و أخذ الملوك الاكابر فى صحبته و أخذ معه زوجته الحرّة اسماء بنت شهاب أمّ الملك المكرّم و عزم على التوجه الى مكة حرسها اللّه تعالى و ولّى ابنه المكرم صنعاء و استخلفه و توجّه فى الفى فارس من آل الصليحى مائة و ستّون حتى اذا كان بالمهجم و نزل فى ظاهرها بضيعة يقال لها أمّ الدهيم و بئر أمّ معبد و خيّمت عساكره و الملوك التى معه من حوله مثل * معن و ابن معن[2] و ابن الكرندى و ابن التبعى و وايل بن عيسى الوحاظى و نظراءهم من الملوك الذين أخذهم الصليحى خوفا منهم ان يثوروا بعده على البلاد ولم يشعر الناس و هم مرتّبون فى احوالهم متفرّقون فى انديتهم و انكشف الخبر عن قطع راس الامير علىّ و اخيه عبد الله بن محمد الصليحى و أحيط بالناس فلم ينج منهم احد و انتقل[3] الى سعيد بن نجاح الاحول و رماهم بالحراب و ابقى على وايل بن عيسى الأحاظى و على ابن معن و ابن الكرندى و قتل من بقى و سبى اسماء بنت شهاب أمّ الملك المكرّم فاقبل

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[1] ? الاخبار | [2] J. على بن معن

[3] ? الامر

و اخلاط السودان فسار اليهم الصليحى فى الفى فارس و سبعمائة فارس فالتقوا بالزرايب من اعمال ابن طرف و هو الوطن الذى ولدت فيه و بها اهلى الى اليوم فاستحرّ القتل اوّل يوم بالعرب ثم كانت الدائرة على السودان فلم يبق منهم الا الف احتازهم جدّى احمد بن محمد فى حصنه بعكوة و العكوتان جبلان منيعان لا يطمع احد فى حصارهما و فيها[1] يقول زاجر الحاج اذا نفروا يخاطب عينه[2]

اذا رايت جبلا[3] عكاد
و عكوتين من مكان بادى
فابشري يا عين بالرقاد

و جبلا عكاد فوق مدينة الزرايب و اهلها باقون على اللغة العربية من الجاهلية الى اليوم لم تتغيّر لغتهم بحكم انهم لم يختلطوا قط باحد من اهل الحاضرة فى مناكحتهم و لا مساكنهم و هم اهل قرار لا يظعنون عنه و لا يخرجون منه ولقد اذكر انى دخلت زبيد فى سنة ثلاثين و خمسمائة اطلب الفقه دون العشرين فكان الفقها فى جميع المدارس يتعجّبون من كونى لا الحن فى شىء من الكلام فاقسم الفقيه نصر الله بن سالم الحضرمى بالله تعالى لقد قرأ هذا الصبى فى النحو قراءة كثيرة فلما طالت المدّة و الخلطة بيني و بينه صرت[4] اذا لقيته يقول مرحبا بمن حنثت فى يمينى لأجله و لما زارنى والدى و سبعة من اخوانى الى زبيد احضرت الفقها فتحدّثوا معهم فلا والله ما لحن احد منهم الا لحنة واحدة نقموها عليه و نعود الى ذكر الداعى على بن محمد الصليحى و ادركت العظام و الاظفار فى موضع الوقعة تنسفها

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[1] ? فيهما

[2] Yak. وقال الراجز لحاجٍّ يخاطب اذا نَفَرَ عينه

[3] Read جبلَى

[4] Read صار

يتعلّق بذمتى منها الّا ما لا اعلم به قال اسعد بن شهاب و كان مولانا علىّ بن محمد الصليحى قد ولّى معى ثلاثة رجال كانوا اعوانا لى على اردت[1] من الكفاف و العفاف عن اموال الناس فمنهم احمد بن سالم كان اليه أمر العمالة من وادى حرض الى قريب من عدن فكان اليه امر العمالة من الجهات و كان يحمل عن قلبى شغب العمال و استخراج الاموال و لا احصر من احواله[2] الا على حساب معمول او مال محمول و منهم القاضى ابو محمد الحسين بن ابى عقامة و هو من ولد محمد بن هرون التغلبى الذى قلّده المامون بن الرشيد الحكم باليمن مع ابن زياد فكان قائما عنى باموال[3] الشريعة قياما يجهد عيبه و يومن عيبه و منهم ابو الحسن على بن محمد القم و هو والد الحسين بن على بن محمد القم الشاعر و كان هذا من اعيان الرجال كرما و رياسة و كفاية فى الكفاية و كان مجيد[4] الشعر و هو القايل فى اخيه و قد عنفه فى شدّة ميله الى ولده الحسين من مقطوع

تراه بعين لا نزال ترى بها   بنيه و ما كلّ الرجال رجال

قال اسعد بن شهاب فجعله الداعى على بن محمد الصليحى معى وزيرا و كاتب انشاء و امرنى هو و مولاتنا اسماء ان لا اقطع براى دون رايه و كنت ارسله فى كلّ سنة وافدا عنّى الى صنعآء صحبة العامل احمد بن سالم عامل تهامة و اتجمل من تهامة فى كلّ سنة من العين خاصة الف الف دينار فلا يرجع الىّ صاحباى فى كلّ سنة الا بصلة من مولانا و مولاتنا مبلغها خمسون الف دينار فاقسمها بينى و بين اصحابى و من اخبار الامير علىّ بن محمد الصليحى انه فى سنة ستين و اربعمايه بلغه ان ابن طرف قد اجتمع اليه من ملوك الحبشة

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[1] ؟ على ما اردتُ
[2] ؟ امواله
[3] ؟ باحوال ؟ بامور
[4] ؟ جيّد

ان يولّيها صهره اسعد بن شهاب صنو اسماء بنت شهاب زوجة علىّ بن محمد الصليحى[1] فقال لها زوجها[2] مولاتنا انىّ لك هذا قالت هو من عند الله انّ الله يرزق من يشآء بغير حساب فتبسّم و علم انه من خزائنه فقبضه و قال هذه بضاعتنا ردّت الينا فقالت له و نمير اهلنا و نحفظ اخانا و دخل اسعد بن شهاب زبيد سنة ست و خمسين و اربعمائة و احسن السيرة مع الرعايا و فسح للّسنية فى اظهار اديانهم و سكن دار شحار و هى بنية لا تكاد همّة الخراب ان ترتقى اليها و لا يقدر سلطان الفساد ان يتسلط عليها و هى مما بناه شحار بن جعفر مولى ابن زياد صاحب مخلاف جعفر قال اسعد بن شهاب فاستلقيت يوما على ظهرى افكر فى أمرى و اقول ان الصليحى مبجّل و قد ولّانى زبيد و هو يرى مكان[3] السلطان اسعد بن عراق[4] و عامر بن سليمن الزواحى و فلان و فلان من الملوك[5] تغمرنى باحسانها و ان * ماثلتنى بانسابها فوجدت[6] فى نفسى غضاضة من الدخول تحت منّة مولاتنا اسماء بنت شهاب و كرهت انّ امدّ يدى الى ظلم احد من الرعايا و العمّال ثم غفوت فاذا انا بتراب ينتثر على وجهى من السقف و هو مقرنس بالذهب فصعدت الى سطوحه و كشفت السطح و السقف فوجدت صناديقا من المال و فيها من الصامت و الذخائر ما يزيد على ثلثمائة الف دينار فقدمت ثلث تلك الجملة فتصدقت به و صيّرت ثلثها الى مولاتنا و تخلصت من منّتها و تاثلت[7] اموالا و املاكا بالثلث الثالث و عاهدت الله تعالى ان لا اظلم احدا من خلقه فاقمت واليا خمس عشرة سنة لم

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[1] Kan. فوزنت له زوجته اسماء عن اخيها]

[2] يا مولاتنا

[3] مكانى كمكان ?

[4] عرّاف ?

[5] و مولاتنا تغمرنى ?

[6] وان مثلتُنى باسيابها فوجدتُ ?

[7] تأثّلتُ ?

و كان نجاحا صاحب تهامة يكافيه و يلاطفه[1] و يستكين لأمره ولم يزل الصليحى يعمل على نجاح[2] حتى قتله بالسمّ مع جارية جميلة اهداها اليه و كانت وفاة نجاح بالكدرا فى عام اثنين و خمسين و اربعمائه و[3] كتب الصليحى الى الامام المستنصر بالله يستاذنه فى اظهار الدعوة فعاد اليه الجواب بالأذن فطوى البلاد طيا و فتح الحصون و التهايم و لم تخرج سنة خمس و خمسين و بقى عليه من اليمن سهل و لا وعر و لا برّ و لا بحر الّا فتحه و ذلك أمر لا يعهد مثله فى جاهلية و لا اسلام حتى قال يوما و هو يخطب الناس فى الجند و فى مثل هذا اليوم يخطب على منبر عدن ان شا الله تعالى فقال بعض من استهزا[4] سبوح قد وس فأمر الصليحى بالحوطة عليه و خطب الصليحى فى مثل ذلك اليوم على منبر عدن فقام ذلك الانسان و قال سبوحان قدوسان و أخذ البيعة و دخل فى المذهب الظاهر و من سنة خمس و خمسين استقرّ قرار الصليحى بصنعاء فاخذ معه ملوك اليمن التى ازال ملكها[5] فاسكنهم معه و ولى فى الحصون غيرهم و اختطّ بصنعاء عدّة قصور حدثنى محمد بن بشارة من أهل صنعاء سنة خمس و ثلاثين و خمسمائة و ذكر ان عمره قد ناهز الثمانين قال لم اعقل بقصر الصليحى الا مستهدما[6] و جميع من بنى دارا بصنعاء يبنى بانقاض قصور الصليحى من تلك المدّة الى الآن و ما فنى طوبه و احجاره و اخشابه و امّا زبيد و اعمالها تهامة فكان الصليحى اقسم لا ولّاها الّا لمن وزن له مائة الف دينار ثم ندم على يمينه و اراد

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[1] Kan. كان يخاف نجاحا صاحب تهامة فكان يلاطفه

[2] Kan. و فى الباطن يعمل الحيلة فى قتله ولم يزل حتى

[3] Kan. فى سنة ٥٣

[4] Kan. من حضر مستهزيا

[5] الذين قد ازال ملكهم ?

[6] لم يبق من قصور الصليحى الا ما هو مستهدما ?

استطاع خبر عبدى مرجان نفيس و نجاح فمرّ علىّ بعض من يعرفنى فتجردت عن ثيابى و لبست ثياب سلاط يبيع السليط فى معصرة من معاصر حيس و تحمّلت هذه الشهادة يومئذ فى منزل رجل يقال له السبخة ولما ملكت الأمر وقفت لى عجوز بخطّى فعرفته فلم يسعنى الا اداء شهادتى و كان مثال ما كتبته فى وقت التحمّل شهد على ذلك على بن محمد قاضى حراز و كتبت بخطّه ليذكره ان شا الله تعالى و من اخبار الصليحى فى مبادى امره ما حدثنى به السلطان ناصر بن منصور الوايلى عن جده عيسى بن يزيد قال ان علىّ بن محمد الصليحى كان دليلا على طريق السروات خمس عشرة و ان الناس فى أوّل ظهوره كانوا يقولون له قد بلغنا انك ستملك اليمن باسره و يكون لك شان و دولة فيكره ذلك و ينكره على قائليه مع كونه أمرا قد شاع فى اقواله بافواه الناس الخاصّة و العامّة ولما كان فى سنة تسع و عشرين و اربع مائة ثار الصليحى فى راس مسار و هو اعلى ذروة فى جبال حراز و كان معه يومئذ ستّون رجلا قد حالفهم فى مكة فى موسم سنة ثمان و عشرين و اربعمائة على الموت على القيام بالدعوة و ما منهم الا من هو من قومه و عشائره فى منعة و عدد كثير و لم يكن براس الجبل بناء بل كان قلة فايشة منيعة فلما ملكها الصليحى لم ينتصف النهار الذى ملكها فى ليله الّا و قد احاط به عشرون الفا ضارب سيف و حصروه و شتموه و حمقوه و قالوا له امّا نزلت و الّا قتلناك انت و من معك بالجوع فقال لهم انى لم افعل ما فعلت الّا خوفا علينا و عليكم فان تركتمونى احرسه و الّا نزلت اليكم فانصرفوا عنه ولم تمض به اشهر حتى بناه و حصّنه و اتّقنه و بقى الصليحى فى مسار و أمره يستفحل شيئا فشيئا من سنة تسع و عشرين و اربعمائه فى نزق من أمره كاتم لما يضمر من الدعوة

المثل فى الأُدب و العقل و خطبتها اليه فاشطّ علىّ فى مهرها و أُمّها تـقول لا تـزوجها الّا لبعـض ملوك همدان بصنعاء او ملوك بنى الكرندى بمخلاف جعفر و قد استاموا علىّ من المال مبلغا لا قدرة لى عليه و انا متوجّه امّا الى بنى معن بعدن و امّا الى بنى الكرندى بالمعافر قالوا فدفع له القايد فرج السحرتى مالا جزيلا اضعاف ما أدّى الصليحى و جهز العروسين جميعا احسن جهاز يحتـفل الملوك به لعقايلهم و اعاده الى عمّه فتزوّج باسماء و هى أمّ الملك المكرّم زوج الحرّة الملكة السيدة ار[1] و ابنت احمد الصليحى و كانت اسماء من الكرم و السودد و الجوايز السنية الجزيلـة للشعراء و الصلات الواسعة فى سبيل الله تعالى و فى سبيل المرؤة و الخير بحيث يمدح اولادها و اخوتها و بنو عمها بمفاخرها و فيها يقول شاعر زوجها و اسمه اسعد بن يحيى الـهيثمى من قصيدة اوّلها حشمت بيضآ الـوامل حشما[2] و منها

وسمت فى السماح سنه[3] جود لم تـدع من معالـم الـبخـل رسـما

قلت اذ عظموا لبلـقيس عرشا دسّت اسماء من ذرى المنجم[4] اسما

و من اخبار الداعى على بن محمد الصليحى ما حدثنى احمد بن حسين الاموي المعروف بابن السحه[5] عن ابيه عن جده قال كنتُ اسكن فى مدينة حيس و بينها و بين زبيد ليلة فلما ملك الصليحى زبيد و قد ركب الى مجلس القاضى و ادا عنه[6] شهادة كان قد تحمّلها فى صباه ثم تحدّث مع القاضى سرا و افترقا و اخبر القاضى بعد قيام الامير علىّ بن محمد الصليحى انه قال انى نـزلت الى مدينة حيس

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[1] أروى بنت ?

[2] حشمت بيض الانامل حشما

[3] سِمة ?

[4] J. and Khi, النجم; Ah. المجد

[5] السبخة ? See infra.

[6] و ادّى عنده ?

بها و بالجدّ السعيد غاية الأمل البعيد فكان عالما فقيها فى مذهب الدولة مستبصرا فى علم التأويل اخباره انه اقام يحجّ دليلا بالناس على طريق السراة و الطائف عدّة سنين لايحج بالناس غيره و تنقلت به الاحوال فى مبادى عمره من خفض الى رفع و من ضرّ الى نفع فمن ذلك ما حدثنى به الفقيه ابو الحسين علىّ بن سليمان و كان شاعرا قد اسنّ و من شعره قوله فى عمر بن عدنان العكّى

اذا الليالي اسأت غير عالمة كان ابن عدنان لى من جوزجار[1]

و منه ما حدثنى به الزبرقان بن الفويقر[2] العكّى عن فلان الشاعر و هو القائل يذمّ قومه من قصيدته

فمن يشترى عكّا بفلس فاننى جميعا على قطع الخيار ابيعها

كلاهما و غيرهما من الجمهور حدثنا عن القاضى عمر بن المرجل الحنفى نسبًا و مذهبًا و كان من اعيان العلماء قال كان على باب زبيد من داخل السور دار رجل من الحبشة يقال له فرج السحرتى و كان من أهل المعروف و الصدقات الواسعة و كان من نزل بمسجده اكرمه و اواه و يتفكّر و يدخل المسجد يتجسس اخبار الضيوف سرّا من وكلائه و خدمه فخرج ذات ليلة فظفر بالمسجد برجل يقرأ القرآن فسأله عن العشاء فانشد قول المتنبى

مَن علّم الاسود المخصىّ مكرمةً اعمامه الغرام احواله الصيد

فاخذه الحبشى و طلع به الى اعلى مكان فى داره و اكرم مثواه و استخبره عن سبب قدومه الى تهامة قال الصليحى انّ لى عمّا يقال له شهاب و له ابنة يقال لها اسماء قليلة النظير فى الجمال معدومة

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[1] ? من جَوْرٍ جارًا

[2] ? الغويفر

همدان و تغلّب على صنعاء و مخاليفها قوم من همدان و تغلّبت بنو عبد الواحد على اعمال برع و العمد و لعسان و تغلبت على حصن مسار ايضا و ليس فى اليمن ما يماثله سوى التعكر والسمدان وحب و منه ثار الصليحى بالدعوة المستنصرية من حراز و حراز هى الاعمال و بها سمّى اهلها و ألافهم من همدان و بهم ثار الداعى على بن محمد الصليحى

اخبار الداعى علىّ بن محمد الصليحى و عنها تتفرع جلّ اخبار اليمن و بها يتعلق بقية الكتاب من القضاة والدعاة و الكبراء و الشعراء

كان القاضى محمد بن علىّ والد الداعى علىّ بن محمد الصليحى سنّى المذهب و له طاعة فى رجال حراز و هم اربعون الفا ولما انتقلت الدعوة الى عامر بن عبد الله الزواحى[1] والزواحى قرية من اعمال حراز شرع فى ملاطفة القاضى محمد بن على والد الداعى على بن محمد الصليحى فكان الزواحى يركب اليه لان محمدا كانت له رياسة و سودد و صلاح و علم فلم يزل عامر حتى استمال قلب على بن محمد و هو يومئذ دون البلوغ و لاحت له فيه مخائل النجابة وقيل كانت عند عامر حلية الصليحى من كتاب الصور و هو من ذخائر الائمّة عليهم السلام فاوقفه منه على تنقّل حاله و شرف مآله و استماله[2] سرًّا من ابيه و قومه و لم يلبث عامر الزواحى حتى مات و اوصى له بكتبه و علومه و لم يمت حتى قد عرس[3] فعكف على الدرس و كان ذكيا فلم يبلغ الحلم حتى تضلّع من معارفه التى قد بلغ

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[1] J. الرواحى بالراء والحاء المهملتين

[2] Kan. و اطلعه على ذلك سرًّا

[3] Kan. قد رسخ فى ذهن على من كلامه ما رسخ

و ولده و هو الذى عمل الحيلة على قتل سعيد بن نجاح الاحول قاتل الامير على بن محمد الصليحى و تغلب[1] على مخلاف أحاظة و يقال وحاظة و مقرّ عزّها حصن بيبرس[2] و من حصونها دهوان و يفوز و شعر و الخضرا و غير ذلك و مدينتها شاحط و فى سلطانها يقول نزار بن الفقيه زيد بن الحسين الاحاظى

قالوا لنا السلطان فى شاحط دانى الردا[3] من موضع الغائط
قلت هل السلطان اعلاهما قالوا بل السلطان من هابط[4]

و تغلّب على حصون وحاظه و بلادها بنو وائل و هم من ولد ذى الكلاع و لهم رياسة متأثّلة و هم حماقة يرون انهم اشرف ولد آدم على الاطلاق و لقد اذكرانى خرجت من سوق الجحب و هو اكبر اسواقهم فى يوم صائف حتى اذا بعدت عن السوق لحقنى منهم فارسان يركضان وقد سدّد الىّ اسنّة الرمحين فنزلت عن الدابة و صعدت الى الجبل فلما انتهيا الىّ قالا انّا اختلفنا فى افضل ولد آدم وقد رضينا بحكمك وكان احدهما قال بنو وايل افضل على الاطلاق و قال الثانى بل هم و قريش فى الشرف فقلت لهما ان رسول الله صلى الله عليه و سلم افضل البشر و بنو وائل افضل من قريش و من سائر الخلق تفاديا منهما قال احدهما والله لو قلت غير هذا ما سلمت منى ثم فارقنى[5] و من هؤلا بنو وايل السلطان اسعد ابن وايل بن عيسى صاحب الكرم العريض و الثنا المستفيض و ممن تغلّب على حصن اشيح و هو مقرّ الملك الداعى سبا بن احمد الصليحى و على حصن وصاب و مخاليفها قوم من بكيل ثم من

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[1] تغلّبَ ?

[2] J. and Khi, يريس و زهران و يفوز و سعب و عزان و الخضرا See note 19.

[3] Yak. ياتى الزنا

[4] Yak. هابط

[5] فارقانى

فعل بمواليك و موالينا قال هم فى ذلك الجدار فاخرجهما نجاح
و صلّى عليهما و بنى لهما [1] مشهدا و اعاد مرجانا فى موضعهما
فبنى عليه حيّا و على جثّة نفيس و ركب نجاح بالمظلّة و ضربت
السكة باسمه و كاتب اهل العراق و بذل الطاعة فنعت نجاح بالمؤيّد
نصير الدين و فوّض اليه تقليد القضاء لمن يراه و النظر العامّ على
الجزيرة اليمنيه و لم يزل نجاح مالكا لتهامة قاهرا لاكثر اهل الجبال
و خوطب و كوتب بالملك و بمولانا و من اولاده سعيد بن نجاح
و جيّاش و معارك و الذخيرة و منصور فامّا الجبال فتغلّبت ولاة
حسين ابن سلامة على الحصون فممن تغلّب على عدن و أبين و لحج
و الشحر و حضرموت بنو معن و اظنّهم من غير ولد معن بن زائدة
الشيبانى [2] و تغلّب على السمدان و هو حصن [3] الدملوه و حصن صبر
و حصن دحر [4] و حصن التعكر و هو ما هو [5] و على مخلاف الجند
و مخلاف عنه و مخلاف المعافر قوم من حمير يقال لهم بنو الكرندى
و كانت لهم مكارم و مفاخر و سلطنة قاهرة و دولة ظاهرة و تغلّب
على حصن حب و هو نظير التعكر و على حصن يقال له عزان
و بيت عز و حصن السعر [6] و هو عظيم و حصن نور [7] و النقيل و السحول
و هو الموضع الذى ينسج فيه الثياب السحوليه و كفن رسول الله صلى
الله عليه و سلم فى ثوبين منها و هذا الوادى بنو [8] اصبح قوم الفقيه
مالك الاصبحى امام دار الهجرة و من الحصون ايضا حصن خدد
و الشواقى [9] تغلب عليهما [10] السلطان ابو عبد الله الحسين بن التبعى

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[1] Khi, فى الغُرَف

[2] Khi, وليس من ولد معن بن زائدة

[3] Kn. و هو احصن من الدملوه Khi, وهو حصن عظيم الخطر وعلى حصن السَوَا See note 19.

[4] Khi, ذخِر

[5] Khi and J. و هو الحاكم على الجند

[6] Khi, الشِعِر

[7] J. انور Khi, أبْوَر

[8] لبنى ?

[9] J. الشوافى

[10] عليهم ?

نجاح يتولّى اعمال الكدرا و المهجم و مور و الواديين[1] و هذه الاعمال الاربعة جلّ الاعمال الشمالية عن[2] زبيد ثم وقع التنافس بين نفيس و نجاح عبدى مرجان على وزارة الحضرة و كان نفيس عسوفا مرهوبا و نجاح رؤفا بالناس عادلا على الرعايا محبوبا اليهم الّا ان مولاهما مرجان يميل مع نفيس على نجاح و نما[3] الى نفيس ان عمّة ابن زياد مولاه تكاتب نجاحا و تميل اليه فشكا نفيس ذلك من فعلها الى مرجان فقبض مرجان عليها و على ابن اخيها ابن زياد و هو اخر القوم و منه زالت دولة بنى زياد باليمن و انتقلت الى عبيد عبيدهم[4] فيكون دولة بنى زياد باليمن مائتى سنة و ثلاث سنين لانّهم اختطوا زبيد سنة اربع و مائتين و زالت عنهم سنة تسع[5] و اربعمائة ثم ان مرجانا لما قبض على موليبه ابرهيم و عمّته دفعهما الى نفيس فبنى عليهما جدارا و هما قايمان يناشدانه اللّه عزّ و جلّ حتى ختمه[6] عليهما و كانت بنو زياد لما اتّصل بهم اختلال الدولة العباسية من قتل المتوكل و خلع المستعين تغلّبوا على ارتفاع اليمن و ركبوا بالمظلّة و سأسوا قلوب الرعايا ببقآء الخطبة لبنى العبّاس فلما قتل نفيس ابن مولاه ابرهيم و عمّته تملّك و ركب بالمظلّة و ضرب السكّة باسمه و حين نمى الى نجاح ما اعتمده نفيس فى مواليه استفز الاحمر و الاسود و قصد نفيسا الى زبيد فجرت بينهما عدّة وقايع منها يوم رمع و يوم فشال و هما على نجاح و منها يوم العقدة و هو على نفيس و منها يوم العرق و فيه قتل نفيس على باب زبيد و قتل معه خمسة الاف بين الفريقين و فتح نجاح زبيد فى ذى القعدة سنة ثنتى عشرة و اربعمائة و قال نجاح لمرجان ما

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[1] Khi, بيش
[2] Khi, غير
[3] Read نُمِىَ
[4] Khi, الى عبيدهم
[5] Khi, سبع
[6] خُتِمَ ?

و من العلماء الراجحين يسكن بمدينة المعقر قال حدثه ابوه و جماعة من اسلافه و هم اهل بيت علم و عفاف قالوا تظلّم انسان الى الحسين ابن سلامة بهذا الوادى و هو سائر من مدينة زبيد الى الكدرا و زعم انه سرقت له عيبة فيها الف دينار و قال[1] الفا دينار فى وادى مور و بعده من الموضع ايام فأمر به حسين فجلس معه مع[2] خواصه و قام الى الصلاة[3] فاطالها ثم نام فى المحراب فلم يشعر الّا و الناس يقرعون اليه من اطراف الجامع الى المحراب قال والدى و كنت من اقرب الناس اليه فسمعته يقول لرجل من قواده تمضى مع هذا الرجل الى القرية الفلانية على الساحل فتاخذ له من فلان بن فلان ماله من غير ان تؤذيه فان رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و سلّم شفع الىّ فيه واخبرنى انه ينتسب اليه و هو صلّى الله عليه و سلّم الذى عرفنى صورة الحال و اخبار حسين و محاسنه باليمن مجلّدات[4] ثم انتقل الأمر بعد ذلك الى طفل من آل زياد لا اعرف اسمه و اظنّه عبد الله و كفلته عمّة له و عبد أستاذ اسمه مرجان من عبيد الحسين ابن سلامة و استقرّت الوزارة لمرجان و كان له عبدان من عبيد الحبشة فحلان رباهما فى الصغر و ولاهما الأمور فى الكبر واحدهما يسمّى نفيسا و هو الذى يتولّى التدبير بالحضرة و العبد الثانى يدعى نجاحا و هو جدّ ملوك زبيد الذين ازالهم علىّ بن مهدى فى سنة اربع و خمسين و خمسمائة و نجاح هذا هو ابو الملك سعيد الاحول قاتل الامير علىّ بن محمد الصليحى القائم باليمن بالدعوة الفاطمية المستنصريه و هو ايضا والد الملك الفاضل العادل ابى الطامى جيّاش و لم يزل الملك فى عقب جيّاش هذا الى التاريخ المذكور و كان

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[1] قيل ?
[2] Khi فاجلسه مع
[3] Khi, فى جامع الكدرا
[4] Khi, بل مخلدات

و حيس و زبيد و فشال و الضِّجاع[1] بكسر الضاد و القحمة و الكدرا * و هى مقره و اختطها ايضا و الجثة و عرق النشم[2] و المهجم و مور و الواديان و جيزان[3] و المساعِد[4] و تعشر و المدى[5] و رباح و الفحر[6] ثم تلتقى طريق الجادّة و الساحلية[7] و يفترقان من السرين و بينها و بين مكة خمسة ايام فاوّل ما يلقى الحاجّ من عمارته بين الرياضة ثم سبخة الغراب[8] ثم الليث[9] ثم يرد الناس وادى يلملم و به بئر[10] رويه طولها عشرة ابواع و عرضها خمسة او ستة ابواع ثم يفترق الناس فمن اراد مكة ورد من عمارته * بيراد ثم البيضا ثم القوين[11] ثم مكة و من اراد عرفات ورد من عمارته بئر بوادى الرحم ثم نعمان ثم عرفات و له مسجد على جبل الرحمة بعرفات رحمة الله عليه و حدّثنى الفقيه ابو محمد عبد الله ابن ابى القاسم الابار و عليه قرأت مذهب الشافعى قال حدّثه والده ابو القسم و حدّثنى بمثل ذلك عبد الرحمن بن على العبسى و حدثنى المقرى الحسين بن فلان بن حسين ابن سلامة و ما هؤلا الا من ناهز عمره المائة قالوا كان الناس مزدحمين للصباح على حسين بن سلامة حتى تقدّم اليه انسان فقال له ان رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و سلّم أمرنى و بعثنى اليك لتدفع لى الف دينار قال حسين لعل الشيطان تمثّل لك قال بل الأمارة بينى و بينك انك مذ عشرين سنة كل ليلة تصلّى عليه مائتى مرّة فبكى حسين ابن سلامة و قال أمارة والله صحيحة لم يعلم بها الا الله عزّ و جلّ ثم دفع اليه الف دينار و حدّثنى الفقيه ابو على بن طليق و كان من الصالحين

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[1] Khi, الضحاك

[2] Deest in Khi.

[3] Khi, حيران

[4] Khi, الساعد

[5] D. المبنى

[6] Khi and D. الهجرة

[7] Khi, ثم تلقى طريق بالساحليه

[8] Khi, سبخة الغراب

[9] Khi and D. الحبت

[10] Khi, وهو ميقات اهل اليمن و به بير من عمارته ثم بير ادام و هى بير روية

[11] Khi, بير البيضا ثم القرين

اب[1] ثم الذقيل ثم ذمار[2] ثم جامع صنعاء و هو عظيم ثم من صنعاء الى صعدة عشرة ايام[3] ثم من صعدة الى الطائف سبعة ايام فى كلّ مرحلة جامع و مصانع للماءِ ثم عقبة الطائف و هى مسيرة يوم للطالع من مكّة و نصف يوم للهابط الى مكّة عمرها حسين ابن سلامة عمارة[4] يمشى فى عرضها ثلاثة اجمال باحمالها هذه الطريق العليا و اما طريق تهامة فهى تفترق ايضا طريقين فواحدة ساحلية على البحر و واحدة و هى الجادّة السلطانية متوسطة منها الى البحر و الجبل * و افتراقهما من تهامة[5] و فى كلّ مرحلة من الطريقين الساحلية والوسطى جامع عظيم[6] فمن الساحلية * و الوسطى[7] المخنق و هي من عدن على ليلة و بها بئر طولها ثمانون[8] باعا انا وردتها مرارا و جامع مستهدم[9] ثم العارة ثم عثر ثم السقيا جامع و بئر طولها اربعون باعا ثم الداب[10] باب المندب ثم المخا ثم السحارى[11] ثم الخوهة ثم الاهواب ثم غلافقة ثم بيعه ثم الجردة[12] ثم الزرعة ثم الشرجة ثم المفجر[13] ثم القندير[14] ثم عثر[15] و هى مقرّ ملك قديم ثم الرويمة[16] ثم حمصة[17] ثم ذهبان ثم حلى ثم السّرين ثم جدّة فهذه جوامع[18] السواحل ما منها الا ما رايته عامرا و امّا خرابا و امّا الوسطى فذات الخيف[19] و موزع و الجدون[20]

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[1] Khi, أَنّ

[2] Khi, ثم ما بين ذمار و صنعا مسافة خمسة ايام فى كل مرحلة منها بنا

[3] Khi, فى كل مرحلة من ذلك جامع

[4] Khi, متقنة

[5] Deest in Khi.

[6] Khi, جامع و بير

[7] Deest in Khi.

[8] Khi, ثلثون

[9] D. المشهد

[10] Deest in Khi.

[11] D. الزهارى

[12] Khi, الحردة

[13] Khi, المفحر

[14] Khi, القسدريه

[15] Khi, عمر بن نص

[16] Khi, الدومة; M. الدويه

[17] Khi, H. حمضة

[18] Khi, ساير

[19] Khi, ذات الحبيت

[20] Khi, ثم الحدون

و اختطّ مدينة المعْقر على وادى ذوال و كان عادلا على الرعايا كثير الصدقات و الصلاة فى الله تعالى مقتديا بسيرة عمر بن عبد العزيز فى اكثر احواله و عمر فى الملك ثلاثين سنة و مات سنة اثنتين و اربع مائة و من محاسن حسين بن سلامة انشاء الجوامع الكبار و المنارات الطوال من حضرموت الى مكّة حرسها الله تعالى و طول المسافة التى بنى فيها ستّون يوما و حفر الابار الروية و القلب العادية فى المفاوز المنقطعة و بنى الاميال و الفراسخ و البرد على الطرقات فمن ذلك ما رايته عامرا و مهدوما و منها ما رواه الناس لى رواية اجماع فاوّله شبام و تريم مدينتا حضرموت اتّصلت عمارة الجوامع منهما الى عدن و أبين و لحج و المسافة عشرون مرحلة فى كلّ مرحلة جامع و مأذنة و بئر فامّا عدن ففيها جامع من عمارة عمر بن عبد العزيز و جدده حسين ابن سلامة ثم تفترق الطريق من عدن الى مكّة فطريق تصعد الجبال و طريق تسلك فى تهامة فامّا طريق الجبال ففيها جامع الحوة[1] و هو كبير ادركته عامرا بعمارة حسين ابن سلامة و رايت فيها جامع الجند و هو جامع مثل جامع احمد بن طولون بمصر و كان مسجدا لطيفا اول من بناه معاذ بن جبل صاحب رسول الله صلّى الله عليه و سلّم حين بعثه الى اليمن و اهل الجند و ما حوله من القرى يروون فى فضل هذا المسجد اخبارا من جهة الاحاد[2] ان زيارته فى اوّل جمعة من رجب تعدل عمرة او قالوا حجّة و لم يزل اهل تلك الافاق يزورونه فى كلّ سنة حتى كثر ذلك فصار موسما من مواسم الحجّ و منسكا العامّة و اذا كان لبعضهم على بعض حقّ قال امهلنى حتى ينقضى الحجّ و ما يعنون الّا زيارة الجند ثم ذى اشرف[3] و بها مسجد مكتوب على احجاره فوق بابه مما أمر به عمر بن عبد العزيز بن مروان ثم مدينة

[1] Khi, الجوه

[2] Khi, اخبارا كثيرة عن رسول الله

[3] Khi, اشرق

اسمه و يحمل اليه مبلغا من المال فى كل سنة و هدايا لا اعلم مبلغها و يتلو لابن طرف من ملوك تهامة فى الخطبة و السكة لابن زياد و عمل اتاوة مستقرّة الحرامى صاحب حلى دون ابن طرف فى المكـنـة و اما الذى سلم لابن زياد من اليمن حين طعن فى السنّ فله من الشرجة الى عدن طولا عشرون مرحلة و له من غلافقه الى صنعاء خمس مراحل و رايت مبلغ ارتفاع اعمال ابن زياد بعد تناصريف [1] فى سنة ست و ستين و ثلاث مائة من الدنانير الف الف عثرية [2] خارجا عن ضرائبه على مراكب الهند من الاعواد المختلفة و المسك و الكافور و العنبر [3] و الصندل و الصينى و خارجا عن ضرائب العنبر على السواحل بباب المندب و عدن و ابين و الشحر و غير ذلك و خارجا عن ضرائبه على معادن اللؤلؤ و عن ضرائبه على صاحب مدينه دهلك و من بعضها الف راس رقيق منها خمسمائة وصيفة حبشية و نوبية و كانت ملوك الحبش من وراء البحر تهاديه و تستدعى مواصلته و مات ابو الجيش هذا سنة احدى و سبعين و ثلاث مائة عن طفل اسمه عبد الله و قيل زياد و تولت كفالته أخته هند بنت ابى الجيش و عبد لابى الجيش استاذ حبشى يدعى رشدا [4] و كان من عبيد رشد هذا وصيف من اولاد النوبة يدعى حسين ابن سلامة و هى أمّه و بها كان يعرف و نشأ هذا حسين ابن سلامة حازما عفيفا فلما مات مولاه رشد وزر لولد ابى الجيش و لأخته هند بنت ابى الجيش و كانت دولتهم قد تضعضعت اطرافها و تغلبت ولاة الحصون و الجبال على ما فى ايديهم منها فاقام القايد حسين ابن سلامة يحارب اهل الجبال حتى دانوا و دان ابن طرف و ابن الحرامى و استوسعت له مملكة ابن زياد الاولى و اختّط مدينة الكدرا على وادى سهام

[1] تـقاصرها ?

[2] Khi, ديار عثرية

[3] Khi, السنبل

[4] Khi, اسمه رشيد فلم تطل مدة رشيد وهلك عن قريب

عمره شتآءً و لا صيفاً و تتقارب بها ساعات الشتاء و الصيف و بها
بناء عظيم قد خرب فهو تلّ عال يعرف بغمدان ولم تبن ملوك اليمن
قصراً مثله و لا ارفع منه و فى ملك اسعد بن ابى يعفر صاحب
صنعاء جبل المذيخرة و بلغنى ان اعلاه نحو عشرين فرسخا فيها[1]
المزارع و المياه و فيه نبت الورس * و هو فى معنى النزعفران[2]
و لا يسلك الّا من طريق واحد و قد كان محمد بن الفضل الداعى
المعروف بشيخ لاعة و هذه و لاعة الى جانبها قريه لطيفة يقال لها
عدن لاعة و ليست عدن ابين الساحلية و انا دخلت هذه عدن
لاعة و هى اول موضع ظهرت فيه الدعوة العلوية باليمن و منها قام
منصور اليمن و منها محمد بن الفضل الداعى و ممن وصل اليها من
دعاة الدولة ابو عبد الله الشيعى صاحب الدعوة العلوية بالمغرب
و فيها قرأ علىّ بن محمد الصليحى فى صباه و هى دار دعوة باليمن
و كان هذا محمد بن الفضل الداعى غلب على جبل المذيخرة
و خطب فيه للدعوة العلوية سنة اربعين وثلثمائة ثم استرجعه منه
اصحاب اسعد بن ابى يعفر ثم عاد الى اصحاب الدعى محمد بن
الفضل ثانية و فى ملك اسعد بن ابى يعفر صاحب صنعا جبل
شبام و هو منيع جدًّا و فيه قرى و مزارع و جامع كبير و هو عمل
مستقلّ بنفسه و يرتفع منه العقيق و الجزع و هى حجارة معساة
فاذا عملت ظهر جوهرها و ممن امتنع من عمّال ابى الجيش
بن زياد سليمان بن الطرف صاحب عثر و هو من ملوك تهامة
و عمله مسيرة سبعة ايام فى عرض يومين و هو من الشرجة الى
حلى و مبلغ ارتفاعه فى السنة خمسمائة الف دينار[3] و كان مع
امتناعه من الوصول الى ابن زياد يخطب له و يضرب السكة على

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[1] Yak. فيه
[2] Yak. و فى شفيره الزعفران
[3] Khi, دينار عَثْرِيّة

ابن زياد جعفره[1] و هو الذى اشترط على عرب تهامة ان لا يركبوا الخيل و ملك ابن زياد حضرموت و ديار كندة و الشحر و مرباطا و ابين و لحجا و عدن و التهايم الى حلى و بين حلى و مكّة حرسها الله ثمانية ايام و ملك من الجبال الجند و اعمالها و مخلاف المعافر و مخلاف جعفر و صنعاء و صعدة و نجران و بيحان و واصل ابن زياد الخطبة لبنى العبّاس و حمل الاموال و الهدايا السنيه هو و اولاده من بعده و هم ابرهيم بن محمد هذا الذى هو اوّلهم ثم ملك بعده ابن زياد بن ابرهيم فلم تطل مدّته ثم ملك بعده اخوه ابو الجيش اسحق بن ابرهيم و طالت مدته فلما اسنّ و بلغ الثمانين فى الملك تشعب عليه من دولته بعضها فممن اظهر له بعض ما يكره ملك صنعاء و هو من اولاد التبابعة من حمير واسمه اسعد بن ابى يعفر[2] و لكنه كان يخطب لابى الجيش بن زياد و يضرب الدراهم على اسمه ولم يكن ينفذ الى ابى الجيش هديةً و لا ميرةً و لا ضريبةً و كان ارتفاع اموال اسعد هذا لا يزيد على اربعمائة الف فى السنة يصرف معظمها فى سبيل البرّ لوافديه و قاصديه و امّا صاحب بيحان و نجران و جرش فهم ايضا تحت طاعة ابن زياد و امّا صعدة فثار بها الشريف الحسنى المعروف بالرسى ثم الزيدى[3] و ما يليق ذكره فى هذا الموضع مع انه[4] ليس بجميع اليمن مدينة اكبر و لا اكثر مرافقا و اهلا من صنعاء و هو بلد فى خطّ الاستواء و هو من الاعتدال فى[5] الهوى بحيث لا يتحوّل الانسان عن مكان واحد الى مكان آخر طول

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[1] J. كان يلقب ابن زياد بجعفر ; Yak. يقولون ابن زياد وجعفر.

[2] Khi, بن ابرهيم بن محمد بن يعفر بن عبد الرحيم لحوالى

[3] Khi, الامام الهادى يحيى بن الحسين الرسى

[4] Yak. و قال عمران بن ابى الحسن ليس بجميع. For عمران read عمارة.

[5] Yak. من

و علّك عن الطاعة فاثنى ابن سهل على هذا [1] محمد بن زياد و على المروانى و التغلبى عند المامون و انهم من اعيان الرجال و افراد الكفاة و اشار بتسييرهم الى اليمن [2] ابن زياد اميرا و ابن هشام وزيرا و التغلبى حاكما و مفتيا [3] فمن ولد التغلبى محمد بن هرون قضاة زبيد بنو ابى عقامة ولم يزل الحكم فيهم متوارث حتى ازالهم علىّ بن مهدى حين ازال الحبشة [4] فخرجوا فى الجيش الذى جهزه المامون الى بغداد الى محاربة ابرهيم بن المهدى و حجّ ابن زياد و من معه فى سنة ثلاث و مائتين و سار الى اليمن و فتح تهامة بعد حروب جرت بينه وبين العرب بها و اختطّ زبيد فى شعبان سنة اربع و مائتين و فى هذا التاريخ مات الفقيه الامام محمد بن ادريس الشافعى بمصر رحمة الله عليه و حجّ من اليمن جعفر مولى ابن زياد بمال و هدايا سنة خمس و مائتين و وصل [5] الى العراق و صادف المأمون بها وعاد جعفر هذا فى سنة ست الى زبيد و معه الف فارس من [6] مسودة خراسان سبعمائه فعظم ملك [7] ابن زياد و ملك [8] اقليم اليمن باسره الجبال و التهايم و تقلد جعفر هذا الجبال و اختطّ بها [9] مدينة يقال لها المذيخرة * بمخلاف ريمة الاشاعر [10] ذات انهار و اشجار [11] واسعة و البلاد التى كانت لجعفر تسمّى الى [12] اليوم مخلاف جعفر و المخلاف عند اهل اليمن عبارة عن قطر واسع و كان جعفر هذا احد الكفاة الدهاة [13] و به نمت [14] دولة ابن زياد لانّهم [15] يقولون

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[1] Yak. على الزيادى وكان اسمه
[2] Yak. فسيّر
[3] Yak. التغلبى قاضياً
[4] Yak. دولة لحبشة
[5] Yak. (s.v. المذيخرة) و سار
[6] Yak. فيها من
[7] Yak. امر
[8] Yak. تقلّد
[9] Yak. به
[10] Deest in Yak.
[11] Yak. رياض
[12] Om. Yak.
[13] Yak. هذا من الدهاة الكفاة
[14] Yak. تمّت
[15] Yak. و لذلك

بن زياد[1] فانتسب احدهم و اسمه محمد بن فلان بن عبد الله بن
زياد الى زياد[2] و انتسب رجل منهم الى سليمان بن هشام بن
عبد الملك و من ولد هذا الرجل الوزير ابن خلف[3] بن ابى الطاهر
وزير الامير جياش بن نجاح فقال المأمون لهذا الاموى انّ عبد الله
بن علىّ بن العباس ضرب عنق سليمان بن هشام و اعناق ولديه فى
يوم واحد فقال الاموى انا من ولد الاصغر من ولد سليمان بن هشام[4]
منّا قوم بالبصرة فى افناء الناس و انتسب له رجل الى بنى تغلب[5]
و اسمه محمد بن هرون فبكى المأمون و قال انّ لى[6] بمحمد بن هرون
يعنى اخاه الامين ثم قال اما الامويّان فيقتلان[7] و اما التغلبى فيعفى
عنه رعايةً[8] لاسمه و اسم ابيه فقال ابن زياد ما اكذب الناس يا امير
المؤمنين انهم يزعمون انّك حليم كثير العفو متورّع عن سفك
الدماء[9] بغير حقّ فان كنت تقتلنا على[10] ذنوبنا فانّا لم نخرج عن
الطاعة[11] ولم نفارق فى بيعتك راى الجماعة[12] و ان كنت تقتلنا على
جنايات بنى أميّه فيكم فالله تعالى يقول و لا تزر وازرةٌ وزر أخرى
فاستحسن المامون كلامه و عفى عنهم جميعا و كانوا اكثر من مائة رجل
و اضافهم الى ابى العباس الفضل بن سهل ذى الرياستين وقيل الى
اخيه الحسن فلما بويع لابرهيم بن المهدى ببغداد فى المحرّم سنه
اثنتين و مائتين وافق ذلك و رود[13] كتاب عامل اليمن بخروج الاشاعر[14]

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[1] Yak. بقوم من ولد زياد بن ابيه و قوم من ولد هشام و فيهم رجل من من بنى أمية ,Khi ; بنى تغلب

[2] J. الى عبيد الله بن زياد بن ابيه

[3] ? الوزير خلف

[4] J. كان جدى صغيرا يومئذ لم يدرك و

[5] Khi, ابن وايل

[6] Khi, انّى لى ; Yak. ما لى

[7] Yak. الأمويون و الزياديون فيقتلون

[8] Yak. كرامةً

[9] Yak. عن الدماء

[10] Yak. عن

[11] Yak. عن طاعة

[12] Yak. فى معيد الجماعة

[13] Yak. فى كتاب om. وافق ذلك ورود

[14] Yak. الاعاشر om وعكّ

تاريخ اليمن

للفقيه العلّامة نجم الدين عمارة اليمني .

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم الحمد لله افضل محمود و احقّ معبود و صلّى الله على محمد النبي اطهر منسل و اكرم مرسل و على آله اعلام العلوم واطواد الحلوم و سلّم و بعد فانّى فى سنة ثلاث و ستّين و خمسمائة حضرت مجلس المولى القاضى الاجلّ الفاضل ابى علىّ عبد الرحيم بن القاضى الاشرف بهاء الدين ابى المجد علىّ البيسانى حرس الله علوّه و ادام سموّه و هو يومئذ صاحب ديوان الانشاء عن الخلافة العاضدية فحدانى بل هدانى أمره الى وضع كتاب اجمع فيه ما علق بحفظى من اخبار جزيرة اليمن سهلها و وعرها برًّا و بحرًا و مدد ممالكها و ابعاد مسالكها و حروب أهلها و وقائعهم و مآثرهم و صنائعهم و اخبار قضاتها و دعاتها و اخبار اعيانها و امرائها و من روى له عنه او رايته من شعرائها فامتثلت من ذلك ما ندب اليه و عزّلت عنه التصفّح عليه و ما هو ممن استحى لقاه خشياً و اجلالاً بمسور خاطر و لو لم يشجعنى تقاضيه عاضنى مبادرتى من خجله المتجاسر حدثنى الشيخ الفقيه نزار[1] بن عبد الملك المكّى و الفقيه احمد بن محمد الاشعرى[2] و ما منهما الا عارف بايام الناس و انسابهم و اشعارهم و قرأت فى كتاب مفيد لاخبار زبيد تأليف الملك المكين ابى الطامى جياش بن نجاح نصير الدين[3] مالك زبيد قالوا لما كان فى سنة تسع و تسعين و مائه أتى الى المأمون بن الرشيد بقوم من ولد عبد الله

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[1] Khi, ابو المنصور تزار

[2] Khi, النسّابة ابو الحسن احمد بن ابرهيم القرشى الاشعرى

[3] Khi, ظهير الدين

كتاب تأريخ اليمن للفقيه الاديب نجم الدين

عمارة بن ابى الحسن على الحكمى اليمنى و يليه

المختصر المنقول من كتاب العبر للقاضى

العلامة عبد الرحمن ابن خلدون

المغربى ثم اخبار القرامطة

باليمن تأليف القاضى

الاجل البهاء

الجندى

م

قد طبع بمطبعة گلبرت و رونكتن الكائنة بمدينة لندن المحروسة

سنة ١٣٠٩